

**CANADA
LOOKS SOUTH**

**IN SEARCH OF AN
AMERICAS POLICY**

EDITED BY PETER McKENNA

Canada Looks South

In Search of an Americas Policy

EDITED BY PETER MCKENNA



UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

Toronto Buffalo London

© University of Toronto Press 2012
Toronto Buffalo London
www.utppublishing.com
Printed in Canada

ISBN 978-1-4426-4206-5 (cloth)

ISBN 978-1-4426-1108-5 (paper)



Printed on acid-free, 100% post-consumer recycled paper with
vegetable-based inks.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Canada looks South : in search of an Americas policy / edited by
Peter McKenna.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4426-4206-5 (bound). – ISBN 978-1-4426-1108-5 (pbk.)

1. Canada – Foreign relations – Latin America. 2. Latin America –
Foreign relations – Canada. I. McKenna, Peter, 1961–

FC244.L3C353 2012 327.7108 C2012-904969-7

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian
Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, through the Awards to
Scholarly Publications Program, using funds provided by the Social
Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

University of Toronto Press acknowledges the financial assistance to its
publishing program of the Canada Council for the Arts and the Ontario
Arts Council.



Canada Council
for the Arts

Conseil des Arts
du Canada



ONTARIO ARTS COUNCIL
CONSEIL DES ARTS DE L'ONTARIO

University of Toronto Press acknowledges the financial support of the
Government of Canada through the Canada Book Fund for its publishing
activities.

CANADA LOOKS SOUTH

In Search of an Americas Policy

Recent events in the Western hemisphere have led to a dramatic shift in the strategic and political importance of Latin America. But with relations still cool between the United States and Cuba, and Venezuela becoming more distant every day, there is considerable potential for Canada – with its long-standing commitment to constructive engagement – to forge mutually beneficial relations with these nations as well as rising industrial and economic players such as Mexico and Brazil.

In *Canada Looks South*, experts on foreign policy in Canada and Central America provide a timely exploration of Canada's growing role in the Americas and the most pressing issues of the region. Starting with the historical scope of the bilateral relationship, the volume goes on to cover such subjects as trade engagement, democratization, and security. As current and future Canadian governments embrace expanding linkages with this region, this collection fills a significant gap in scholarship on Canadian-Latin American relations.

PETER MCKENNA is professor and chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of Prince Edward Island.

For Aline and Jessica

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the University of Toronto Press, especially Daniel Quinlan, for believing in this project from the beginning and for offering kind support along the way. The copy editor also merits considerable credit for improving the style and presentation of the work. Any errors of commission or omission rest entirely with myself. Each of the contributors deserves high praise and thanks for responding positively and patiently to my many emails. A huge thank-you to John Kirk, my long-time friend and mentor, for being the gifted life teacher that he is. A special note of gratitude to my colleagues and friends at the University of Prince Edward Island (UPEI), who have provided me with a wonderful working environment. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to acknowledge my family for their unstinting love and support. Without them, I would not be able to do the kind of work that I love to do.

Preface

As a full-fledged member of the Organization of American States (OAS) since 1990, Canada cannot simply insulate itself from significant developments in this hemisphere (witness the 2009 coup in Honduras, Mexico's bloody drug war, or Cuba's internal political and economic status). Official Ottawa will invariably be called upon to respond in some fashion. In fact, other countries in the region look to Canada and want to hear what it has to say about the region's most pressing issues and challenges. But if our voice is to be heard, our presence felt, and our influence exercised, Canada's actions have to speak louder than its flowery words. To do that, though, the Canadian government needs to muster up the requisite political will and resources (including bureaucratic support), to learn from past experiences, to grasp the essence of key issues and core bilateral relationships, and to craft a comprehensive and coherent Americas policy. The insights that are contained within this collection of essays will certainly be indispensable in this regard.

Fifty years ago, the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean were largely an afterthought for Canadian governments and policy makers. Rights-abusing military regimes, stagnating and closed economies, abject poverty, and growing indebtedness confined them to the margins of Canada's external relations. Indeed, Canadian foreign service officers once dreaded being assigned to an inter-American desk or bureau position and studiously avoided diplomatic postings to the region itself. All of that has changed considerably in the intervening years. To be sure, Canada has once again rediscovered the Americas in the 2000s as a core plank in the conduct of Canadian foreign policy.

