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# One Cinderblock at a Time: Historiography of Canadian-Latin American and Canadian-Colombian Relations

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## Abstract

*This article revises Canadian-Latin American historiography as well as the existing historiography that deals specifically with Canada and Colombia, in order to point out that Canada's role in the study of Latin American History has, for the most part, been disregarded by scholars. I make the case that even though there is a vast history of Canadian presence in the region, historians have opted to center their hemispheric analysis on British-Latin American and United States-Latin American relations. This, I argue, leaves many gaps in the analysis of modern hemispheric history since the role of middle powers such as Canada, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, Ireland, Israel, Russia, and Japan were influential in shaping societies, economies, landscapes, and markets across the region. The absence of a significant historiography of Canadian-Colombian relations highlights the fact that there is a gap to be filled*

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*by scholars studying the Western Hemisphere. Further study of the role of middle powers in Latin America will bring greater clarity to the understanding of the region's modernization, economic development, and adaptation to capitalism.*

**Keywords:** *Canadian-Latin American relations, Canadian-Colombian relations, Middle Powers, Western Hemisphere, historiography.*

## **Un bloque al mismo tiempo: Historiografía de las relaciones de Canadá con América Latina y de Canadá con Colombia**

### **Resumen**

*Este artículo es una revisión historiográfica del tema Canadá y América Latina, así como del tema Canadá y Colombia, con el propósito de demostrar que el papel de Canadá en el estudio de la historia de América Latina ha sido en gran parte ignorado por los círculos académicos. Sostengo que aunque existe una larga historia de la presencia de Canadá en la región, los historiadores han optado por centrar su análisis hemisférico en las relaciones entre Inglaterra y América Latina, y Estado Unidos y América Latina. Argumento que esta aproximación deja grandes vacíos en el análisis moderno de la historia hemisférica, teniendo en cuenta que otros poderes medios como Canadá, Alemania, Francia, Italia, Holanda, España, Suiza, Irlanda, Israel, Rusia y Japón también tuvieron gran influencia en la transformación de las sociedades, economías, paisajes y mercados de la región. La ausencia de una significativa historiografía de las relaciones entre Canadá y Colombia demuestran el hecho de que existe una considerable carencia gran vacío que debe ser cubierto por aquellos que estudian el hemisferio occidental. Un estudio más robusto sobre el papel de los poderes medios en América Latina brindará claridad y generará un mayor entendimiento sobre los procesos de modernización, desarrollo económico y la adaptación al capitalismo experimentada por la región.*

**Palabras clave:** *Relaciones Canadá-América Latina, relaciones colombo-canadienses, poderes medianos, hemisferio occidental, historiografía.*

# Um bloco de concreto de cada vez: Historiografia das relações canadense-latino-americanas e canadense-colombianas

## Resumo

*Este artigo é uma revisão historiográfica do tema o Canadá e a América Latina, assim como do tema o Canadá e a Colômbia, com propósito de demonstrar que o papel da Canadá no estudo da história da América Latina tem sido em grande parte ignorado pelos círculos acadêmicos. Sustento que mesmo que existe uma longa história da presença da Canadá na região, os historiadores têm optado por centrar sua análise hemisférica nas relações entre a Inglaterra e a América Latina, e os Estados Unidos e a América Latina. Argumento que esta aproximação deixa grandes vazios na análise moderna da história hemisférica, tendo em conta que outros poderes meios como o Canadá, a Alemanha, a França, a Itália, a Holanda, a Suíça, a Irlanda, o Israel, a Rússia, e o Japão também tiveram grande influência na transformação das sociedades, economias, paisagens e mercados da região. A ausência de uma significativa historiografia das relações entre o Canadá e a Colômbia, demonstra que o fato de que existe uma considerável carência, grande vazão que deve ser coberto por aqueles que estudam o hemisfério ocidental. Um estudo mais robusto sobre o papel dos poderes meios na América Latina brindará clareza e gerará um maior entendimento sobre os processos de modernização, desenvolvimento econômico e a adaptação ao capitalismo, experimentada pela região.*

**Palavras chave:** *Relações Canadá-América Latina, relações colombo-canadenses, poderes meios, hemisfério ocidental, historiografia.*

