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**Chapter Nine:**

**The Antigonish Movement of Canada and Latin America:**

**Catholic Co-operatives, Christian Communities, and Transnational Development in the Great Depression and the Cold War**

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Throughout Latin America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Catholics drew inspiration from political and social movements, as well as philosophical inquiries, from the rest of the Catholic world. Latin American Catholic activists sought to implement these foreign practices, while at the same time adapting them and improvising changes that would make more sense in the local context. One of the most successful examples of this transnational interchange and adaptation occurred between Latin American Catholic activists and a little known but highly influential social movement in the Catholic Scots-Irish region of eastern Nova Scotia.

Initiated by priest-professors associated with St. Francis Xavier University in the town of Antigonish, N.S., the Antigonish Movement took form in the 1920s and 1930s. The most well-known of the organizers were Moses Coady and Jimmy Tompkins, who, of local origin themselves, sought to address the economic problems of this rural region of subsistence farmers, poor fishermen, and miners. Working through the university’s Extension Department, Fathers Tompkins and Coady encouraged people to form study groups to analyze the causes of their poverty and devise their own solutions.

By the late 1930s, more than 1,300 study groups existed in Nova Scotia. Study club members pooled their resources to form credit unions and then co-operative lobster factories, fish plants, co-operative stores, housing co-ops, etc. Thus, informal, practical, and participatory adult education gave rise to an important co-operative movement. Moses Coady articulated the movement’s analysis of the root causes of poverty: the capitalist system had stripped common people of the control of resources and production, while their precarious economic situation was the result of exploitation by merchants and large corporations from Central Canada.

A grass-roots movement to promote economic action, the Antigonish Movement aimed to generate an alternative, co-operative economic system in which people would directly control and benefit from the productive process, resulting in economic and political democracy and “a full and abundant life” for all. It emphasized community solidarity, direct participation, local leadership, and self-determination. This was a kind of egalitarian, holistic vision of development to meet basic community needs and, beyond this, to enrich the social and spiritual life of community members by fostering dignity, trust, confidence in collective action, and, ultimately, realization of the potential of all individuals.[[1]](#footnote-1)

Father Moses Coady called for structural change—a fundamental reform initiated from below that would result in a network of community-based institutions created, owned and operated by the people themselves. By 1938-39, participants were optimistic that this vision, which Coady called “The Big Picture,” would be realized: 21,000 adults in eastern Canada were involved in study groups and 60,000 in the credit union movement, which was giving rise to consumer, agrarian, and other co-operatives.[[2]](#footnote-2)

By the mid-1930s, the Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia had begun to attract wide attention from other parts of Canada and the United States as well as internationally. Newspaper and magazine articles appeared; the Carnegie Foundation and the U.S. National Catholic Welfare Conference sponsored a lecture tour by Coady through the United States; Popes Pius XI and Pius XII commended the work of the Antigonish Movement; and, in 1949, the United Nations invited Father Coady to address a plenary session of the U.N. Economic and Social Council.[[3]](#footnote-3) People from many countries of the global South wrote to the Extension Department, and scores came to visit, to tour the communities of eastern Nova Scotia, and to learn the Antigonish Movement’s strategies and methods.[[4]](#footnote-4) In the 1940s, offshoots of the Movement began in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and, in the 1950s, in Mexico. This chapter charts the transnational trajectory of the Antigonish Movement in Latin America, revealing its dramatic success in building a large network of Catholic development projects throughout the region before the Second Vatican Council.

**Religious Foundations of the Antigonish Movement**

The religious foundations of this movement were rich and complex. The Antigonish Movement drew on many precedents: the principles of the nineteenth century British Rochdale co-operatives; the Danish folk schools for adult education; Quebec’s *caisses populaires*; Roy Bergengren’s credit union work in the US; and mutualism, Christian socialism and the social Catholicism of *Rerum novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo anno* (1931). Indeed, theologian Gregory Baum has called the Antigonish Movement “the most original and the most daring response of Canadian Catholics to the social injustices during the Depression.”[[5]](#footnote-5)

In addition, the Antigonish Movement drew on the Catholic principle of “subsidiarity” expressed in these papal social encyclicals. Subsidiarity in Catholic social teaching is the principle that, if a small community can govern itself well and solve its own problems, this should be valued and it should be allowed to do so without unnecessary interference from higher powers. Originating in a vision of the self-regulating social order of medieval times, this is a Catholic principle of decentralization. Australian co-operator Race Matthews finds this vision in the British Distributist current of Catholic social thought, which, as expressed by G.K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc in the 1910s and 1920s, called for widespread ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange as the foundation for a just social order that would counter the problems of dire poverty and inequality generated by the Industrial Revolution. Matthews sees – both in the political theory of British Distributism, as well as in the visions and realizations of the Antigonish Movement and the Mondragon co-operatives of Spain – a melding of Catholic social teaching and the associative and communitarian strands of socialism that criticized both state centralization and unfettered capitalism.[[6]](#footnote-6)

In many parts of the world, co-operatives, as a form of labor organization, came out of anarchist and socialist initiatives. Yet the emphasis on co-operatives is also an important Catholic thread of social thought and practice that is associated with the Catholic social encyclicals, religious responses to the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the Catholic search for a “third way,” neither free-market capitalism nor state socialism.

Despite the theological and religious thought implicit in the Antigonish Movement, those involved in Canada talked little of religion, the sacraments, or conversion. From the beginning, the Antigonish Movement was ecumenical, in that people of any faith could join study groups and co-operatives, and several Protestant ministers were active collaborators. It should be noted, though, that the decades in which the Movement spread internationally (1940s-1960s) were the decades that North American Catholic missionaries were beginning to go to Latin America in large numbers. Whereas Canada had been designated a “mission territory” by the Vatican until the early twentieth century, in the 1920s, the Scarboro Foreign Mission Society in Ontario and many orders in Quebec (as well as the Maryknolls in the United States) took form. In the 1920s and 1930s, most went to China, but in the 1940s as they were expelled from China, they turned toward Latin America.[[7]](#footnote-7)

**Early Latin American Networks**

The story of how the Antigonish Movement went into the Caribbean and Mexico in the 1940s and 1950s demonstrates four variants in the pathways of transmission and the reverberations of an adult education and co-operative movement born in Canada. In Jamaica, just after the labor riots of 1938, the United Fruit Company funded a group of young intellectuals and activists to address problems of social welfare in the rural areas. Seeking ideas abroad, they sent one person to Europe and another, Ed Burke, to Nova Scotia. There, Burke studied the Antigonish Movement for eight months and then enthusiastically returned home to start up rural study clubs and co-operatives through an organization called “Jamaica Welfare.”

Meanwhile a Jesuit priest from Boston, John Peter Sullivan, who taught for decades at St. George College in Kingston, also drew on the Antigonish model to create the Sodality Credit Union movement. Both Ed Burke and John Peter Sullivan corresponded for years with Moses Coady in Antigonish, often requesting that materials written for study groups in Nova Scotia be sent to them for use in Jamaica. The Jamaica Welfare movement was one significant element in creating among Jamaicans the confidence for self-rule and to break with British colonialism. Jamaica Welfare brought brown experts and activists from the city into collaboration with black peasants and workers, helping to create a sense of commonality and the nationalist conviction that the Jamaican people could solve their own problems.[[8]](#footnote-8) Later, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of St. Francis Xavier University’s Extension Department in 1978, prominent visitors from the global South would say that the Antigonish Movement’s emphasis on the ability of people to mobilize themselves and be self-determining in economic development was especially important to countries that were approaching or had just attained independence.[[9]](#footnote-9) Jamaica was one of these.

Meanwhile, in 1945, the Universidad de Puerto Rico invited Moses Coady to lecture on co-operatives in its summer session. Because he was too busy, Coady asked another priest-professor from St. Francis Xavier University, Joseph A. MacDonald, to go instead. MacDonald taught a two-month course to a select group of mature graduate students from the Land Authority, the Agricultural Extension Service, and other ministries who, it seems, were very taken with the Antigonish approach to community development and soon thereafter started a non-Church related co-operative movement with government support. Father Joe MacDonald returned to Puerto Rico almost yearly from 1945 through the 1950s to work with co-operators there, and in 1963 he was living in San Juan in a retirement home. MacDonald is regarded as the founder of the Puerto Rican co-operative movement that, while it never comprised more than two or three per cent of the island`s economy, became a vector by which the ideas of Antigonish spread to other parts of South America, since it sent many leaders to work in other Latin American countries.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Whereas Jamaica Welfare and the Puerto Rican co-operatives had no religious affiliation, the Canadian missionary channel through which the Antigonish Movement was introduced into the Dominican Republic gave rise to a Catholic National Federation of Co-operatives, which functioned for a decade during the dictatorship of General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo. In the late 1930s, due to the acute scarcity of Dominican clergy, the Archbishop of the D.R. sought to attract Canadian missionaries. By the early 1940s, one third of all parish priests in the Dominican Republic were Canadian: Scarboros from Ontario administered 13 parishes in the south and Pères Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur from Quebec City oversaw 13 parishes in the north.

In the late 1940s, Scarboro missionaries, many of whom were born and raised in Nova Scotia, initiated a co-operative movement in their rural parishes based on the Antigonish model. This garnered the collaboration of the Quebecers in the north, Salesians, and Spanish Jesuits. By 1953 activist Scarboro Harvey “Pablo” Steele founded the Dominican Federation of Cooperatives with more than 10,000 members and funding from the Trujillo government, which was courting the Dominican Catholic Church. According to the U.S. embassy, the Canadian-founded co-operative movement was the only popular movement allowed to exist during Trujillo`s time.

By 1958, though, Trujillo turned against Steele and expelled him from the country. Father Steele then raised funds in Chicago to found the Instituto Cooperativo Interamericano (ICI) in Panama City in the 1960s, which became a center for training community leaders from all over Latin America in the management of co-operatives and other approaches to local development. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Steele corresponded regularly with St. Francis Xavier University; at one point, he sought formal affiliation for his Institute with the Extension Department in Antigonish, indicating that the Panama Institute was its Latin American equivalent that made accessible the ideas of Antigonish to Spanish-speakers. Trujillo nearly destroyed the Dominican co-operative movement in the final years of his rule, but the Federación Dominicana de Cooperativas revived some in the 1960s, and remained associated with the Catholic Church. For this reason it was not eligible for funds from the Dominican or Canadian governments, but Catholic students from Quebec who volunteered in the parishes of the Pères du Sacré-Coeur created a NGO (“Plan Nagua”) that channelled Canadian government funds to Dominican co-operatives. The Dominican Federation of Cooperatives continues to exist today, as do “Plan Nagua” and the ICI.[[11]](#footnote-11)

The Mexican connection with the Antigonish Movement began in 1949-50, when two priests (Carlos Talavera and Manuel Velásquez Hernández, both of whom worked in the Archdiocesan Social Pastoral program of Mexico City) went to Nova Scotia to study the Antigonish Movement. Soon thereafter they both became central figures in the Social Secretariat, which, as Stephen Andes vividly describes, revived social action in the Mexican Catholic Church, building on the earlier ideas of Father Alfredo Méndez Medina, who, in the 1930s, had called for trade unions and co-operatives.[[12]](#footnote-12) Their efforts gave rise to the first credit union, founded in October 1951 in a working-class *barrio* of Mexico City, and then to a credit union movement that coalesced in the Confederación Mexicana de Cajas Populares, which by 1963 had 474 affiliated groups with 32,000 members in 25 Mexican states.[[13]](#footnote-13)

By the late 1940s and early 1950s, several hundred foreigners were flocking each year to Antigonish, seeking to study the adult education and co-operative movements. These included Fathers Talavera and Velásquez from Mexico, several priests from Chile, and Brazilian Teresita Teixeira Mendes, who, in the 1950s, founded the Credit Union Federation of Rio de Janeiro, and others.[[14]](#footnote-14) The Antigonish Movement’s organizers in the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University informally accommodated these people – and many more from Asia and Africa – by starting up social leadership classes and offering additional short courses and field study during this time, when there was as yet no school for foreign students.