Not surprisingly, then, the idea for this book has been rattling around in my mind for several years now. I still vividly recall, when he was

discussing a crucial part of Canada's newly minted Latin American strategy in 1989, former secretary of state for external affairs Joe Clark saying that 'Canada's joining of the OAS represents not so much a decision to become a member of an organization as it does a decision to become a partner in this hemisphere. For too long, Canadians have seen this hemisphere as our house; it is now time to make it our home.'¹ Two weeks earlier, former prime minister Brian Mulroney, at a meeting of hemispheric leaders in Costa Rica – where he formally announced Canada's decision to finally join the hemisphere's principal political forum – argued that 'hemispheric cooperation is integral to Canada's interests and the OAS holds the key to that cooperation. Canada's presence here today signals a new departure in our relations with Latin America. We recognize that our interests are directly engaged here. We will no longer stand apart.'² Ever since Canada took its long-empty seat at the OAS in January 1990, there has been a real need for a comprehensive assessment of Canada's relationship with the Americas. Some twenty years later, this would seem to be an opportune time to do so.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper's pledge to make hemispheric affairs 'a critical international priority for our country' has made the need for careful reflection more palpable.³ As Harper's former chief spokesperson, Dimitri Soudas, remarked in July 2009: 'Our government is strengthening its development assistance programs in the Americas because this is our neighbourhood, where we have significant interests and the ability and influence to make a difference. Our assistance is helping to build the basis for sustainable prosperity and security and strengthening democracy and the rule of law.'⁴ The governing Harper Conservatives have obviously borrowed from the party's past focus on the region, but it appears to be proceeding in the absence of a clear Americas vision for going forward.⁵ Part of Harper's tepid approach to the Americas could have been a function of his tenuous minority government situation. But with his garnering of a majority government in May 2011, his government would be well advised to continue to sharpen its focus on cultivating, broadening, and deepening its engagement in the region within an all-encompassing strategy and policy menu.⁶ To the surprise of some, Harper did not take the opportunity at the VI Summit of the Americas in Cartagena, Colombia in mid-April 2012 to reconfigure and relaunch his Americas gambit, by spelling out specific policy priorities, initiatives, and spending commitments.⁷

Of course, Canada's involvement with Latin America and the Caribbean did not begin with Brian Mulroney or Stephen Harper. As the

so-called 'Gringos from the Far North,' as historian Jack Ogelsby once aptly described Canadians, we have had an on-again, off-again relationship with the inter-American community.⁸ In fact, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau singled out Latin America as a key region in his 1970 foreign policy review document *Foreign Policy for Canadians*. Always actively searching for counterweights to the preponderance of U.S. power, Trudeau sought to diversify our political and commercial relations (in the manner of the Third Option) with the major players in the hemisphere. Additionally, former prime minister Jean Chrétien made the Americas a central part of his government's foreign policy thrust. Not only did Canada host a series of major hemispheric conferences (including the April 2001 Summit of the Americas in Quebec City), meetings, and sporting events, but Chrétien also brought his patented 'Team Canada' trade missions to Latin America and the Caribbean.

The media in Canada periodically cover, though often in a cursory nature, sundry developments with an inter-American twist.⁹ We hear about a military-backed coup in Honduras, efforts to reintegrate Cuba into the OAS, Colombia's disturbing human rights record, and the imposition of visa requirements on Mexican citizens. (What we hear less about is the fact that Canada has had a long-standing requirement for visitors' visas for all of the countries of South and Central America.) But there is only fleeting coverage of the growing saliency of the Americas to Canada's external relations, the \$150 billion worth of Canadian investment in the area (three times what Canadians invest in Asia, making it the region's third-largest investor), our increasing trade ties (where Canada is pursuing bilateral trade deals with a number of countries in the region), and the fact that Latin Americans make up one of the largest groups of new immigrants to this country (11 per cent).¹⁰ Accordingly, very few Canadians, especially since the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993, have ever bothered to look beyond Mexico.