The study of Canadian-Latin American relations has been for the most part disregarded by historians who have been interested in transnational, hemispheric, diplomatic, international, Canadian, Latin American, or even American history. This is even more palpable in the case of Canadian-Colombian relations, whose intricate history may be traced back to the late 1800s, and yet its story remains neglected by scholars. Some argue that the bilateral relationship has had a much greater influence on Colombia's nation building process and not enough impact on Canada's, and therefore overlooked by North American scholars. Nevertheless, the fact that the relationship has left a mark on each other's economic, political, social, cultural, and environmental development is more than enough to justify further research.<sup>1</sup> This work argues that the historical study of the role played by secondary powers in the development of Latin American and Caribbean countries is crucial in order to reconstruct the issues that determined the paths of modernization, economic development, and the expansion of capitalism across the region. The review of Canadian-Latin American historiography shows how limited research has been in this area, and the case of Canadian-Colombian historiography helps illustrate this point even further.

The historiography of Canadian-Latin American and Canadian-Caribbean relations continues to be limited. The most recent literature review on Canadian-Latin American relations was published in the *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, back in 1985.<sup>2</sup> Twenty-six years ago, Graeme S. Mount and Edelgard E. Mahant predicted a "growing interest in Latin American studies in Canadian universities," and hoped that the nation would become "a net exporter of

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Brian Stevenson has argued that "Canada's involvement in Latin America was modest," and that "contacts had always been limited since Confederation." Brian Stevenson, *Canada, Latin America and the New Internationalism: A Foreign Policy Analysis, 1968-1990* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press and the Centre for Security and Foreign Policy Studies, 2000), xi-4.

<sup>2</sup> For more detail see Graeme S. Mount and Edelgard E. Mahant. "Review of Recent Literature on Canadian-Latin American Relations," *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 27, no. 2 (1985): 127-51.

Caribbean and Latin American specialists”.<sup>3</sup> The same could not be said about scholars in the United States and the Americas. According to their research, American scholars were not interested in studying the role of Canada in the Americas, and “not a single article by a resident of Latin America” had surfaced up to that point.<sup>4</sup> They expected Canadian scholars to increase their interest in Latin America because both Canada and Latin America were looking for mechanisms that could “counterweight the overwhelming influence of the United States,” and they were both interested “in diversifying their sources of trade and investment”.<sup>5</sup> Their literature review showed that scholars across the hemisphere had “barely scratched the surface of Canadian-Latin American relations,” and that there was much to be done in this field of study.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, current historiography shows that scholars are yet to become truly engaged with the study of Canada’s role in the Americas. Few Canadian, American, and Latin American scholars have shown interest in this subject.

Only recently have scholars and policy makers emphasized the need for a better understanding of the history behind the external relationship of Canada and the region.<sup>7</sup> One product of this effort has been Rosana Barbosa’s most recent work *Brazil and Canada in the Americas*, which was published in 2007.<sup>8</sup> Although a historian by training, Rosana Barbosa edited a work that is laden with policy content and

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 145-146.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>7</sup> Currently, there is an increasing tendency toward a greater understanding of Canada’s history and policies. The emergence of the Brazil Association of Canadian Studies (ABECAN), the Seminario Interuniversitario de Estudios Canadienses en América Latina (SEMINECAL) and the specialized journal *Perspectivas Colombo Canadienses* are three of these cases. Canadian entities have also stepped up their efforts, including the Canadian International Council, where historian Stephen Randall has written about Canadian-Latin American relations, and York University’s Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean where Liisa North has actively worked on contemporary issues of human rights and social justice.

<sup>8</sup> Rosana Barbosa, ed. *Brazil and Canada in the Americas* (Halifax: Canada Visiting Research Chair in Brazilian Studies and the Gorsebrook Research Institute, 2007). See also Rosana Barbosa, “Brazilian and Canadian Relations: A Historical Survey,” in *Brazil and Canada in the Americas*, ed. Rosana Barbosa (Halifax: Canada Visiting Research Chair in Brazilian Studies and the Gorsebrook Research Institute, 2007).

does not emphasize historical aspects of the bilateral relationship. Her contribution, “Brazilian and Canadian relations: A historical survey,” does center on historical aspects of the bilateral relationship; it represents an initial step toward an increasing academic interest in the bilateral study of Canada and Latin America.