According to Santo Dodaro and Leonard Pluta, the unanticipated interest manifested by people from all over the world taxed the human and material resources of the Antigonish Movement. It also pushed the Antigonish Movement to define its philosophy and goals in universalistic terms, whereas it previously had focused solely on regional issues.[[15]](#footnote-15) As early as 1939, Moses Coady indicated his interest in creating a “people’s research institute” that would welcome people from all over the world to study “The Antigonish Way”, learn from each other, and return home to combat poverty and inequality in their home communities.[[16]](#footnote-16) By the late 1940s, there was more talk of this, and St. Francis Xavier University created a group in Boston called “Friends of Antigonish” to raise money in the United States for an international institute. A letter was sent to Joseph Kennedy, who suggested that his son John serve on the Board instead. Although John F. Kennedy apparently attended few board meetings, he was clearly aware of the existence of Antigonish.[[17]](#footnote-17)

**The “Development Decade”**

Around 1959-1961 a sea change occurred. This change had multiple facets, some connected to shifting priorities within the Catholic Church and the U.S. and Canadian governments, and some relating to a generational shift in the Antigonish Movement. With the Cuban Revolution of 1959, the Cold War centered on East-West rivalry over Latin America and Cuba intensified. At the encouragement of Pope John XXIII, thousands of Catholic clergy from the United States, Canada and Europe headed to Latin America.[[18]](#footnote-18) At the same time, the U.S. and Canadian governments focused on development: indeed the 1960s was called “the Development Decade” with the implementation of the Alliance for Progress (launched by John F. Kennedy in 1961), and the foundation of USAID, the U.S. Peace Corps, and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).[[19]](#footnote-19) What was going on in Antigonish, and how did these major events affect relations between the Antigonish Movement and Latin America? By 1960, most of the founders of the Antigonish Movement, including Moses Coady, had died, and socio-economic and political changes in eastern Canada were undermining the vitality of the Movement, whose heyday had been the 1930s, 1940s and into the 1950s. Whereas co-operatives continued to grow, by the 1950s the study groups were in decline; an interventionist Canadian government was taking on the welfare functions that local communities had previously provided; and St. Francis Xavier University was stepping back from community involvement. By the 1960s, the Antigonish Movement, underfunded and in disarray, had lost its original vision and had little sense of direction. Instead the directors of the Extension Department dedicated themselves to social scientific research on ¨development¨ projects defined and funded by government agencies.[[20]](#footnote-20)

Precisely in the 1959-61 period, Moses Coady’s dream of an international people`s school came to fruition. In 1959 St. Francis Xavier University established the Coady International Institute as the international arm of the Antigonish Movement. To do so, it had received a $200,000 grant from the Bishop of Boston, as well as the support of U.S. Msgr. Luigi Ligutti, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO).[[21]](#footnote-21) Sociologist and educator Father Frank Smyth, previously head of the Social Action Department of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, became its first director.

Over the next two decades, more than 2,000 students from 100 countries would study at the Coady Institute in Antigonish; most completed the eight-month diploma course in Social Leadership and others did the summer certificate course. The students, mostly mature men and women, included Christians, Hindus, Buddhists and atheists; parish priests and nuns from Latin America, Asia and Africa; North American and European clergy who were headed to the “Third World”; and lay community activists from the global South and the North. Together, they studied the vision, history and techniques of the Antigonish Movement, co-operative organization, social leadership, adult education, and community development, and each wrote a thesis that related the Antigonish Movement to his or her home context.[[22]](#footnote-22)

After graduates returned home or went to their assigned parishes in the Third World, the Coady Institute tried to maintain close contact with them through frequent correspondence, visits of Coady staff, and, by the early 1970s, regional workshops that brought graduates together to share ideas and experiences and to advise the staff on what programs might be further developed in Latin America. Experts on co-operatives from the Coady Institute were much in demand, by governments as well as Catholic bishops in Third World countries.

By the early 1960s, there was a definite Latin American focus to the Coady Institute. Peter Nearing explains how the impulse that finally led to the establishment of the Institute stemmed from Pope John XXIII’s determination to promote aid and cooperation between the Churches of North and South America.[[23]](#footnote-23) In the first years, about half of the students at the Coady Institute were Latin Americans. The language difficulty was addressed by having Scarboro missionary priests who had spent years in the Dominican Republic give language courses and translate correspondence and study materials.

**A Growing Focus on Latin America**

In the 1960s and 1970s, the intensified interaction of the Antigonish Movement (that is, the Coady Institute) with Latin America is clear in the Institute`s records, which include correspondence (including requests for information and materials), reports of study visits and workshops held in Latin America, meetings with former students in their home countries, and the theses the students wrote, which sometimes shed amazing light on social processes in the dioceses or communities from which they came.

As noted above, in the 1960s and 1970s the work of St. Francis Xavier University’s Extension Department veered toward a social-science oriented and government-promoted concept of development. But in the Coady Institute, the activist social Catholicism that in Latin America both precedes and leads into the period of Liberation Theology kept alive the earlier vision of the Antigonish Movement. This Antigonish-inflected Catholic social activism played out in some areas of Latin America through the efforts of Latin American and foreign clergy and lay activists on the ground and through international networks.

What is fascinating to explore here is how the Antigonish Movement fed into two related but quite different concepts of “what should be done” in Latin America of the 1960s and 1970s – one associated with ‘community development’ along Alliance for Progress lines and the other with Christian base communities as understood by Liberation Theology. From the archives of the Coady Institute, it is possible to explore how the Antigonish Movement took different forms and meanings in different places.

First, I concentrate on the Antigonish Movement and the ‘development’ stream. In the 1940s, there was a concern with community development both internationally and in the U.S.[[24]](#footnote-24) Father Coady was invited to speak to the United Nations and also to the U.S. State Department. At the same time, the Canadian government took an early interest in the Antigonish Movement. According to Michel Dupuy, president of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in 1978:

In the early ‘50s, the Economic and Technical Assistance Branch of the Department of Trade and Commerce commissioned the Extension Department of St.F.X. to train Canadian experts about to go overseas. At the same time, increasing numbers of developing countries, recognizing the contribution ‘The Antigonish Way’ could make to their own development processes, sent their young development leaders to St. F.X. for training in credit unions, cooperative and leadership techniques. Many of them were sponsored by the Federal Government through scholarships. This active Federal Government support was largely responsible for the University’s decision in 1959 to establish an International Institute… When CIDA’s predecessor, the External Aid Office, was formed in 1960, th[e] relationship with Coady continued, as it has over the ten years of CIDA’s existence.[[25]](#footnote-25)

CIDA viewed the Coady Institute as an NGO. Foreign students at the Coady Institute were funded by Canada’s External Aid Office, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, the Colombo Plan, the ILO, UNESCO, the Knights of Columbus, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Anglican Church of Canada, the international development agency of the West German Catholic Church (MISEREOR) and missionary groups from Latin America, Asia and Africa.[[26]](#footnote-26)

In certain regions, such as the Caribbean West Indies, which became independent nations in the 1960s, the Training Resources Division of CIDA and the Coady Institute collaborated closely in making credit unions and co-operatives an important aspect of a new Caribbean Regional Development Agency. By 1970, 150 graduates of the Coady Institute were working in government ministries and with government-sponsored credit unions and co-operatives in the former British Caribbean, and CIDA funded a Coady staff member to evaluate co-operatives that the Antigonish Movement had had a hand in creating and CIDA was supporting there. [[27]](#footnote-27)

Meanwhile, in Peru, the Canadian ambassador asked in 1960 to put on a “Canada week” for students at the newly reopened University of San Cristobal de Huamanga in Ayacucho. During the week, he devoted two days to the Antigonish Movement, and then pressured Canada’s government to fund a professor from Antigonish to give a course there. As the University’s new Rector argued, the problems of poor farmers in highland Peru were similar to those of the Canadian Maritime provinces in the 1930s.[[28]](#footnote-28)

Concurrently, under the Alliance for Progress in the early 1960s, the U.S. government, through USAID, strongly supported the creation of co-operatives as a way of forging a peaceful revolution of self-help, participation, community cohesion and economic betterment that would win the hearts and minds of poor people away from violent Communist paths to redistribution. The Alliance for Progress tied the concept of economic development to social reform and political democracy.[[29]](#footnote-29) In 1962-63, the Alliance for Progress promoted the signing of agreements between USAID, Latin American governments, and the Credit Union National Association (CUNA, based in Madison, Wisconsin) to create Co-operative Departments within Latin American government ministries and co-operative training institutes in the various countries.[[30]](#footnote-30) USAID convened and financed the first Conference of Latin American Credit Unions in Lima (Peru) in 1963, which a representative from Antigonish attended; USAID promoted the formation of a Co-operative Department within the Dominican government of Juan Bosch; and, in the early 1960s, the U.S. agency paid the Puerto Rican co-operative movement to train Peace Corps volunteers to work with exiled Cuban youth.[[31]](#footnote-31) The U.S. seems to have viewed co-operatives as a reformist “third way” between state-run communism and laissez-faire capitalism in these years.[[32]](#footnote-32)

**Early Interactions with Liberation Theology**

Whereas, during the Cold War, the Canadian and, to a certain extent, the U.S. governments drew on the Antigonish Movement for certain ideas and practices related to community development, in these same years the Antigonish Movement contributed to Christian social movements associated with the rise of Liberation Theology in several areas of Latin America. Tracing the Christian social action thread of the Antigonish Movement in Latin America sheds light on how one progressive stream of Catholicism in Canada prior to Vatican II continued and evolved in Latin America as Canadian, U.S. and Latin American Catholic clergy and lay people sought to put into practice the new theology of liberation.