Thankfully, that is now changing – and, indeed, it must change as the twenty-first century unfolds. In terms of two-way trade alone, the overall tally has jumped from \$11.5 billion in 1997 to a whopping \$51 billion in 2010 – dramatically increasing by more than 50 per cent over the last five years alone.¹¹ (In terms of official development assistance, Canada earmarked some \$492 million to the Americas in 2007–8.)¹² Canadians need to wake up to the reality that their future is inextricably tied to Latin America and the Caribbean.¹³ The Chinese have obviously realized this, as they have significantly enhanced their presence throughout

the Americas. Ottawa can ill-afford to sit idly by while other countries (including the U.S.) seek to deepen their footprint in the hemisphere. It is hoped, then, that this volume will serve as a call-to-action and a sort of policy handbook and roadmap for Canadians within and without government. It will certainly be instructive for the governing Conservatives (and any future governing party) as they move forward under a majority government.¹⁴

To begin, though, it is not exactly clear why the Stephen Harper government sought to broaden and deepen Canada's relationship with the Americas in 2006–7.¹⁵ Harper himself had said precious little over his political career about foreign affairs, let alone anything specifically involving the Americas. It is also very doubtful that public opinion in Canada pushed the governing Conservatives to embrace the Americas.¹⁶ Granted, there had been some noise emanating from civil society about revitalizing our interest in Latin America and the Caribbean, but they were not particularly loud voices.¹⁷ Moreover, there was a feeling among some in the 'attentive public' that Canada stood a real chance of playing an influential role in the region.¹⁸ Paul Heinbecker, Canada's former ambassador to the UN, speculated that it had something to do with the incoming Harper Conservatives wanting to clearly differentiate themselves from previous Liberal governments: 'The reasoning process did not appear to be much more complicated than a determination that, if the Liberals "did" Africa, the Conservatives would "do" Latin America,' he argued.¹⁹ But according to long-time Latin America hand John Graham, the initial foundation for constructing an Americas strategy had been in place before the Conservatives came into office in early 2006 – as contained in a letter by the transition team to incoming foreign affairs minister Peter MacKay.

At first glance, there is always the possibility – though incontrovertible evidence is sparse – that the George W. Bush White House put the Americas bug in Harper's ear for their own reasons. The argument goes something like this: since Bush had mostly neglected Latin America throughout his entire first administration, he hoped that Harper's renewed engagement in the Americas would help to smooth things over with the region's disgruntled political leaders. But according to a WikiLeaks cable dated 15 April 2009, issued by a political counsellor at the U.S. embassy in Ottawa after discussing the matter with Canada's then director general for Latin America and the Caribbean James Lambert, Harper's focus on the region came out of extensive talks with former Australian prime minister John Howard, a close confidante of

Harper's. As the leaked cable explains: 'Harper had long been favorably impressed by Australia's ability to exert outsized influence with the U.S. in particular – and other powers as well – by emphasizing its relations in its own neighborhood, observed Lambert, who added that PM Harper hoped to gain similar benefits for Canada by increased attention to Latin America and the Caribbean.'²⁰ It could also have had something to do with a carry-over from the previous Conservative government of Brian Mulroney – who, after all, had brought Canada into the OAS in 1990 – and who at one time had the ear of Prime Minister Harper.²¹ Latin America and the Caribbean would also provide something else for the government to talk about, and thus additional foreign policy cover, should things go terribly wrong in war-torn Afghanistan.

It is equally plausible to understand Harper's Americas thrust primarily within the context of investment and trade promotion and diversification (as the string of free trade pacts with various countries would seem to confirm).²² While it is true that two-way trade is not huge by any measurement, it is growing, and future projections for growth are encouraging. This is particularly true in the case of Canada's mining footprint in Latin America, where hundreds of Canadian companies ply their trade (and where the value of their investment tops \$57 billion).²³ And as Yasmine Shamsie and Ricardo Grinspun point out: 'Given that many of these companies are based in western Canada, where the Harper government draws its strongest support, it is not a stretch to suggest that it is attending to the interests of this corporate constituency.'²⁴

If it is not already clear in official Ottawa why Latin America should be a core focus of Canadian foreign policy, it is hoped that the contents of this book will clarify things significantly. Indeed, the overarching thrust of this collection is to examine in detail the growing and deepening Canadian links with the southern hemisphere (where some 4 million Canadians visited in 2007). However, there is no one theoretical model or perspective that connects the various chapters into a single tapestry, as it brings together a diverse collection of scholars. As is often the case in edited volumes, each contributor has incorporated his or her own particular theoretical analysis. There is no attempt, then, to break new theoretical ground in the study of Canadian foreign policy toward the Americas. The major intellectual challenge here was to provide greater understanding and context of hemispheric affairs, to single out important political actors and opinion makers, and to offer insightful analysis and explanation of the major policy drivers or determinants

that will shape and inform future policy-making decisions toward the region. To be sure, there is an effort here not only to make general policy recommendations for the present Conservative government, and future governments, to do something with respect to Latin America and the Caribbean, but for it to do something very specific from a policy-making standpoint.