Some Canadian historians of the continentalist school have touched on the subject of Canadian-Latin American relations indirectly in their pursuit of economic and business history research<sup>9</sup>. Among those who have stressed the Latin American dimension are Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, who collaborated in several journal articles, as well as a monograph titled *Southern Exposure: Canadian Promoters in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1896-1930*.<sup>10</sup> Duncan McDowall has written extensively about Canadian business developments in Latin America. His book, *The Light*, provided a business history of the largest Canadian foreign enterprise, and *Quick to the Frontier* focused on the history of Royal Bank’s operations across the globe, which included a section on Caribbean and South American operations.<sup>11</sup> Clifford Ince’s *The Royal Bank of Canada, a Chronology* provided an overview of the bank’s operations in Latin America.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, Daniel Jay Baum’s *The Banks of Canada in the Commonwealth Caribbean* looked less at the business aspect of the bank’s history and more at

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<sup>9</sup> A school of thought emerging from the realist model of international relations defended by historians of Canada-United States relations that points out that Canada’s foreign policy could no longer be understood from a nationalist perspective because the focus of policy had shifted from West-East relations to North-South relations after World War II. It is a school of thought that moves away from the imperialist strategy and instead pays close attention to the similarities between the two northern industrialized nations. For more details see John Herd Thomson and Steven Randall’s collaborative work, *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994). See also Stephen Clarkson’s edited work, Stephen Clarkson, ed., *An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada?* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968); and John Holmes’ edited work, John W. Holmes, *Canada: A Middle-Aged Power* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976).

<sup>10</sup> Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles. *Southern Exposure: Canadian Promoters in Latin America and the Caribbean 1896-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).

<sup>11</sup> Duncan McDowall. *The Light: Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company Ltd., 1899-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988). See also Duncan McDowall. *Quick to the Frontier: Canada’s Royal Bank* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993).

<sup>12</sup> Clifford H. Ince. *The Royal Bank of Canada, a Chronology, 1864-1969* (Montreal: Royal Bank, 1969).



the impact that these private institutions had on the development of banking business in the Caribbean.<sup>13</sup>

Other Canadian business historians looked at the specific impact of Canadian business in Latin America by endorsing the spectrum of multinational operations in the region. Two works that stand out are Jorge Niosi's *Canadian Multinationals* and Alan M. Rugman's *Canadian Multinational Enterprises and Developing Countries*, both of which are critical of the impact that these business operations had on the economic and social development of Latin America.<sup>14</sup>

However, a more critical approach was taken by Canadian revisionist historians of the 1970s that centered on the idea of Canada as an imperialist nation. Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* touched briefly on the subject of Latin America, as did Craig Heron's *Imperialism, Nationalism and Canada*.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, Jamie Swift's *The Big Nickel* focused on the negative impact of Inco's presence in Guatemala, particularly the relationship between national economic development and export mining operations.<sup>16</sup>

Canadian continentalist and revisionist historians who looked at the impacts of Canadian businesses and economic policies in the region have yet to engage in a full commitment to the study of Latin America. Instead, they have opted to study the region from a one-sided approach. With the exception of McDowall, all other historians have centered their research on Canadian archives. A limited number of Canadian historians have chosen to look at the history of Canadian-Latin American relations, fewer have produced major intellectual

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<sup>13</sup> Daniel Jay Baum. *The Banks of Canada in the Commonwealth Caribbean: Economic Nationalism and Multinational Enterprises of a Medium Power* (New York: Praeger, 1974).

<sup>14</sup> Jorge Niosi, *Canadian Multinationals* (Toronto: Garamond Press/Between the Lines, 1985); Alan M. Rugman, *Canadian Multinational Enterprises and Developing Countries* (Montreal: École des Hautes Études Commerciales, 1981).

<sup>15</sup> Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1970); Craig Heron, ed., *Imperialism, Nationalism and Canada* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1977).