The study groups of the Antigonish Movement of the 1930s and 1940s had much in common with Paulo Freire’s later approach to adult education as *conscientización* and empowerment. Indeed both may have come out of the pedagogical method of Specialized Catholic Action, known as *Revisión de vida* (“See-Judge-Act”), begun by Belgian Father Joseph Cardijn and spread into Latin America by Cardijn himself and Belgian, French and Quebecois missionaries in the 1930s-50s.[[33]](#footnote-33)

Also, in the Antigonish Movement’s concern with the economic dimension of social and spiritual life, the creation of strong, participatory communities that would analyze everyday problems and act to improve the lives of the poor, and the promotion of lay leadership and lay action, Moses Coady’s vision had much in common with the Christian base communities that began to take form in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s as Liberation Theology in action. Father Coady’s critique of unbridled capitalism and his insight into economic dependency also resonated with progressive Catholic analyses of the Vatican II period. So there are continuities between certain progressive threads in pre-Vatican II Catholicism and the changes that came with Vatican II and the Medellin Latin American Bishops’ Conference of 1968.[[34]](#footnote-34)

In the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s in some areas of Latin America, clergy who had studied at Antigonish and/or Catholic clergy from Canada and the U.S. who had spent time at the Coady Institute before going to Latin America created co-operatives on the Antigonish model that fed into innovative social movements pushing for socio-economic and political transformation. Quite often areas where such a Catholic co-operative movement had taken root were the same places where Christian base communities and other grass-roots popular organizations proliferated in the 1960s and 1970s. These areas included Maranhao in Northeast Brazil; the dioceses of Veraguas in Panama and Santiago in the Dominican Republic; Honduras; the western highlands of Guatemala; the dioceses of Riobamba and Ibarra in Ecuador; and Mérida and Barquisimeto in Andean Venezuela. I briefly trace the stories of these areas here. In seeking to distinguish patterns, I pay particular attention to the coincidence of co-operatives on the Antigonish model and the emergence of Christian base communities, as well as the Antigonish connections of a number of progressive Latin American bishops who, sociologist Christian Smith maintains, were crucial to the Liberation Theology movement in Latin America.[[35]](#footnote-35) Also, important was the role played by missionaries and the financial support tendered by USAID, as well as by international Church organizations such as the German MISEREOR.

*Maranhao*

Maranhao, part of the Northeast of Brazil and the “legal Amazon,” was the site of some of the first ecclesial base communities in Brazil, which was the pioneer in Latin America.[[36]](#footnote-36) Yves Carrier’s detailed study of the Quebec missionary Gérard Cambron’s experience in Brazil from 1958 to 1960 and his collaboration with the progressive bishop and auxilary bishop of Maranhao, José Delgado and Antonio Fragoso, illuminates how one Canadian missionary was transformed by his experience of Latin America and how co-operatives on the Antigonish model (and the Quebec model as well) informed his thought on how to address poverty and inequality and create vital rural lay Catholic communities. Antigonish priest Peter Nearing served in Maranhao at the same time; the bishop sought to bring other experts in co-operatives from Nova Scotia. In the 1970s, Cambron became an important advisor to Christian base communities throughout Brazil: Dom Fragoso called him “the father of the base communities.”[[37]](#footnote-37) As will be seen, tracing Cambron’s subsequent missionary trajectory through Honduras and Mexico in the 1960s helps to make sense of multiple links between Antigonish and diverse progressive threads in Latin American Catholicism at the time.

*Honduras*

In Honduras, Quebec missionary priests (the Pères des Missions Etrangères (p.m.é.), the Quebec equivalent of the Maryknolls in the U.S.) administered the whole bishopric of Choluteca (1955-present), and the Conference of Canadian Bishops in 1960 established and ran the Seminario Mayor N.S. de Suyapa in Tegucigalpa to train priests from throughout Central America. Father Gérard Cambron was called from Brazil to head the Seminary. As rector from 1960 to 1965, he wrote to the Coady Institute about his ideas on development (by stimulating the emergence of local lay leaders from peasant and poor urban communities). In the early 1960s, responding in part to a request from Cambron, the diocese of Antigonish sent several local priests, who had studied co-operative methods at the Coady Institute, to Honduras to develop co-ops all over the country. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Honduras gave rise to a dynamic Christian rural social movement that spearheaded the most important Central American peasant land reclamation movement of the twentieth century. The Quebec Pères des Missions Etrangères strongly supported this movement; as a result, the Honduran Congress threatened them with expulsion. The Quebec priests also spearheaded the formation of Christian base communities, animated by lay “*Delegados de la Palabra de Dios,”* and of adult education by radio on the Colombian model of Radio Sutatenza. [[38]](#footnote-38)

Father Alexander McKinnon, one of the socially involved Antigonish clergymen who spent ten years as a Catholic missionary in Honduras, became the main staff member at the Coady International Institute in charge of the Latin American program from the 1970s to the early 1990s. His identification and social engagement with Central and South America, as well as his fluency in Spanish, were essential to maintaining the ties with Latin American co-operative movements during these decades. So, although the Antigonish Movement in Latin America was not a missionary program in that it was not a “faith-based” organization and did not try to spread the Catholic religion or formal church institutions, missionary knowledge and informal social and communication networks played an essential role in the Antigonish Movement’s taking root in specific regions of Latin America.[[39]](#footnote-39)

*Mexico*

In Mexico, the Catholic Church as a whole was not known to be particularly progressive, but the Social Secretariat and the credit union movement remained vital in the 1960s and 1970s. In the early 1960s, Father Carlos Talavera was corresponding regularly with the director of the Coady International Institute; indeed in the first years of the Coady Institute, teachers there relied on Spanish-language pamphlets and training booklets from the Mexican Federation of Credit Unions to train students from Latin America.[[40]](#footnote-40) A detailed account from 1963, authored by a visitor to Mexico from the Coady Institute, indicated that the Federation was now autonomous but in close contact with the Social Secretariat of the Mexican Catholic Church, and Carlos Talavera remained an important adviser. [[41]](#footnote-41) Father Manuel Velásquez participated in the Medellin Bishops’ Conference of 1968 and the Mexican Social Secretariat subsequently espoused the conclusions of 1968; it was admonished by the Church hierarchy in the 1980s, Stephen Andes suggests, for its “horizontal and immanentist vision” and for “placing too much emphasis on social and economic ministries at the expense of spiritual concerns.”[[42]](#footnote-42) The credit union movement initiated by Fathers Talavera and Velásquez remained strong throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In 1987 the Confederación invited the Coady Institute to co-sponsor a workshop in the city of Puebla on “The Antigonish Movement” in order to convey to younger field workers and educational directors the origins and values of the credit union movement, which emphasized member education and solidarity and which at this time had over 210,000 members in nearly 190 *cajas populares*.[[43]](#footnote-43)

The connections of Antigonish to progressive Catholicism in Latin America in the 1960s also had an educational dimension: the archives at St. Francis Xavier University contain the correspondence of Father Ivan Illich with the director of the Coady Institute, at the time that Illich was trying to create the Center of Intercultural Formation (later CIDOC) in Cuernavaca, Mexico. The two men perceived an affinity between their projects, as evidenced in their informal and mutually supportive exchange of letters. Illich sent Father Smyth the full prospectus for his Center, and Smyth told an acquaintance that clergy and lay volunteers from Antigonish who went to CIDOC for language and intercultural training before heading to Latin America received an especially warm welcome. A visitor from the Coady Institute to CIDOC in 1963 noted:

I found much in common with our ideas….it might be a good idea for a group of Institutes like ourselves and themselves to collaborate in producing a handbook for the lay person or priest going to do work in a foreign country.. This would not merely state what was to be done, but would be backed up by Theological reasoning as well. .. Cuernavaca is to have a group of priests and laymen who will do research into the problems that are facing the church in Latin America, and concern themselves with producing a philosophy of action to bring about a solution…[[44]](#footnote-44)

While he was rector of the Seminary in Honduras, Msgr. Gérard Cambron collaborated with Ivan Illich in conceptualizing and setting up CIDOC, and he taught there now and again until 1965 when he headed back to Brazil to set up the Centro de Formacão Intercultural (CENFI) in Petrópolis, near Rio de Janeiro, that in collaboration with Ivan Illich would fulfill a similar role to CIDOC in preparing foreign missionaries planning to serve in Brazil.[[45]](#footnote-45) Msgr. Cambron headed CENFI for five years and then returned to working with base communities, setting up a co-ordinating body to allow Christian base communities throughout Brazil to communicate and learn from one another’s experiences.

*Panama*

Panama is known as one of the early areas in which the practices of Liberation Theology were worked out in Central America – in the San Miguelito *barrio* in Panama City through the innovations of clergy from Chicago who had ministered to Mexican immigrants there, and in the rural area of Veraguas where Héctor Gallego, a young priest who arrived from Colombia in 1967, built a Catholic popular movement of producer and consumer co-operatives and Bible study groups that antagonized the local landowning elite. Kidnapped and murdered in 1971, Gallego is renowned in Central America as the first martyr of the Liberation Theology period.[[46]](#footnote-46)

The seeds of the Christian social movement of Veraguas associated with Father Gallego were sown in the early 1960s when several priests from Panama studied at the Coady Institute: two (Alejandro Vásquez Pinto and Osvaldo Rodríguez) established the first co-operatives in Veraguas, while a third (Oscar Monteza) became head of the Panamanian government’s recently founded Department of Co-operatives, connected to the agrarian reform initiative there stimulated by the Alliance for Progress. Father Marcos G. McGrath, who in 1964 was appointed the first Bishop of the newly created Diocese of Santiago de Veraguas and later brought Héctor Gallego from Colombia, strongly encouraged social action. He established the social action center “Juan XXIII” in 1963 with funding from MISEREOR and USAID where co-operative leaders were formed, invited Harvey Steele to teach a course, and, in 1966, sent two schoolteachers from Veraguas to study in Nova Scotia at the Coady Institute.[[47]](#footnote-47)

According to Penny Lernoux, through co-operatives, peasants began to think critically about their situation, lay leaders emerged, people participated more actively in community affairs as they began to think that, through their own efforts, they could change things.[[48]](#footnote-48) The LADOC “Keyhole” series presents the Christian co-operatives and peasant communities of Veraguas as among the earliest ecclesial base communities in Latin America. Of the co-operatives, Father Gallego said, “We are trying to stress the communitarian aspect of work – basically we are forming a community. … Our chief accomplishments are to break with the class that has dominated … and to create a new sense of confidence and communitarian spirit.”[[49]](#footnote-49)

Indeed, in 1968, peasants of Veraguas for the first time refused to vote for the *cacique*, and consumer co-operatives threatened the economic interests of local landlords and middlemen. The disappearance of Father Gallego in 1971 created a national crisis for the president of Panama, General Omar Torrijos, and the Panamanian Catholic church, but it did not end the movement. The Veraguas peasant co-operatives continue vital today.[[50]](#footnote-50) Some see them as a solidary, sustainable alternative to the contemporary economic development model centered on foreign mining investment.