This book first seeks to paint the broad strokes of Canada's past and present relationship with the Americas. It then moves on to examine some of the key overarching issues for the Canadian government – namely, trade promotion, democratization, and hemispheric security. That discussion is followed by several individual case studies on Canada's various bilateral relationships throughout the region as a whole (space limitations do not permit an in-depth investigation of every country in the hemisphere). The book concludes with some general observations about the state of Canadian/inter-American affairs and restates some of the key policy recommendations for fashioning a comprehensive Americas policy.

There is little doubt that Canada's future economic, political, and security objectives are in play in the Americas – especially since it is our geographic home and the place where many of our core foreign policy interests are directly affected.²⁵ Moreover, Canada has a tremendous opportunity, as a leading member of the OAS, to really 'punch above its weight' in the Americas. And there is no better time to do so as U.S. president Barack Obama – who visited the region in March 2011 – moves to position the United States in a more favourable light in the hemisphere. After all, we have many natural advantages that are simply not available to the U.S. (including no historical baggage of intervention and a general perception of having no hidden agenda), and this puts us in an enviable position to capitalize on strengthening our hemispheric linkages. (It is also true that Canada's enhanced role in the Americas could pay important diplomatic dividends in Washington as well.)²⁶ But to do so effectively and prudently, politicians and policy makers in Ottawa need to craft a well-thought-out plan of action or strategy. It is my hope that this book will go some way toward accomplishing that crucial policy objective.

NOTES

- 1 Government of Canada, 'Notes for Remarks by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, The Right Honourable Joe Clark, at the Meeting of the

- Council of the Organization of American States,' *Statement*, 13 November 1989, 1.
- 2 Office of the Prime Minister, 'Notes for an Address by The Right Honourable Brian Mulroney – Meeting of Hemispheric Leaders,' 27 October 1989, 5.
- 3 As the chair of the June 2010 G8 meeting in Huntsville, Ontario, Prime Minister Harper took it upon himself to invite three leaders from the Americas for 'outreach sessions': Bruce Golding from Jamaica, René Préval from Haiti, and Álvaro Uribe from Colombia. See Campbell Clark, "'Outreach" invitees share Harper's foreign policies,' *Globe and Mail*, 14 June 2010, A8. Further emblematic of Canada's increased activity in the Americas was a busy August 2009 for the Conservative government – with Prime Minister Harper visiting both Mexico and Panama, then international trade minister Stockwell Day undertaking a trade mission to Brazil and Ecuador, and minister of state for the Americas Peter Kent participating in high-level OAS delegations to Honduras. Following the April 2009 Summit of the Americas meeting in Trinidad and Tobago, the Harper government promulgated its approach to the Americas in a single document. See Government of Canada, *Canada and the Americas: Priorities and Progress* (Ottawa: Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, 2009), 1–22. In early 2012, minister of state for foreign affairs (Americas) Diane Ablonczy visited Cuba, Peru, and Central America.
- 4 Quoted in Doug Saunders, 'Second Wave of Financial Crisis Coming, Brown Warns,' *Globe and Mail*, 8 July 2009, A1.
- 5 See Tim Harper, 'Canada's Voice Fading in the Americas,' *Toronto Star*, 21 June 2011, A7. Moreover, a late 2010 internal report by DFAIT's office of the inspector-general noted that the Conservative government's Americas strategy was poorly supported and mostly superficial. Because of a scarcity of financial resources, it was exceedingly difficult to put the elements of the strategy into place. One of the report's findings was especially pointed: 'Most Canadian embassies in the region have limited staff and resources to provide meaningful follow-up or effective support for programming, resulting in a threat of decreased credibility rather than increased visibility for Canada.' Quoted in Jennifer Ditchburn, 'Harper's Americas Strategy Falling Short: Internal Review,' *Waterloo Region Record*, 17 March 2011, A12. There was also news in May 2011 that Canada's main think tank on relations with the Americas – the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL) – was on the brink of closure in the absence of federal government funding. As one FOCAL research fellow commented: 'If you look at the funding that the Asia Pacific Foundation gets, there's just no comparison even though Latin America represents a far greater proportion of Canadian trade and investment that Asia does. They should

be doubling, tripling, quadrupling their budget. It shows a great deal of nearsightedness.' Jennifer Ditchburn, 'Funding Squeeze Threatens Think-Tank,' *Chronicle Herald*, 30 May 2011, C4. It subsequently closed its doors for good in September 2011.