<sup>16</sup> Jamie Swift and DEC. *The Big Nickel: Inco at Home and Abroad* (Kitchener: Between the Lines, 1977).

works that provide historical interpretations of the subject, and none have fully engaged with archival sources in Latin America or the Caribbean.<sup>17</sup>

J.C.M. Ogelsby may be considered the pioneer in the historical study of Canadian-Latin American relations. In addition to *Gringos from the Far North*, Ogelsby has written on Canada and the Pan American Union, policy toward Latin America under Trudeau, and the role of the French-Canadian agenda.<sup>18</sup> His work has become the key historiographical resource for scholars studying Canadian-Latin American relations, and his monograph represents the first book-length study on this aspect of Canadian history.<sup>19</sup> Ogelsby's curiosity for Latin America led him to pursue archival research beyond Ottawa, thereby opening the door to intellectual inquiries that expanded the realm of Canadian-Latin American relations to include the role of the church, the French-Canadian dynamic, Latin America's view of Canada, and the impact of Canada's foreign policy and nation building efforts. Ogelsby was also actively involved in the establishment of the Canadian Association of Latin American Studies, which is now known as the Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CALACS), as well as the organization's specialized academic journal, *North-South: Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies*.

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<sup>17</sup> The same may be said of Latin American historians studying Canada. In fact this focus is yet elusive. Only recently have political scientists and internationalist begun to focus on the subject of Canada. Such is the case of Raúl Rodríguez, Delia Montero Contreras, Rosana Barbosa, and María Teresa Aya Smitmans, who have researched Cuba, Mexico, Brazil, and Colombia, respectively.

<sup>18</sup> J.C.M. Ogelsby. *Gringos from the Far North: Essays in the History of Canadian-Latin American Relations, 1866-1968* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1976); J.C.M. Ogelsby, "Canada and the Pan American Union: Twenty years on," *International Journal* xxxiv (Summer 1969); J.C.M. Ogelsby, "A Trudeau decade. Canadian-Latin American relations 1968-1978," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 2, no. 2 (1979); J.C.M. Ogelsby, "Relaciones Canadiense-Latinoamericanas pasadas, presentes y futuras," *Estudios Internacionales* v (April-June 1972); J.C.M. Ogelsby, "French Canada and Latin America," *Canadian Forum* XLIX (September 1969).

<sup>19</sup> Graeme S. Mount and Edelgard E. Mahant. "Review of Recent Literature on Canadian-Latin American Relations." *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 27, nr. 2 (1985): 127.

Following the footsteps of Ogelsby were other Canadian Latin-Americanists who have been more concerned with looking at Canada's North-South relationship, James John Guy has worked on issues dealing with Canadian foreign policy toward Latin America.<sup>20</sup> Others, like John Harbor, have looked at hemispheric issues, particularly Canada's relationship with multilateral organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS).<sup>21</sup> Continentalists of the 1970s such as John Holmes, concentrated his research on Canada's role as a peacemaker in the hemisphere, while Graeme Mount opted to look at the economic relationship between the two regions, paving the way for the revisionists.<sup>22</sup>

James Rochlin's *Discovering the Americas: The Evolution of Canadian Foreign Policy Toward Latin America*, moved beyond Ogelsby's case studies and compiled the history of Canadian-Latin American relations from Confederation to the end of the Trudeau era.<sup>23</sup> Rochlin explained, in broad terms, how Canada's foreign policy went from a Eurocentrist to a North-South approach after the Second World War.

No other historical work has followed Rochlin's monograph. Most recently, Brian Stevenson, a senior policy advisor to former Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy and to former International Trade Minister Art Eggleton, published *Canada, Latin America and the New Internationalism*.<sup>24</sup> His policy-oriented work described the relationship between Canada and Latin America from the Trudeau era to the end of the Cold War. His study contributed to a better understanding of Canada's foreign policy initiatives in the region and the increasing role

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<sup>20</sup> James John Guy, "Trudeau's Foreign Policy and Latin America," *Revista Interamericana* 7, nr. 1 (1977): 99-108; James John Guy, "The Growing Relationship of Canada and the Americas," *International Perspectives* (July-August 1977): 3-6.

<sup>21</sup> John Harbor, "Canada and Latin America: Ending a Historic Isolation," *International Perspectives* 1 (May-June 1972): 25-29. See also John Harbor, *Canada and the Organization of American States* (Montreal: Private Planning Association, 1963).

<sup>22</sup> John Holmes, "Canada and Pan America," *Journal of International Studies* (April 1970): 173-84; John Holmes, "Our other Hemisphere: Reflections on the Bahia Conference," *International Journal* XVII (Autumn 1962): 414-19; Holmes, *Canada: A Middle-Aged Power*.

<sup>23</sup> James Rochlin, *Discovering the Americas: The Evolution of Canadian Foreign Policy toward Latin America* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994).