*Dominican Republic*

As in Panama, in the Dominican Republic too, areas where Antigonish-inspired co-operatives were strong gave rise to the first Christian base communities. In the northern parishes run by the Quebecois Pères du Sacré-Coeur, a Canadian-initiated co-operative movement had spread in the 1940s and 1950s, as described above. In 1967 the Bishop of Santiago Roque Adames, supported by the Quebecois priests, created the first Dominican ecclesial base communities in this region, headed by lay leaders known as “*presidentes de asamblea,*” which were a model for other countries. [[51]](#footnote-51)

*Guatemala*

For an understanding of the Church-promoted co-operative movement in the western indigenous highlands, Susan Fitzpatrick-Behren’s essay in this volume, and her forthcoming book, are key. Here, I merely wish to indicate that close connections existed between Antigonish and the Christian social movement that took root among Mayan peasants in Guatemala in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1962-64, a committed Spanish missionary from Galicia and several socially-minded Guatemalan lay people studied at the Coady Institute, as did some U.S. Maryknoll nuns and priests over the years. The theses that the young Spaniard and Guatemalans wrote in Spanish, deposited in this small town in Nova Scotia, shed compelling light on the ideas, practices and organizations of an important Christian social movement in its infancy as Guatemalans began to take an active role.

Theses from the Coady Institute’s “Social Leadership” program authored by Luis Gurriarán López, the Spanish parish priest of Sta. Cruz del Quiché (1963) and by Oscar Humberto Enríquez Guerra of Quetzaltenango (1964) are particularly substantive and passionate. An important promoter of the co-operative movement in Guatemala, Gurriarán sent community activists from Sololá and northern Quiché to study at Antigonish in the late 1960s and 1970s, while Enríquez Guerra founded and for many years directed the co-operative training center, C.A.P.S. (Centro de Adiestramiento de Promotores Sociales) at the Catholic Universidad Rafael Landivar in Guatemala City. Both Gurriarán López and Enriquez Guerra remained in close touch with the Coady Institute, and Enríquez returned to Antigonish to teach once or twice in the summer program. In association with C.A.P.S., Father Alex McKinnon flew down from Antigonish to give workshops on co-operatives to catechists and local community leaders from all over the country during the 1970s and the 1980s, the years of violence.[[52]](#footnote-52) Fitzpatrick-Behrens’ forthcoming book dealing with the Guatemalan Catholic co-operative movement shows how it became increasingly important economically, radical, and independent of the government over time and how, in the 1980s, the Guatemalan military particularly targeted local co-op leaders as subversives.[[53]](#footnote-53)

*Ecuador*

Like Guatemala, Ecuador is a country with a large rural indigenous population. At the same time that USAID and the Ecuadorian government were creating an official, government-sponsored credit union and co-operative program[[54]](#footnote-54), the bishops of Riobamba and Ibarra and a number of activist local priests with a Coady staff member as adviser, plunged into co-operatives as a Church-sponsored social program. In Ecuador the 1960s was a period of important agrarian reform and rural development initiatives spearheaded by the Alliance for Progress and Plan Andino, the Ecuadorian government, and the Catholic Church through the initiative of a few progressive bishops, the most well-known of whom was Leonidas Proaño Villalba of Riobamba, who later became a significant figure in the Liberation Theology movement.[[55]](#footnote-55) When the Ecuadorian government passed its agrarian reform law, bishops in the provinces of Chimborazo (diocese of Riobamba), Azuay, Imbabura (diocese of Ibarra) and Pinchincha carried out their own land distribution, subdividing more than 40,000 acres of Church-owned haciendas and encouraging peasant land recipients to form co-operatives. In 1961-62 MISEREOR funded five Ecuadorians to study at the Coady International Institute: these included the Diocesan Pastoral Secretaries of Riobamba and Ambato, the Program Director of the newly formed Church Centro de Estudios y Acción Social (CEAS) in Riobamba[[56]](#footnote-56), the Director of Co-operatives of the Diocese of Carchi, and the Director of Education of the Federación de Cooperativas de Ahorro y Crédito (FECOAC), an organization created in 1962 by the Church and supported by the Alliance for Progress (Punto IV), CUNA International, and the Peace Corps to bring together credit unions promoted by CARITAS-Ecuador and Catholic Relief Services.[[57]](#footnote-57)

Meanwhile in May 1961 Kevin LeMorvan, a young British layman who had studied at St. Francis Xavier University, was sponsored by CARITAS Ecuador and Catholic Relief Services to go to Ecuador to write instructional booklets and offer courses on co-operatives, especially in the northern diocese of Ibarra where a peasant training institute had just been created, and also in Quito. In 1961-62, in his letters back to the Coady Institute, LeMorvan spoke positively of co-operatives as a brake on communism and of the possibilities of obtaining funding from the Alliance for Progress and the ILO to underwrite the Ecuadorian co-operative movement.[[58]](#footnote-58)

Characteristic of the 1960s in Ecuador, enthusiasm for co-operatives was especially strong in the Sierra, whereas on the coast the Church was less influential and labor unions more important. However, co-operatives met some resistance from indigenous beneficiaries of land reform, and around 1970 CEAS in Riobamba moved on to other approaches, specifically Freirian-type popular education. Bishop Proaño began to promote radio school broadcasts in Quechua on the Colombian Radio Sutatenza model, lay catechists, and Christian base communities. Anthropologist Barry Lyons describes an emphasis on forming indigenous community leaders and promoting community authority and indigenous solidarity.[[59]](#footnote-59) Yet Giuseppina Da Ros indicates that in the 1970s progressive Ecuadorian bishops emphasized the formation of co-operatives, and, in her field study of Catholic social experiments around 1980, Penny Lernoux says she found 120 co-operatives in the diocese of Riobamba; she writes that co-operatives are one manifestation of “*organizaciones de base*,” one form of community organization, popular action and the education of people.[[60]](#footnote-60)

*Venezuela*

Finally we come to Venezuela where, like Guatemala, a major co-operative movement took form, spearheaded by graduates of St. Francis Xavier University. In 1958 a Venezuelan priest from Falcón state, José Elias Thielen, went to study at Antigonish and was enthused by what he saw. Father Thielen launched the first Catholic co-operative pilot project in Paraguaná peninsula (Falcón) in 1960 and then, in 1963, with financial support from the Venezuelan Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock and the Ministry of Labor, established an Extension Department and Center for Co-operative Studies on the Antigonish model in the Faculty of Economics at Universidad de los Andes in Mérida.[[61]](#footnote-61) Kevin LeMorvan became Assistant Director in 1963, and continued working in Mérida for more than twenty years. Thielen translated Moses Coady’s seminal book *Masters of their Own Destiny* into Spanish; published in Argentina in 1964, it was distributed in Venezuela.[[62]](#footnote-62)

Father Thielen and his collaborators at the Extension Department encouraged people in many *municipios* of Mérida state to form study groups and co-operatives; his correspondence with Frank Smyth in Antigonish and several theses at the Coady Institute authored by Venezuelan priests who worked with Father Thielen in the early 1960s indicate that the co-operative movement in western Venezuela, supported by the Alliance for Progress, took on momentum quickly.[[63]](#footnote-63) Father Thielen and Kevin LeMorvan maintained close relations with the Coady Institute: in the 1970s and 1980s, LeMorvan, sponsored by the Coady Institute, took short trips from his base in Venezuela throughout Latin America with Father Alex MacKinnon to give workshops on co-operativism, popular adult education, and community development; and, in the summer of 1971, Thielen returned to the Coady Institute to teach in a seven-week summer social leadership course in Spanish coordinated by LeMorvan.[[64]](#footnote-64)

In 1963-64, Father José Luis Echeverria and two other young Jesuit priests, associates of Father Thielen, studied for eight months at the Coady Institute; together they wrote an illuminating thesis on the fledgling Venezuelan co-operative movement and how they intended to apply their understanding of the Antigonish Movement back home.[[65]](#footnote-65) The Venezuelans were particularly taken with the adult education focus of the Antigonish Movement, and the idea that universities must “serve the people” in promoting the emergence of local lay leaders in rural communities.

On returning to Venezuela, one of the Jesuits, Ricardo Silguero, worked with and, in 1972, became director of “Radio Occidente,” a radio station established by the Archdiocese of Merida in 1961 on the model of Colombia’s Radio Sutatenza – discussed in Mary Roldan’s chapter in this volume – to be the “base of a process of *campesino* literacy and training.”[[66]](#footnote-66) Meanwhile Father José Luis Echeverria, with several other Jesuits, chose in 1964 to settle in Barquisimeto in the state of Lara, a central place in the Andes with a Jesuit high school and a Bishop interested in social action, where they hoped to have an impact that would radiate out to the six surrounding states. These priests, who called themselves “los sociales”, began to form co-operatives in the *barrios* of Barquisimeto and then in the countryside. In 1968 they affiliated with the Jesuit Centro Gumilla in Caracas and were henceforth known as Centro Gumilla-Barquisimeto, an independent Jesuit organization that from 1964 until 2006 was dedicated to creating co-operatives that encouraged local people to come together to define their own problems and act on them, learning along the way to analyze their social realities, articulate their needs, and take action to improve their economic situation.[[67]](#footnote-67)

In the early 1960s, the Jiménez Pérez dictatorship was over, Venezuela experienced a political opening and the Democratic Action government, in conjunction with the Alliance for Progress, espoused agrarian reform. Like in Ecuador, the government promoted co-operatives for recipients of agrarian reform land, but the government program was bureaucratic and top-down. Meanwhile, the state of Lara experienced heightened social tensions; a guerrilla movement was active there. It was the Jesuit-promoted co-operatives that took root: they had a mobilizing, participatory, grass-roots social vision. Daniel Levine’s rich study *Popular Voices in Latin American Catholicism* (1992) singles out Barquisimeto as a place where, in the 1970s and 1980s, active, self-determining, participatory Catholic groups and movements took form, relatively autonomous of the church hierarchy, and he provides concrete insight into how changes in beliefs (consciousness), practices and organization associated with local co-operatives and practical adult education fed into popular Catholicism that became, in this place, a social movement.[[68]](#footnote-68) In 1967 the co-operatives of Lara created a federation – CECOSESOLA (Central Cooperativo de Servicios Sociales de Lara) – that is considered Venezuela’s most successful co-operative among those created before Hugo Chávez came to power. Today the federation comprises a network of 80 agricultural, consumer, transport, health care, and funerary co-operatives and credit unions with 200,000 members. Articles celebrating CECOSESOLA’s fiftieth anniversary point to Lara’s co-operative movement as having given rise to a culture of cooperation and participation unique in Venezuela.[[69]](#footnote-69)

**Conclusion**

I have focused here on an important Catholic social action movement that came out of the Catholic rural and mining region of eastern Nova Scotia just prior to and during the Great Depression, and eventually spread across the breadth of Latin America.[[70]](#footnote-70) The Antigonish Movement modelled endogenous, self-determining, holistic, grass-roots development through popular education and community self-help. Observers in the 1970s called this human or integral development. The vision was of a Christian social order based on wide distribution of property and the common good – a moral economy promoting justice, equality, local leadership, and respect for the capacity of common people. Critical both of free market capitalism and state-centred socialism, the Antigonish Movement called for structural transformation: it was a kind of utopian vision -- partially realized in Nova Scotia in the 1930s and 1940s -- of an egalitarian, just economic brotherhood, with leaders who emerged from local study groups to articulate the concerns of their neighbors and were responsible to them.[[71]](#footnote-71) It should be noted that conditions in Nova Scotia in the 1920s-30s were, in some ways, similar to Latin America at mid-century: primary producers exploited by middlemen and foreign corporations, and rural communities sapped by poverty and out-migration.