- 6 His August 2011 visit to the region – which included stops in Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, and Honduras – was a good start. The long-awaited visit to Brazil was especially important, and the prime minister should be commended for this move (even if it was four or five years late in coming). But it will not amount to much if it is not followed up by a deep and sustained political commitment to the Americas as a whole – and not just those countries with which we have negotiated comprehensive free trade pacts. As one (magazine) editorial in Canada pointed out: 'And yet there is a specific slant to Canada's engagement in the region. The overarching themes are democracy and free trade. In the prime minister's view, the two go hand-in-hand and those countries he has visited before or will be visiting this time around either agree with the ideal or – in the case of the Caribbean Community – have been encouraged to do so. The flipside is that those countries that don't embrace such ideals are ignored or viewed with more than a little animosity.' 'Real Americas Engagement,' editorial, *Embassy Magazine*, 10 August 2011, 6.
- 7 See Jennifer Ditchburn, 'PM to Unveil New Plan to Re-engage Americas,' *Chronicle Herald*, 23 March 2012, A12, and Mark Kennedy, 'Division on Cuba Ends Summit of Americas on Frosty Note,' *Ottawa Citizen*, 16 April 2012, A1.
- 8 See J.C.M. Ogelsby, *Gringos from the Far North: Essays in the History of Canadian-Latin American Relations 1866–1968* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976), and Stephen J. Randall, 'Canadian Policy and the Development of Latin America,' in Norman Hillmer and Garth Stevenson (eds.), *Foremost Nation: Canadian Foreign Policy and a Changing World* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 202–29.
- 9 In May 2011, Canada's national newspaper, the *Globe and Mail*, ran a three-part series on Canada's expanding linkages with Latin America under its 'Our Time to Lead' frame. In a front-page editorial, it went on to observe: 'Yet our government's attention to Mexico and the region is fitful, and Canadians' deeper understanding of Mexico (beyond its beaches) is lacking.' 'The Canadian Quotient: On the World Stage and at Home,' editorial, *Globe and Mail*, 24 May 2011, A1.
- 10 From a voluntary donor standpoint, Ottawa earmarked some \$525 million to the OAS and other hemispheric partners, placing Canada at the top overall for 2008, just ahead of the United States. See John Graham, 'Can-

- dian Policy in the Americas: Between Rhetoric and Reality – A Needless Distance,’ in Fen Osler Hampson and Paul Heinbecker (eds.), *Canada among Nations 2009–2010: As Others See Us* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), 103–12. See also Jonathan Manthorpe, ‘Latin America Rivals Asia as Canadian Partner,’ *Vancouver Sun*, 30 May 2011, C10.
- 11 See Brian Morton, ‘Trade with the Americas up 50 Per Cent in Five Years,’ *Vancouver Sun*, 27 May 2011, C2.
- 12 Government of Canada, *Canada’s Engagement in the Americas* (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2011), 2. Canada has an extensive network of people-to-people contacts with the Americas, including some eighty academic agreements between Canadian universities and colleges and their counterparts in the wider region.
- 13 For a sharply differing view, see Jean Daudelin, ‘Canada and the Americas: A Time for Modesty,’ *Behind the Headlines* 64, no. 3 (May 2007): 1–28.
- 14 In a May 2011 address to the Forum on Canada-Latin American Relations, minister of state for foreign affairs (Americas and consular affairs) Diane Ablonczy indicated that the Harper government still considered the region a key priority and that it would be working harder to sharpen its focus on the Americas. ‘The Americas is a region where we have extensive ties, where we can and do make a difference,’ she said. See Morton, ‘Trade with the Americas.’ However, Ablonczy failed to re-emphasize Canada’s commitment to the Americas at her first OAS General Assembly in El Salvador in early June 2011 (and the Harper government neglected to mention its Americas focus in its June 2011 Throne Speech). On a more positive note, PM Harper did manage to undertake an official visit to Costa Rica in early August 2011 (and made a quick one-day visit to Chile after the April 2012 Summit of the Americas in Colombia ended).
- 15 From previous interviews with interested observers, it is known that then foreign affairs minister Peter MacKay was canvassing widely in the summer of 2006 on whether Canada should strengthen its ties with the region. But if we know anything about the Harper government after more than six years in office, it is that nothing happens from a policy-making standpoint without Stephen Harper himself wielding the pen and paper. To the Conservative government’s credit, Harper reintroduced the staffing position of an assistant deputy minister for the Americas to shepherd through Canada’s Americas strategy. To offer assistance, there has also been a reshuffling of other staffing elements, but no additional personnel resources.
- 16 According to a March 2011 Leger Marketing survey, 49 per cent of Canadians believed that Latin America was important to Canada, while 42 per cent viewed it as ‘not too important’ or ‘not at all important.’ Victor