<sup>24</sup> Stevenson, *Canada, Latin America and the New Internationalism* Op. cit.

that it began to play in the areas of multilateralism and internationalism. Furthermore, he introduced international social movements and non-government organizations as key actors in the shaping of the nation's foreign policy. Nevertheless, his analysis overlooked historical aspects, and once again revealed the lack of historical research in the scholarship of Canadian-Latin American relations.

Current research on the topic has been dominated by political scientists and internationalists concerned with contemporary developments in the region, such as free trade and immigration. These scholars, who for the most part tend to be of Canadian origin, concentrate their work on the post-Cold War era, focusing on both bilateral and multilateral agendas. For example, Jean Daudelin's work explores Canada's foreign policy after the Cold War, including its relationship with the United States in terms of hemispheric policy.<sup>25</sup> Yves Engler and Anthony Frenon recently published *Canada and Haiti: Waging War on the Poor*.<sup>26</sup> These two Canadian writers/political activists provide a more realistic view of the bilateral relationships that Canada has developed in the Caribbean throughout the twentieth century, and emphasize the weight that the defense agenda has had on recent Canadian foreign policy. The Mexican economist María Teresa Gutierrez-Haces has written extensively about Canadian-Mexican economic and trade relationships.<sup>27</sup> One of her main objectives has been to introduce Mexican readers to Canada not only from an economic perspective, but also from political and cultural viewpoints. Another economist, Annette Hester, has centered her work on Canadian-Brazilian trade and economic relationships.<sup>28</sup> Her work is policy driven and lobbies in favor of Canadian interests

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<sup>25</sup> Jean Daudelin, "Canada and the Americas: A Time of Honesty," *Behind the Headlines* 64, nr. 3 (2007); James Daudelin, "Foreign Policy at the Fringe: Canada and Latin America," *International Journal* 58 (2003); Edgar J. Dosman and Jean Daudelin ed., *Beyond Mexico* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press and FOCAL, 1994).

<sup>26</sup> Yves Engler and Anthony Frenon. *Canada and Haiti: Waging War on the Poor* (Black Point: Red Publishing and Fernwood Books, 2005).

<sup>27</sup> Teresa Gutierrez-Haces, "La Diplomatie Economique du Canada Vis a Vis de L'amerique Latine," *Cahiers Des Ameriques Latines*, no. 34 (2000).

<sup>28</sup> Annette Hester, "Canada and Brazil: Confrontation or Cooperation," in *Canada among nations: Sprit images*, ed. Andrew Cooper and Dane Rowlands (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

in the region. Her work at think tanks such as the Center for Strategic and International Studies has concentrated on oil, gas, and energy policy. The combination of lobby and academic work in Canadian-Latin American relations has also been pursued by less market driven researchers such as Liisa North, Timothy David Clark, and Viviana Patroni. They have done extensive work on Ecuador, in particular on the negative social and environmental impacts of Canadian transnational mining corporations.<sup>29</sup> North has not only actively participated in social work in Ecuador, but she has also been responsible for the expansion of Canadian-Latin American networks via the Center for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean.

Regarding the most recent historical work in Canadian-Latin American relations, José del Pozo seems to be one of the only scholars conducting relevant research at this time. Chilean by birth but exiled in Montreal since the 1970s, José del Pozo has been interested in contributing to the historiography of Canada and Chile.<sup>30</sup> His current work looks at the history of the Montreal Chileans exiled in the 1970s after the fall of Salvador Allende.<sup>31</sup>

Most recently, Jason Gregory Zorbas completed a history dissertation on former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's Latin American and Caribbean agendas that focuses mainly on issues dealing with foreign policy.<sup>32</sup> His work centered mostly on issues dealing directly with Canada and did not fully engage with the Latin American aspect of the relationship, and his archival research was purely Canada based. My own multi-archival research on Canada centered on the history of the bilateral relationship between Colombia and Canada.<sup>33</sup> My findings

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<sup>29</sup> Timothy David Clark, Liisa North, and Viviana Patroni, *Community Rights and Corporate Responsibility* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006).

<sup>30</sup> For more information on the bilateral relationship between Chile and Canada see: José del Pozo, "Relations between Chile and Canada during the Second World War: The First Experiences of Chilean Diplomats," *Historia (Santiago)* 1 no. 38 (June 2005).