In the years after World War II, the U.S. government, the British Colonial Office, the United Nations and other national and international organizations espoused co-operatives as an aspect of local development and as a possible bulwark against communism.[[72]](#footnote-72) At the same time, large numbers of North American Catholic missionaries began to work in Latin America, and the Antigonish Movement became widely known, its influence spreading in the U.S., the Caribbean and Mexico. How this happened varied from place to place: Catholic and secular networks intermeshed in complex ways. In training development workers and forging connections with Latin American governments and experts, the Canadian and U.S. governments and international organizations drew on the knowledge and extensive contacts of Catholic organizations and missionaries. This was particularly obvious during the 1960s.[[73]](#footnote-73)

The Antigonish Movement and the Coady International Institute were not a Catholic missionary enterprise, yet the close ties of Canadian and other foreign missionaries with Latin America and the years they spent living in rural communities and in close contact with Latin American lay people and clergy there shaped their world views and their ideas about social and economic change. Many who spent time in Central America, Brazil, and some other parts of South America became more radical, including Quebecers who came from a conservative church back home.[[74]](#footnote-74) Various socially-minded missionaries (and former missionaries, such as Father Alexander McKinnon) played crucial roles in linking the Antigonish Movement to specific areas of Latin America and providing the linguistic and practical know-how in adult consciousness-raising education, the training of community leaders and organization of co-operatives to build close, ongoing, interactive relationships with people in Latin America.

The transfer of the Antigonish Movement to Latin America was not imposed by North Americans on the South. Indeed, Latin Americans through their own initiative, or that of Church or secular organizations in their countries, came to study what was going on in eastern Nova Scotia before the creation of the Coady Institute, and many more arrived in the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, scores of community activists from Central America and later South America studied at the Instituto Cooperativo Interamericano, established by Scarboro Harvey Steele in Panama City to give monolingual Spanish-speakers access to the Antigonish approach. Many of the initiators of the Catholic social co-operative movements that really took off -- those of Mexico, Guatemala and Venezuela – were local priests who studied at and were inspired by Antigonish and then returned home to do grass-roots organizing.

Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens has argued that Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal was in some ways influenced by Catholic thinking[[75]](#footnote-75); so, it seems, was John F. Kennedy’s Alliance for Progress, which drew on the New Deal and on reformist ideas coming out of Jucelino Kubitschek’s Brazil, the Christian Democratic party of Chile, and also perhaps Antigonish (recall that J.F. Kennedy was on the board of the Friends of Antigonish in the 1950s). The Alliance for Progress was for macro-planning, yet it also had a strong community development aspect and promoted co-operatives, particularly in areas of agrarian reform. During this time the U.S. and Canadian governments drew on the networks and practice of Catholic organizations and clergy to initiate co-operative programs in collaboration with Latin American ministries, programs that in the end were generally not successful because they were implemented in a bureaucratic, top-down manner.[[76]](#footnote-76) They did not include the mobilizing, grass roots educational dimension characteristic of the Antigonish Movement or of Radio Sutatenza.[[77]](#footnote-77) In contrast co-operatives promoted by progressive Bishops and local priests were much more likely to be viable in the long run and even turn into social movements because priest- organizers were known and trusted in their communities and had the education, outside contacts and access to resources to bring social action programs to life.[[78]](#footnote-78) In the early 1960s, clergy and church-initiated organizations – even progressive ones -- often welcomed financial support from the Alliance for Progress/USAID and the help of Peace Corps volunteers, and some (for example the Mérida and Barquisimeto Jesuits in Venezuela) began to train government employees from the Latin American ministries that implemented co-operative projects.

In this paper I have contrasted government ideas about the utility of co-operatives during the Cold War with the social movements that emerged out of progressive Catholicism in some parts of Latin America during the 1960s, the period when Liberation Theology was taking form. Yet perhaps these perspectives deserve, rather, to be brought into dialogue with each other around the issue of what “community” and what “development” meant to different groups and people during the 1960s (and 1940s and 1950s), and how these relate to co-operatives.

Co-operatives are an important part of working class history, yet, in contrast to labor unions, they have been little studied.[[79]](#footnote-79) The Canadian and the U.S. governments had development and also strategic (anti-communist) concerns in supporting the formation of credit unions and co-operatives during the Cold War and – to an extent— in supporting the expansion of the Antigonish Movement overseas. Yet progressive thinkers within the Catholic church, both in the so-called developed world and in the global South, were also concerned with development in the 1950s and 1960s; they drew on what the social sciences had to offer; and they wrestled with what “human” or “integral” or “social” development should mean, as opposed to crass economic materialism or consumerism.[[80]](#footnote-80) It is said that Gustavo Gutiérrez had thought of calling his path-breaking book ‘A Theology of Development’, but he instead chose “A Theology of Liberation” because he espoused a humanistic approach that emphasized that the poor must be self-determining and self-reliant; that they themselves must act from the grass-roots to solve their problems and church people should accompany them in this. In specific local contexts, within the larger context of the Cold War, these various approaches intermeshed and clashed in various ways and took different political and spiritual turns.

In his study of the Quebec missionary Gérard Cambron in Latin America, Yves Carrier puts forth the idea that the late 1950s and 1960s were a time of transition in some regions of Latin America between a traditional Church, in which Church institutions and the sacraments were primary, toward the decentralized, lay, base communities that connected spirituality to socio-economic and political transformation in the here and now. He suggests that an emphasis on co-operatives in Latin America and on missionary engagement with Latin American realities through intercultural training, exemplified by Ivan Illich’s CIDOC in Mexico and CENFI in Brazil, were characteristic of this transitional time.[[81]](#footnote-81) I concur with Carrier; in this paper I have endeavored to show how co-operatives in the conception and practice of the Antigonish Movement were embryonic Christian base communities that, in some areas of Latin America, generated a proliferation of activist, grass-roots, lay groups and popular initiatives imbued with a temporal spirituality of active citizenship, mutuality, and social justice. Father José Luis Echeverria of “los sociales” of Barquisimeto wrote in 1963 that, whereas the Venezuelan co-operative movement drew its ideas and practices from CUNA International and from Antigonish, the Antigonish Movement was particularly motivating because of its “mística” and “filosofía social”. By the 1960s, though study groups had died out in Nova Scotia and field stays in local communities were no longer part of the Coady Institute’s training, the history of the Antigonish Movement continued to be inspiring. Eastern Nova Scotia and the Antigonish Movement of the 1930s-1950s had become a myth, a utopian Catholic vision of lay activism and the good socio-economic order that informed some early expressions of Liberation Theology in Latin America.[[82]](#footnote-82) In some places studied in this chapter where co-operatives were implanted in the 1960s, ecclesial base communities proliferated in the 1970s. In other locales described above, co-operatives became social movements from which other popular organizations were offshoots.

It is worthwhile to note the number of prominent figures associated with Latin American Liberation Theology who had antecedents of ties to the Antigonish Movement. For three progressive bishops who played key roles in organizing the conferences and workshops that produced the practice of Liberation Theology, the Antigonish Movement provided one step in their larger trajectories of where they were going. These bishops were first, Manuel Larrain of Talca, Chile, who played an important role in spearheading the Christian Democratic party’s agrarian reform of the 1960s and who was an intimate of Dom Helder Camara of Brazil: together they conceived of and organized the 1968 Medellin Latin American Bishops’ Conference.[[83]](#footnote-83) The others were Marcos McGrath of Panama and Leonidas Proaño of Ecuador. All three sent young people from their countries to study at Antigonish, and Larrain and McGrath corresponded with the Coady Institute in the early 1960s. Other important progressives such as Ivan Illich and Gerard Cambron also maintained close contact with the Coady Institute.

**Afterword**

In Argentina and most cities of the Southern Cone of Latin America, the first credit unions and co-operatives were formed by European immigrant workers from Spain and Italy who brought with them European socialist and anarchist traditions. But in Mexico, Central America and the northern and Andean regions of South America, Catholic co-operativism, often connected in some way with the Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia, was of central importance in the 1940s-1970s. As this chapter indicates, many of the organizations formed in this period that began by promoting co-operatives continue to exist today.

In various places, co-operatives morphed into ”community development” with an emphasis on endogenous, self-determining human development – the social economy, the sustainable economy that values local communities and refuses to divorce the economic from environmental, social and ethical/spiritual concerns. This approach is evident in Brazil’s Landless Rural Worker’s Movement (the MST), which has Catholic roots; see too the websites of the Instituto Cooperativo Interamericano and the Coady International Institute today.[[84]](#footnote-84)

Sociologist Dario Azzellini suggests that the Catholic community activists from Mérida and Barquisimeto who, in the second half of the twentieth century, “adopted co-operation as a tool for social transformation” provided a precedent for Hugo Chávez’s vision of “Socialism for the 21st Century”. The Chávez government’s stated aim before his death was that of replacing the bourgeois state with a “communal state,” to consolidate an economy based on self-administered productive units, promoted by the state. According to Azzellini, “This strategy is oriented by a model of radical endogenous development – sustainable development based on local resources and potentials,” which Chávez supporters refer to as the “solidarity-based”, “popular” or “communal” economy. Since 2004, the Chávez government actively promoted the spread of co-operatives through the Ministry for the Popular Economy.[[85]](#footnote-85) As portrayed by Azzellini, Hugo Chávez’s objectives resonate with Moses Coady’s radical project of social and economic transformation of the 1930s that instead of maximizing individual profits according to capitalistic logic would satisfy individuals’ aspirations for full human development by working for the common good of people in communities.

Despite all this, too little attention has been paid by scholars to religion, faith and development.[[86]](#footnote-86) Further research is needed about Catholic thought and activist initiatives of the pre-Vatican II period concerning capitalism, socio-economic organization and societal transformation; the European, North America and Latin American contributions to this area of Catholic concern; and the exchanges that occurred.

1. I am deeply grateful to David Meren, Cynthia Milton, Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens, Rhonda Semple and an anonymous reviewer for stimulating comments, and to Catherine Irving of the Marie Michael Library and Kathleen MacKenzie of the St. Francis Xavier University Archives for their invaluable help in the research for this chapter.