- Armony and Jack Jedwab, 'Canadians Largely Indifferent to Latin America and the Caribbean,' *FOCALPoint* 10, no. 6 (July–August 2011): 3.
- 17 One should not discount the impact of bureaucratic elements within the government itself – especially the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade – pushing for a greater Canadian presence in the Americas. This kind of pressure emanating from the bureaucracy was certainly present in Canada's decision to join the OAS in 1990 and the Mulroney's government's subsequent focus on Latin America and the Caribbean. See Peter McKenna, 'Canada Joins the OAS: Anatomy of a Decision,' in Jacques Zylberberg and Francois Demers (eds.), *America in the Americas* (Laval: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992), 253–69, and McKenna, 'Canada's Policy toward Latin America: A Statist Interpretation,' *International Journal* 49, no. 4 (Autumn 1994): 929–53.
 - 18 Graham, 'Canadian Policy in the Americas,' 105.
 - 19 Paul Heinbecker, *Getting Back in the Game: A Foreign Policy Playbook for Canada* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2010), 197.
 - 20 WikiLeaks, 'Viewing cable 09OTTAWA291, Canada and the Americas' (released 11 July 2011), 1.
 - 21 One should remember that Mulroney's finance minister, Michael Wilson, was also Harper's top diplomat in Washington. On this point, see Les Whittington, 'PM Sees Payoff in Adding Americas to Foreign Agenda,' *Toronto Star*, 22 June 2007, A14. In addition, Derek Burney, who headed Harper's transition team, was at one time Mulroney's chief of staff.
 - 22 See Thomas Walkom, 'PM's Interest in Latin America Easily Explained,' *Toronto Star*, 26 July 2007, A10.
 - 23 See Karyn Keenan, 'Canadian Mining: Still Unaccountable,' *NACLA Report on the Americas* (May/June 2010), 30, and Liisa L. North, 'Bad Neighbours,' *Canadian Dimension* 45, no. 1 (January/February 2011): 19–23.
 - 24 See Yasmine Shamsie and Ricardo Grinspun, 'Missed Opportunity: Canada's Re-engagement with Latin America and the Caribbean,' *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 35, no. 69 (Summer 2010): 186.
 - 25 By way of illustration, Canada now has some sixty-eight trade commissioners for Latin America and only twenty-five for the entire African continent. See Campbell Clark, 'Africa Sets Its Eyes on a Brighter Future, but Canada's Vision Is as Murky as Ever,' *Globe and Mail*, 12 May 2010, A1.
 - 26 Former Canadian diplomat Colin Robertson makes this same point in his piece, 'Embracing the Americas, Starting with Mexico,' *Policy Options* (May 2011): 40–4.

Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Preface xi

- 1 Introduction: Canada and the Americas: There's Still Much to Discover 3

JAMES ROCHLIN

- 2 The Most Challenging of Links? Canada and Inter-American Security 27

HAL KLEPAK

- 3 Canada's Trade Engagement with the Americas: Swimming with or against the Tide? 58

RICARDO GRINSPUN AND JENNIFER MILLS

- 4 Canada and the Democratic Charter: Lessons from the Coup in Honduras 87

MAXWELL A. CAMERON AND JASON TOCKMAN

- 5 Canada-Mexico Relations: Moving beyond 65 Years of Stunted Growth 117

DUNCAN WOOD

- 6 Through Sun and Ice: Canada, Cuba, and Fifty Years of 'Normal' Relations 149

PETER MCKENNA AND JOHN M. KIRK