<sup>31</sup> José del Pozo, *Les Chiliens Au Québec. Immigrants et Réfugiés, de 1955 à Nos Jours* (Montreal: Boreal, 2009).

<sup>32</sup> Jason Gregory Zorbas, "Diefenbaker, Latin America and the Caribbean: The Pursuit of Canadian Autonomy" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Saskatchewan, October 2009).

<sup>33</sup> Stefano Tijerina, "'A Clearcut Line?': Canada and Colombia, 1892-1979" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maine, May 2011).

revealed a lengthy relationship that extended to the late 1800s, and that was mainly driven by Canadian business interests.

This work represents the closest attempt at a comprehensive history of Canada and Colombia. Nevertheless, numerous aspects of the bilateral relationship remain to be studied. An analysis of the most recent topics, although discrete, has been carried out by Colombian scholars in the fields of international relations and political science who are interested in understanding the increasing presence of Canadian capital, the recent rise of Canadian private direct investment, the bilateral policies of immigration, policies of security, institutional policies, and the most recent developments of the Canadian-Colombian Free Trade Agreement.<sup>34</sup> This may not be said of Canadian, American, and Latin American historians, who remain disengaged from this topic.

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<sup>34</sup> Angelica Rettberg has worked on contemporary issues of Canadian development aid in Colombia, for more detail see “En Busca de socios: Canadá, iniciativas empresariales y la construcción de paz en Colombia,” *Perspectivas Colombo-Canadienses*, 1 (2008), 1-27; Juan Carlos Ruíz Vázquez has done comparative work on Canadian institutions, for more detail see “Policía y seguridad ciudadana en Canadá: De la fantasía de Disney a la represión,” *Perspectivas Colombo-Canadienses*, 1 (2008), 28-56; María Victoria Cortés Rodríguez has focused on bilateral trade, for more detail see “Factors that have shaped the evolution of bilateral trade between Canada and Colombia in the long run,” *Perspectivas Colombo-Canadienses*, 1 (2008), 57-74; Edmundo Rodríguez has conducted research on broad comparative policy issues, for more detail see “Análisis comparativo de las políticas científicas y tecnológicas de Canadá y Colombia,” *Perspectivas Colombo-Canadienses*, 1 (2008), 108-27; Flor Edilma Osorio Pérez’s “En busca de progreso y protección. Experiencias de inmigrantes económicos y refugiados colombianos en Québec, Canadá,” *Perspectivas Colombo-Canadienses*, 2 (2009), 30-45, and Amanda Orjuela and Santiago Calderón-Canola’s *Perspectivas Colombo-Canadienses*, 1 (2008) have looked at issues of Colombian’s emigration to Canada; Ana María Montoya and Armand de Nieuwenhove have briefly touched issues dealing with bilateral economic policy in, Ana María Montoya Durana and Armand Limnander de Nieuwenhove, “Relaciones Económicas entre Colombia y Canadá,” *Análisis y Perspectivas*, CEI – Universidad de los Andes (1994); and María Teresa Aya Smitmans has looked at foreign relations in, Maria Teresa Aya Smitmans, ed., *Canadá, Colombia y las Américas* (Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2001). Marcelo Bucheli and Stefano Tijerina have been the only recent historians to work on the bilateral relations between Colombia and Canada. For more detail see Stefano Tijerina, “Ahora o nunca: la Misión Ministerial canadiense a América Latina de 1968 y su impacto en las relaciones bilaterales con Colombia,” *Perspectivas Colombo-Canadienses*, 2 (2009), 10-30, and Marcelo Bucheli, “Canadian Multinational Corporations and Economic Nationalism: The Case of Imperial Oil Limited in Alberta (Canada) and Colombia, 1899-1938,” *Enterprises et Histoire*, nr. 54 (April 2009).