   On the Antigonish Movement, see Moses M. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny: The Story of the Antigonish Movement of Adult Education through Economic Cooperation* (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1939); Santo Dodaro and Leonard Pluta, *The Big Picture: The Antigonish Movement of Eastern Nova Scotia (*Montreal*:* McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012); Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism: Political Thought in the Thirties and Forties*  (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co, 1980), pp. 189-211; James D. Cameron, *For the People: A History of St. Francis Xavier University* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996); Alexander F. Laidlaw, *The Man from Margaree: Writings and Teachings of M.M. Coady Educator/Reformer/Priest* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971); Anne Alexander, *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education Today* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1997); and Ian MacPherson, “Patterns in the Maritime Co-operative Movement 1900-1945,” in *One Path to Co-operative Studies: A Selection of Papers and Presentations* (Victoria, BC: New Rochdale Press, 2007), pp. 31-52. Many of the archives of the Antigonish Movement have been digitalized as the Coady-Extension Digital Collection: “Masters of their Own Destiny: The Coady Story in Canada and Across the World”: <http://coadyextension.stfx.ca>. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Dodaro and Pluta, pp. 46-48 and chapt. 3. These authors call the Antigonish Movement an economic movement because it aimed to bring about change by means other than political action. They maintain that successful grass-roots economic movements, which seek to respond to local material needs, generally build on social, cultural, moral and spiritual foundations and aspirations: see pp. 3-18. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. See Race Matthews, *Jobs of Our Own:* *Building a Stake-holder Society: Alternatives to the Market and the State* (Sydney [Australia]: Pluto Press, 1999), pp. 8, 149, 153, 164; and Alexander F. Laidlaw, *The Campus and the Community: The Global Impact of the Antigonish Movement* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1961), p. 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. In 1940, Coady wrote, “Twenty years have gone by and, without any advertising on our part, people are coming to us from all over the earth to study this program.” StFUA RG 30-3/22/139. See also Ida Delaney, *By Their Own Hands: A Fieldworker’s Account of the Antigonish Movement* (Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1985, chapt. 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Baum, p. 202. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. See Matthews, who also suggests that aspects of the thought of French theologians Jacques Maritain and Emmanuel Mounier supported this viewpoint. For connections between French and Belgian theologians and Latin America, see Olivier Compagnon, *Jacques Maritain et l’Amérique du Sud. Le modèle malgré lui* (Lille : Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2003); Yves Carrier, *Théologie pratique de libération au Chili de Salvador Allende. Guy Boulanger, Jan Caminada et l’équipe Calama, une expérience d’insertion en monde ouvrier* (Paris : L’Harmattan, 2013); and Caroline Sappia and Paul Servais, eds., *Les relations de Louvain avec l’Amérique latine. Entre évangelisation, théologie de la libération et mouvements étudiants* (Louvain-la-neuve : Académie Bruylant, 2006). Other transnational works by European historians of the Catholic Church include Florian Michel, *La pensée catholique en Amérique du Nord: Réseaux intellectuels et échanges culturels entre l’Europe, le Canada et les Etats-Unis (années 1920-1960)* (Paris : Desclée de Brouwer, 2010); Caroline Sappia and Olivier Servais, eds., *Mission et engagement politique après 1945: Afrique, Amérique Latine, Europe* (Paris : Editions Karthala, 2010); Caroline Sappia, « Le Collège pour l’Amérique latine de Louvain et son ancrage au Brésil : outil d’un projet d’Eglise, 1953-1983, » (PhD diss., Université catholique de Louvain, 2013), and, on Canada, Maurice Demers, *Connected Struggles: Catholics, Nationalists, and Transnational Relations between Mexico and Quebec, 1917-1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. See Michael J. O’Hearn, « The Political Transformation of a Religious Order, » (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1983); Catherine LeGrand, “L’axe missionnaire catholique entre le Québec et l’Amérique latine. Une exploration préliminaire,” *Globe. Revue internationale d’études québécoises*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2009), 43-66 ; Catherine LeGrand, « Les réseaux missionnaires et l’action sociale des Québécois en Amérique latine, 1945-1980 » *Etudes d’histoire religieuse*, vol. 79, no. 1 (2013), numéro spécial: “Les réseaux catholiques au Québec du XXe siècle”; and Catherine Foisy, “Des Québécois aux frontières: dialogues et affrontements culturels aux dimensions du monde. Récits missionnaires d’Asie, d’Afrique et d’Amérique latine (1945-1980) (PhD diss., Concordia University, 2012). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. On Jamaica Welfare and its connections to the Antigonish Movement, see Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens and Catherine C. LeGrand, “Canadian and U.S. Catholic Promotion of Co-operatives in Central America and the Caribbean and their Political Implications,” paper presented at Conference “Towards a Global History of Consumer Co-operation,” Swedish Labour Institute and Archive, Stockholm, 2-4 May 2012; and St. Francis Xavier University Archives [StFXUA] RG 30-3/8/340, RG 30-3/15/1249, RG 30-3/8/320, RG5/11/15454, RG 30-3/2/11744, RG 30-2/1/829. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Allan J. MacEachen (Deputy Prime Minister of Canada), “Canadian Approaches to Co-operation: The Antigonish Movement and Canada’s International Responsibilities, “ and Sir Shridath S. Ramphal (Secretary General of the Commonwealth Association), “Human Development: Defining the Problem,” in *Human Development Through Social Change: Proceedings of St. Francis Xavier University’s International Symposium Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Antigonish Movement, 1928-1978, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Canada*, ed. Philip Milner(Antigonish, NS: Formac Publishing Co, 1979), pp. 13, 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. See Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald, *Antigonish and Puerto Rico: Implementation of the Social Encyclicals* (Roosevelt, PR: Cooperative League of Puerto Rico, 1962); StFXUA, RG 30-3/8/340 and RG 50-2/3/603; and L.A. Suárez, “Cooperatives in Puerto Rico: History, Problems, Research,” *Rural Sociology* 18:3 (Sept. 1953), 226-233. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. On Harvey Steele, the Dominican co-operative movement under Trujillo, and the ICI, see Catherine C. LeGrand, “Canadian Catholic Missionary Priests in the Dominican Republic: Dictatorship, the Co-operative Movement and Cultural Adaptations, 1935-1985,” paper presented on panel “The Other Pan-Americanisms: Comparative and Transnational Studies of Canadian-Latin American Relations,” Canadian Historical Association, York University, 31 May 2006; Gary MacEoin, *Agent for Change:The Story of Pablo Steele as Told to Gary MacEoin* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973); Harvey Steele, *Winds of Change: Social Justice Through Co-operatives. Evaluation of Co-operatives in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Truro, NS: Cooperative Resources, 1986); Harvey Steele, s.f.m., *Dear Old Rebel: A Priest’s Battle for Social Justice* (Lawrencetown Beach, NS: Pottersfield Press, 1993); StFXUA, MG20/1/1916, RG 30-2/3/3450, 3454, 3456, 3459, RG30-2/175/895, RG 50-1/1/11011, 11051, RG 50-2/?/293; and www.icipanama.org. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. See Stephen J.C. Andes, “A Catholic Alternative to Revolution: The Survival of Social Catholicism in Postrevolutionary Mexico,” *The Americas* 68:4 (April 2012), 529-562. On social Catholicism in Mexico and the Mexican Social Secretariat, see also Robert Sean Mackin, “The Movement that Fell from the Sky? Secularization and the Structuring of Progressive Catholicism in Latin America, 1920s-1970s” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2005). [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. StFUA RG 50-2/10/140. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. In “The Cross-Cultural Diffusion of a Social Movement” (MS thesis, Cornell University, 1962), Desmond Maurice Connor maintains that between 1946 and 1960, 36 students from the Caribbean and 30 from Latin America came to study the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Dodaro and Pluta, chapt. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, pp. 164-166; and Cameron, pp. 332-334. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Peter A. Nearing, *He Loved the Church: The Biography of Bishop John R. MacDonald, Fifth Bishop of Antigonish* (Antigonish: Casket Printing and Publishing Co., 1975), p. 67; and Matthews, p. 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. In 1960, The Pope mandated that 1/10 of clergy in North America and Europe go work in Latin America, an important Catholic part of the world threatened by the spread of communism, Protestantism and secularism. Pope John XXIII convened the Second Vatican Council in Rome, opening the way to Liberation Theology. On the Catholic Church and the Cold War, see Piotr H. Kosicki’s chapter in *The Routledge Handbook of the Cold War*, ed. by Artemy M. Kalinovksy and Craig Daigle (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 259-271. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. The Alliance for Progress was a major aid and development program for Latin America intended to prevent the region from following Cuba into socialist revolution. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. See Dodaro and Pluta’s *The Big Picture*, the only study of the Antigonish Movement that traces long-term changes in the movement in Atlantic Canada from 1920 to 2000. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. StFXUA RG 30-3/22/99. The Coady International Institute, located at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S., formally opened in October 1961. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. See Father G.E. Topshee, “The Coady Now,” in Milner, pp. 152-156 for the curriculum. From 1960 to 1964, the Coady International Institute trained 60 Latin Americans. For lists of Latin American students in the 1960s and what they did when they went back to their home countries, see: StFXUA RG 50-2/3/150, RG 62/1/399-445, RG 30-3/22/197-199, and RG 30-3/22/ 237. The theses written by Coady graduates are in the Marie Michael Library, Coady International Institute, Antigonish, N.S. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Nearing, pp. 97-100. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. See Daniel Immerwahr, “Quests for Community: The United States, Community Development, and the World, 1935-1965” (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 2011); Nicole Sackley, “The Village as Cold War Site: Experts, Development, and the History of Rural Reconstruction,” *Journal of Global History*, 6:3 (Nov. 2011): 481-504; A. Ricardo López, “Conscripts of Democracy: The Formation of a Professional Middle Class in Bogotá during the 1950s and Early 1960s,” in *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History*, ed. A. Ricardo López and Barbara Weinstein (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), pp. 161-195; and Nathan J. Citino, “Modernization and Development,” in *The Routledge Handbook of the Cold War*, ed. by Artemy M. Kalinovsky and Craig Daigle (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 118-130. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Michel Dupuy, “Canada’s Role in Development and CIDA’s Relationship with the Coady International Institute, “ in *Human Development Through Social Change: Proceedings of St. Francis Xavier University’s International Symposium Commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Antigonish Movement, 1928-1978, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Canada*, ed. Philip Milner(Antigonish, NS: Formac Publishing Co, 1979), p. 134. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. StFXUA RG 30-3/22/271. Created in 1958, MISEREOR, the German Church equivalent to The Canadian Catholic Organization for  Development and Peace, was very involved in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s: it provided significant funding for Catholic social action and development projects. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. StFXUA RG 50-2/2/1, 3, 4, 9, 384, 423, 427. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. This is the Peruvian university that gave birth to the Sendero Luminoso guerrillas. The Canadian ambassador’s correspondence, including his description of the University of Huamanga in 1960, is in StFXUA RG50-2/3/326, 327, 337, 345, 346, 348, 360. The Canadian government did not fund the professor. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. According to Tony Smith, *America’s Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), ch. 8, the Alliance for Progress was innovative in American development thought in its wedding of the idea of Wilsonian democracy to a Rooseveltian New Deal of social and economic reform for Latin America. See also James William Park, *Latin American Underdevelopment: A History of Perspectives in the United States, 1870-1965* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), pp. 184-234. Concerned that the Latin American peasantry was ready to explode in Communist revolution (i.e. concerned about the appeal of rural guerrilla groups), the Alliance for Progress pushed for redistribution of land through agrarian reform and drew on the Chilean Christian Democratic Party’s idea that the recipients of land would benefit most by forming co-operatives that would produce stable, prosperous, cohesive rural communities. The Bishop of Talca (Chile), Manual Larrain, who was active in the Chilean agrarian reform and instrumental in forming the Latin American Bishops’ Conference (CELAM), corresponded actively with Frank Smyth of the Coady Institute in the 1960s. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. On CUNA, see Ian MacPherson, *Hands Around the Globe: A History of the International Credit Union Movement and the Role and Development of World Council of Credit Unions, Inc.*(Victoria, BC: Horsdal & Schubart Publishers and World Council of Credit Unions, 1999). [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. StFXUA RG 50-2/3/603. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. In the 1930s and after, the Antigonish Movement had been accused of having socialist leanings because of its radical critique of capitalism. The birth of a particular Canadian form of socialism in the prairie provinces during the 1930s (the CCF (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Farmer-Labour-Socialist), which became the New Democratic Party) also advocated economic co-operation, as did the conservative, corporatist government of Quebec in the 1930s. See Baum; and Gilles Routhier and Axel Maugey, *Eglise du Québec, Eglise de France: Cent ans d’histoire* (Ottawa : Novalis, 2006). Once the Cold War began, Moses Coady began to emphasize the anti-communist aspect of the co-operative movement, which is evident in his later writings (see Dodaro and Pluta; and Laidlaw, *Man from Margaree*). [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. On the progressive initiatives of Specialized Catholic Action as a lay movement and especially the J.O.C. (Juventud Obrera Católica) in Latin America, see Ana Maria Bidegain, “From Catholic Action to Liberation Theology: The Historical Process of the Laity in Latin America in the Twentieth Century,” Working paper 48, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, November 1985 [http://Kellogg.nd.edu/publications/workingpapers/WPS/048.pdf]; Ana Maria Bidegain de Urán, “La organización de movimientos de juventud de Acción Católica en América: Los casos de los obreros y universitarios en Brasil y en Colombia entre 1930 -1955” (PhD diss., Université Catholique de Louvain, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1979); and MacKin, “The Movement that Fell From the Sky?”. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. A related subject is the “theology of development” articulated by French priest Louis-Joseph Lebret, who shaped Catholic ideas about development from the 1940s to the 1960s, worked in Brazil and Colombia, and influenced the United Nations’ conceptualizations of “community development” in the mid-1950s, as well as the Papal Encyclical *Populorum progressio* of 1967 on relations between the First World and the Third World. In the late 1950s Father Lebret also talked about “base communities”. Founder of the “Economie et Humanisme” group of sociologists and theologians, Lebret influenced the Quebec missionary activist Msgr. Gérard Cambron (discussed below) and others. Also, it should be noted that Pope John XXIII’s Encyclical *Mater et magistra* (1961) explicitly advocated the formation of co-operatives. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. See “Basic Christian Communities,” LADOC Keyhole Series No. 14 (Washington, DC: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1976); Madeleine Cousineau Adriance, *Promised Land: Base Christian Communities and the Struggle for the Amazon* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995). [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Yves Carrier, *Lettre du Brésil: L’évolution de la perspective missionnaire. Relecture de l’expérience de Msgr. Gérard Cambron* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia Bruylant, 2008). Because of the development policies of the Brazilian military government, Maranhão in the 1960s and 1970s was rent by social conflict over land; this was a place where Canadian priests and nuns tended to embrace social commitment and Liberation Theology. Father Victor Asselin (d. August 2013), for example, a Quebec diocesan priest, spent more than 30 years there; he became deeply involved in land and housing struggles, co-founded (with Dom Pedro Casaldáliga and Dom Thomas Balduino) the Pastoral Land Commission of the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, and wrote an important book on land-grabbing in the Brazilian Northeast and Amazon: *Gralagem, corrupcao e violencia em terras do Carajas* (Petrópolis: Vozes de Petrópolis, 1982), 2nd ed. 2009. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Fred Burrill and Catherine C. LeGrand, “Progressive Catholicism at Home and Abroad: The ‘Double Solidarité’ of Quebec Missionaries in Honduras, 1955-1975,” in *Within and Without the Nation: Canadian History as Transnational History*, ed. Karen Dubinsky, Adele Perry and Henry Yu (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015); and Rev. John H. MacEachen, *A Chosen Few: Voluntarios* (Sydney, NS: City Printers, Ltd., 1987), on the secular priests from the diocese of Antigonish in Honduras. For Msgr. Cambron’s initiatives at the seminary in Tegucigalpa in the early 1960s and his correspondence with the director of the Coady Institute, see StFXUA RG 50-2/9/43, 102, 106, 199. In the early 1960s, the head of the Honduran government’s Department of Co-operatives was Marcial Solis, who had studied in Puerto Rico under Father Joe A. MacDonald. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. The key role that Father Alexander McKinnon played in stimulating and maintaining ties between the Coady International Institute and Latin America is evidenced in the scores of week-long workshops and consultations in Latin America with former Coady students and other co-operative leaders he carried out in more than 10 countries over a 20 year period. From the evidence of the detailed reports he wrote up on every workshop and consultation, he seems to have been constantly travelling back and forth between Nova Scotia and Latin America. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. See StFXUA, RG 50-2/10/132, 152-53. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. StFXUA RG 50-2/10/137-145, “Mexico,” report on a visit, Sept. 25-Oct. 1, 1963. On the Mexican co-operative movement in the early 1960s, see also Antonio Rodríguez Rosa, *La Revolución sin sangre: El Cooperativismo* (Mexico, D.F.: B. Costa-Amic Editor, 1964). A Mexican advertisement for this book, which surveys co-operative movements all over the world, said: “Este libro es considerado por la Confederación Nacional de Cooperativos de la República Mexicana como la Biblia del Cooperativismo y fijador del gran movimiento mundial…”. StFXUA RG 50-2/10/80. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Andes, p. 559. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Kevin LeMorvan, ed., “The Antigonish Movement, “ Report on Workshop co-sponsored by The Coady International Institute and The Confederación Mexicana de Cajas Populares, Puebla, Mexico, August 31-September 6, 1987, Marie Michael Library, Coady International Institute, Antigonish, N.S.). [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. StFXUA RG 50-2/10/145. For other letters from Illich, see RG 50-2/10/21, 45, 47. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Carrier, *Lettre du Brésil,* pp. 319-326. G. Cambron headed CENFI from 1965-1969. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. See Leo Mahon, with Nancy Davis, *Fire under My Feet: A Memoir of God’s Power in Panama* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2007), and Maria López Vigil, *Héctor Gallego Está Vivo!* (Panama: Pastoral Social-Caritas Editores, 1996). [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. For a Coady Institute report on a meeting with Bishop McGrath in 1963 and McGrath’s correspondence with the Coady Institute in 1966, see StFXUA, RG50-2/9/456, and RG50-2/9/226 and 228. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. See Penny Lernoux, *Cry of the People: The Struggle for Human Rights in Latin America – The Catholic Church in Conflict with U.S. Policy* (NY: Penguin Books, 1982), pp. 123-134 on Veraguas. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. LADOC “Keyhole” Series, No. 14 “Hector Gallego: Martyr for Justice. Five Vignettes of Him and his Work” in *Basic Christian Communities* (Washington, DC: USCC- Latin America Documentation, 1976), pp. 45-56. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. See website of Fundación Héctor Gallego/Desde Tierras de Veraguas, www.fundacióngallego.wordpress.com. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. On Dominican “*presidentes de asamblea*,” see Roque Adames, “San Juan de las Matas in the Dominican Republic,” in LADOC “Keyhole” Series, no. 14, *Basic Christian Communities* (Washington, DC: USCC-Latin America Documentation, 1976), pp. 24-26; and Yves Labbé, *El clero y las vocaciones sacerdotales en la República Dominicana* (Sto. Domingo: Amigo del Hogar, 1976), pp. 191-204. A detailed study of a co-operative in this area of the country is Kenneth Evan Sharpe, *Peasant Politics: Struggle in a Dominican Village* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977). [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. See “Seminars, Short Courses, and Workshops Conducted in Latin America 1976 – 1991,” Marie Micheal Library, Coady International Institute. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. On Guatemala, see Susan Fitzpatrick-Behren’s chapter in this book, and Fitzpatrick-Behrens and LeGrand, “Canadian and U.S. Catholic Promotion of Co-operatives in Central America and the Caribbean”. In the archives of the Coady Institute’s library there are ten theses written by Guatemalans and by Spanish and North American missionaries heading to Guatemala in the 1960s and 1970s. These include Gurriarán’s thesis titled “Horizontes de Luz” and Enriquez Guerra’s, “Templo de Sagradas Enseñanzas de los Justos Ideales Cristianas”, both of which connect the ideals of the Antigonish Movement to descriptions of conditions in their home communities and projects for social change. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. See Gonzalo Hallo, “Educational Program for ‘Cooperativo de Ahorro y Crédito S. Francisco Ltd.: From Ambato-Ecuador,” Diploma Program, Coady International Institute, 1990 (Thesis DE8). This thesis by an