Only one Canadian scholar has centered its historical research on this particular bilateral relationship. Graeme Mount produced several journal articles throughout the 1970s and 1980s that touched the surface of Canadian-Latin American relations. His most relevant work, “Canadian investment in Colombia: Some examples, 1919-1939,” published in *North/South: The Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies* in 1976, examined the presence of private sector actors in Colombia.<sup>35</sup> Another of his articles, “Isthmian Approaches: The Trajectory of Canadian-Panamanian Relations,” indirectly touched on the Canadian-Colombian bilateral relationship, however the author disregarded the fact that Panamá only gained its independence from Colombia in 1903, thus disregarding Canada’s previous presence in the isthmus as part of the history between Canada and Colombia.<sup>36</sup>

In the 1990s, Colombian political scientists and internationalists focused their work on the emerging economic relationship between the two countries. Ana María Montoya and Armand Lumnander de Nieuwenhove collaborated in the 1994 journal article, “Relaciones Económicas entre Colombia y Canadá,” published by Centro de Estudios Internacionales at Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá.<sup>37</sup> The first monograph dealing with Canadian-Colombian relations followed this quick revision of recent bilateral economic agendas. María Teresa Aya Smitmans, an internationalist from Universidad Externado in Bogotá, edited *Canadá, Colombia y las Américas*, which was published in 2001.<sup>38</sup> Her work introduced the existence of a French-Canadian world, contemporary native policy, and the developments of post Cold War relationships between Canada, Colombia, and the United States. However, she mainly focused on the story behind the Free Trade Area of the Americas and Canada’s increasing role in hemispheric trade agreements. In 2003 María Teresa Aya Smitmans published *Canadá-Colombia, 50 Años de Relaciones*, which served as a

<sup>35</sup> Graeme Mount, “Canadian Investment in Colombia: Some Examples, 1919-1939,” *North/South: The Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies* 1, no.1 and 2 (1976): 46-61.

<sup>36</sup> Graeme Mount, “Isthmian Approaches: The Trajectory of Canadian-Panamanian Relations,” *Caribbean Studies* 20, no. 2 (1980): 49-60.

<sup>37</sup> Montoya Durana and Nieuwenhove, “Relaciones Económicas entre Colombia y Canadá,” op. cit.

<sup>38</sup> Aya Smitmans, ed. *Canadá, Colombia y las Américas*, op. cit.

commemorative piece for the fiftieth anniversary of the diplomatic relationship between the two nations.<sup>39</sup> Her work focused on stories, anecdotes, and events that highlighted and permitted greater social, economic, and commercial ties. Her historical background was meager and did not provide an adequate foundation for her main arguments.

Research on Canadian-Colombian relations continues to be deficient. Scott Pearce, a political science graduate student at York University, is currently completing work on the impact of Canadian oil investments on the armed conflict in Colombia. His study joins the effort of Colombian internationalists Durana Montoya, Armand Limnander de Nieuwenhove, and María Teresa Aya Smitmans. However, historians continue to disregard the factors that shaped this bilateral relationship.

Most recently, business historian Marcelo Bucheli looked at the history of Canadian subsidiary Imperial Oil and its role in the development of the oil export sector in Colombia.<sup>40</sup> Nonetheless, his Canadian focus is limited and reduced to part of the broader story behind the role of International Petroleum in Colombia.

Canadian scholars began to take the study of Canadian-Latin American relations much more seriously after the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. Much of their attention has centered on issues such as Cuba, the North American Free Trade Agreement, immigration, and security. The increasing presence of Canadian corporations and the recent rise in Canadian direct investment across the region, together with their deep involvement in the reconstruction of Haiti and their push for a hemispheric free trade agenda, make them an influential actor worth studying. The analysis of their bilateral relationship with other actors across the region and their special relationship with the United States will generate clarity and reveal an intricate and complex Canadian role. Such is the case of Canadian-Colombian relations, where Canada has consistently ranked among Colombia's

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<sup>39</sup> María Teresa Aya Smitmans. *Canadá-Colombia: 50 Años de Relaciones* (Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia, 2003).

<sup>40</sup> Bucheli, "Canadian Multinational Corporations and Economic Nationalism: The Case of Imperial Oil Limited in Alberta (Canada) and Colombia, 1899-1938", *op. cit.*



top five trading partners throughout the twentieth century. The fact that Canada has remained a key trading partner for Colombia, and that Canadian direct investment has become a determinant factor in the Colombia's modernization and most recent economic development should increase the interest of scholars dealing with hemispheric issues. The signing of a bilateral Free Trade Agreement between the two governments in 2010 and Prime Minister Stephen Harper's increasing interest in expanding commercial relationships with Latin America should also inspire greater analysis from all sorts of academic fields.

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