    Ecuadorian student provides an excellent history of the Ecuadorian co-operative and credit union movement, with particular emphasis on the impact of the Alliance for Progress. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. See Lernoux, pp. 137-153 ; Francisco Enríquez Bermeo, ed., *Leonidas Proaño, obispo de los pobres (*Quito: Editorial El Conejo, 1989); Luis Maria Gavilanes del Castillo, *Monseñor Leonidas Proaño y su misión profético-liberadora en la iglesia de América latina* (Quito: Fondo Ecuatoriano Populorum Progressio, 1992); and Leonidas Proaño, *Creo en el hombre y en la comunidad. Autobiografia* (Quito: Editora Nacional, 1989). Proaño is known as a pioneer of indigenous theology in Latin America. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. In 1960 the ILO suggested that Bishop Proaño contact the Belgian sociologist Rudolf Reszohazy, a professor at Université catholique de Louvain who wanted to work in social action and development in Latin America. Together with local students from Reszohazy’s class on Social Doctrine in the diocese, Bishop Proaño and Reszohazy founded CEAS in 1960; it continues active today. On the history and present activities of CEAS, see http://CEAS-ecuador.weebly.com. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. StFXUA RG 62/1/395-397 and 412-415. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. See StFXUA, RG50-2/3/229, 236, 240, 249 and 255. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Barry J. Lyons, *Remembering the Hacienda: Religion, Authority and Social Change in Highland Ecuador* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Lernoux, pp. 150-151; Giuseppina Da Ros, “El movimiento cooperativo en el Ecuador. Visión histórica, situación actual y perspectivas,” *CIRIEC-Espana, Revista de Economía Pública, Social y Cooperativa*, no. 57 (April 2007), 249-284. Da Ros is an economist-researcher at the Centro de Estudios Cooperativos de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador (CEC-PUCE), established in 1981 with support from MISEREOR. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Universidad los Andes is the largest public university in Andean Venezuela. The Center that Father Thielan created continues to exist: it is now known as CIRIEC-Venezuela (Centro interdisciplinario de investigación, formación y documentación de la economía cooperativa, social y pública) and publishes the journal CAYAPA. *Revista Venezolana de Economía Social* (see [www.ciriec.ula.ve](http://www.ciriec.ula.ve)). For Thielen’s correspondence with the Coady Institute, see StFXUA, RG 50-2/3/ 410, 402, 404, 419. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Father Thielen’s translation of Coady’s work is titled *Dueños de su propio destino: una experiencia de educación de masas.* *Historia del Movimiento de Antigonish, una acción educativa por medio de la cooperación económica.* Intercoop Editiones in Buenos Aires reissued it in 1975 and Politécnica Grancolombiana in Bogotá in 2010. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. See Social Leadership theses authored by Venezuelan students at the Coady Institute, 1964-67 (DV1, 2, 3, 5 and 6, in the Marie Michael Library, St.FXU); and Belkis A. Rojas V. “CORANDES desde la perspectiva de una historia de vida,” *CAYAPA. Revista Venezolana de Economía Social*, 1:1 (May 2001), 1-11. According to Rojas V., during the 1960s small co-operatives and networks among them propagated throughout Andean Venezuela and teachers from the Center for Co-operative Studies gave courses for local leaders in Barinas (H. Chavez’s birthplace), Maracaibo and Caracas. Coady Institute records indicate that 23 Venezuelans studied in Antigonish between 1958 and 1964. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. See Coady International Institute, “Seminars, Short Courses and Workshops Conducted in Latin America, 1976-1991” and the workshop reports, mostly authored by A. McKinnon and/or K. LeMorvan, in the Marie Michael Library; <http://coadyextension.stfx.ca/people/grads> (on Thielen); and  *Coady International Institute Newsletter*, 4:3 (Aug. 1971). [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Social Leadership thesis DV1, Marie Michael Library, St. FXU. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. See Berta Brito, “’Radio Occidente’: modelo de radiodifusión al servicio del desarrollo” (<http://gumilla.org/biblioteca/bases/biblo/texto/COM198655_42-46.pdf>, and “Radio occidente” (<http://saber.ucab.edu.ve/handle/123456789/31207?show=full>). While, as Mary Roldan shows, Radio Sutatenza originated in Colombia in 1947, the spread of this Colombian model of alternative communication and adult literacy training to other Latin American countries seems mainly to have occurred in the 1960s through the initiative of priests and bishops devising new forms of social action promoting local development from below. Church radio stations that attempted to replicate what Radio Sutatenza had done were set up in the Archdiocese of Merida (Venezuela) in 1961, by Quebecois missionary priests in Choluteca (Honduras) in the same year, and by Bishop Proaño in Riobamba (Ecuador) in 1962. Brito, writing in the 1980s, mentions the existence of 42 such Catholic radio stations in 17 Latin American countries. The Medellin Bishops’ Conference of 1968 explicitly addressed the issue of media and communications: see Section 16 “Mass Media”, in Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops, *The Church in the Present-Day Transformation of Latin America in the Light of the Council*, vol. 2 *Conclusions* (Washington, DC, USCC- Division for Latin America, 1970-73), pp. 212-217. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. See Nelson Freitez, “El cooperativismo en el Estado Lara, Venezuela, en los años de 1960: Promoción religiosa y crisis política,” *Cayapa. Revista Venezolana de Economía Social*, 7:13 (Jan.-June 2007), 76-104; the website of Centro Gumilla (<http://www.gumilla.org>) on the history of the Jesuit center in Barquisimeto; and Jorge Coque Martínez, “Las cooperativas en América Latina: visión histórica general y comentario de algunos países tipo,” *CIRIEC-España, revista de economía pública, social y cooperativa*, no. 43, extraordinario (Nov. 2002), 145-172. Centro Gumilla was founded in 1968 as the Centro de Investigación y Acción Social de la Sociedad de Jesús in Venezuela ([www.gumilla.org](http://www.gumilla.org)). [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Daniel H. Levine, *Popular Voices in Latin American Catholicism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. See CECOSESOLA’s web-site (<http://cesosesola.org>); “El cooperativismo recoge su mejor cosecha en Lara,” *Actualidad*, 01/02/2011 ([http://www.ultimasnoticias.com.ve/noticias/actualidad](http://www.ultimasnoticias.com.ve/noticias/actualidad/)); Agencia Bolivariana de Noticias, “Cooperativismo larense construye democracia participativa desde hace 40 años” (<http://www.aporrea.org/endogeno/n80219.html>); and Michael Fox, “CESOSESOLA: Four Decades of Independent Struggle for a Venezuelan Cooperative” (<http://venezuelanalysis.com/print/1793>). [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. The Antigonish Movement had offshoots too in India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, the Philippines, Taiwan, Korea, Indonesia (in the early years), Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and elsewhere. Milner, ed., *Human Development through Social Change*; and personal communication from Catherine Irving, Marie Michael Library, 14 November 2014. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. According to Roberto Montesinos, “Dos historias del trabajo,” in *Una lectura sociológica de la Venezuela actual,* vol. 4 (Caracas: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung-Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 2008), p. 58: “Las facultades de la forma de organización cooperativa fueron exaltados por la jerarquía de la Iglesia… que reconocía en el cooperativismo una forma de entender la economía más compatible con los conceptos cristianos del hombre y la comunidad.” [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. See Sheila Gorst, *Co-operative Organization in Tropical Countries: A Study of Co-operative Development in Non-self-governing Territories under United Kingdom Administration, 1945-1955* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959); Rita Rhodes, *Empire and Co-operation: How the British Empire Used Co-operatives in its Development Strategies, 1900-1970* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2012); and Rodrigo Mogrovejo, Alberto Mora and Philippe Vanhuynegem, eds., *El cooperativismo en América latina: una diversidad de contribuciones al desarrollo sostenible* (La Paz, Bolivia: Oficina Regional de la Organización International del Trabajo (OIT) para América Latina y el Caribe, 2012), p. 40. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. See Macpherson, *Hands Around the Globe*, pp. 24-26, 58, 69-70, 108-109; Ruth Compton Brouwer, “When Missions Became Development: Ironies of ‘NGOization’ in Mainstream Canadian Churches in the 1960s,” *The Canadian Historical Review*, 91:4 (Dec. 2010), 661-693; and *Globe. Revue internationale d’études québécoises*, 12:1 (2009), special issue on “Missions and Development”. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. LeGrand, “L’axe missionnaire”. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. See Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens, “Catholic Good Neighbors: The Maryknoll Mission and Latin America,” unpublished paper, 2006. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. In the late 1960s, the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development sponsored a major study of rural co-operatives as “agents of planned change” in Latin America, Africa and Asia under the direction of Colombian sociologist Orlando Fals Borda. The five case studies of co-operatives in South America shed light on problems with government-promoted co-operatives in areas of land redistribution and also on troubles with Church co-operatives initiated by Catholic Action in two conservative *municipios* in the department of Antioquia (Colombia). See R. Puch, S. Rivera, M.T. Findji, C. Fonnseca, A. Barreto, H. Ochoa and J.M. Rojas, *Estudios de la realidad campesina: cooperación y cambio. Informes y materiales de campo recogidos en Venezuela, Ecuador y Colombia* (Geneva: UNRISD, 1970), and Orlando Fals Borda, *Cooperatives and Rural Development in Latin America: An Analytic Report* (Geneva: UNRISD, 1971). The UNRISD investigation did not study the Antigonish-inspired co-operatives. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. See Mary Roldan’s chapter in this volume. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. The Venezuelan Jesuits made this point in their 1964 Coady Institute thesis (DV1). [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Marcel van der Linden, *Workers of the World: Essays toward a Global Labor Histor*y (Leiden: Brill, 2008), underlines this point. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. See Milner, ed., *Human Development through Social Change*; Denis Pelletier, *“Economie et Humanisme”: De l’utopie communautaire au combat pour le tiers-monde (1941-1966)* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1996); and Ludovic Bertina, « The Catholic Doctrine of ‘Integral Human Development’ and its Influence on the International Development Community, » in *International Development Policy: Religion and Development*, ed. by Gilles Carbonnier (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Carrier, *Lettre du Brésil*, p. 11. On the social sciences, André Corten writes, « La Théologie de la Libération (TL) est née dans le contexte (anti-communiste) du développement de la sociologie en Amérique latine, développement partiellement tributaire de l*’Alliance pour le progrès*. Elle s’inscrit aussi dans la prolongation de la JOC (Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne) de Msgr. Cardijn, présente en Amérique latine dès les années 30. » See Corten, « Une mise en réseau de la Théologie de la Libération, » in *La modernité religieuse en perspective comparée. Europe latine-Amérique latine*, ed. Jean-Pierre Bastian (Paris: Karthala, 2001), p. 267. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Michael R. Welton, *Little Mosie from the Margaree: A Biography of Moses Michael Coady* (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing 2001) emphasizes the mythical dimensions of the Antigonish Movement. Aldiva Sales Diniz and Bruce Gilbert, “Socialist Values and Cooperation in Brazil’s Landless Rural Workers’ Movement,” *Latin American Perspectives* 40:19 (2013), 19-34, explore the notion of “mistica” as a motivating factor in social movements, specifically the Brazilian MST. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. See Hannah W. Stewart-Gambino, *The Church and Politics in the Chilean Countryside* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992). Bishop Larrain perished prematurely in 1966 in an automobile accident. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. [www.icipan.org](http://www.icipan.org) and [www.coady.stfx.ca](http://www.coady.stfx.ca). [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. See Superintendencia Nacional de Cooperativas (SUNACOOP), Ministerio para la Economía Popular, “Informe de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela: Cooperativismo en Venezuela,” April 2006; and Dario Azzellini, “From Cooperatives to Enterprises of Direct Social Property in the Venezuelan Process,” in *Cooperatives and Socialism: A View from Cuba*, ed. Camila Pineiro Harnecker (NY: Palgrave-McMillan, 2013), pp. 259-275. Azzellini defines the Venezuelan concept of “popular economy” as “a type of economy that is not principally oriented toward the production of surplus value, but instead toward equality through decent remuneration and collective ownership or management, as well as solidarity among workers and toward communities.” (Note 1, p. 273). [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. This seems to be a relatively new area for investigation. See Gilles Carbonnier, ed., *International Development Policy: Religion and Development* (Basingstoke : Palgrave Mac Millan, 2013) ; *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/ Revue Canadienne d’études du développement*, 34 :2 (2013) Special Issue : “Religion and International Development”; Andrea Parras, “CIDA’s Secular Fiction and Canadian Faith-Based Organisations,” *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d’études du développement* 33:2 (June 2012), 231-249; Peter Ernest Baltutis, « Forging the Link between Faith and Development: The History of the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace, 1957-1982” (PhD diss., St. Michael’s College Faculty of Theology, University of Toronto, 2012); and Robert Calderisi, *Earthly Mission: The Catholic Church and World Development* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-86)