Our Book is Out!

Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1975-1980 was written by Michael J. Molloy, Peter Duschinsky, Kurt F. Jensen, and Robert Shalka, and published this year by McGill-Queen’s University Press. Part of the McGill-Queen’s Studies in Ethnic History Series (number 2.41), it is 612 pages long and is available in cloth, paperback, and e-book.

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Message from the President

Over the past 30 years, our little Society has done big things: world class conferences on the Hungarian, Ugandan and Indochinese refugee movements, the Ugandan Asian online archive at Carleton University, and the Gunn Prize, to name some of the more important. The publication of Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1975-1980 as part of McGill-Queen’s University Press’s prestigious Studies in Ethnic History Series is another major milestone for CIHS. The current issue of the Bulletin reports on the events that have helped publicize this important book. More will follow. Our satisfaction with the publication of Running on Empty and its initial reception are, however, tinged with sadness at the sudden passing of Ronald Atkey, the Immigration minister who launched the refugee movement that inspired our book. We dedicate this issue to Ron’s memory.

Launching the Book

Library and Archives Canada, 17 May
Charlene Elgee and Gail Devlin

After four years of hard work and forty years of reminiscing, a book was launched: Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1975-80 is the story told from the perspective of the Canadian public servants who were there. This book was a labour of love for the Canadian Immigration Historical Society, and the launch a joyful celebration of an impressive piece of scholarship from McGill-Queen’s University Press and authors Michael Molloy, Peter Duschinsky, Kurt Jensen and Robert Shalka. The evening was also a successful collaboration of many groups: the CIHS, the Vietnamese Canadian Community of Ottawa, the Cambodian community, Asian History Month, the International Writers Festival of Ottawa, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), and the Friends of LAC.

The event was held in the beautiful Pellan Room at Library and Archives Canada as part of the Ottawa International Writers Festival and drew a large crowd of just over two hundred people. Many were from the Ottawa Vietnamese, Thai, Laotian and Cambodian communities, and a number attended in traditional dress. The Vietnamese Canadian Community of Ottawa and the Cambodian community prepared a variety of mouth-watering dishes. While attendees enjoyed the food and mingled, Mr. Trinh Van Chuyen (aka Sau Chuyen, 98 years old), Mrs. Hy Phung, and Mr. Trinh Huu Hanh of the Ottawa-based band, Lac Hong, played ancient popular music from Vietnam.

The “business” part of the event was opened with a welcome from Johanna Smith, Director General of Public Services at LAC, who then turned things over to CBC Ottawa journalist Judy Trinh, master of ceremonies for the evening and herself a refugee. The mood for this evening of storytelling was struck with Trinh’s moving account of her family’s escape from Vietnam, the perils of the sea, the harsh life in a refugee camp, and the great relief and joy of being selected to come to Canada.

Senator Thanh Hai Ngo and Dr. Truong Minh Tri of the Vietnamese Federation of Canada expressed their thanks to Canada as represented by the Right Honourable Joe Clark, prime minister at the beginning of the Canadian aid effort. They took great pride in presenting him with the 2015 Humanity Award. Joe Clark gave an inspiring description of his government’s role in the crisis and international rescue efforts. He praised in particular the leadership of the recently deceased then Immigration Minister Ron Atkey and made special mention of the settlement work done in Ottawa by then Mayor Marian Dewar, whose son Paul was in the audience.
It was then the turn of the four authors. Molloy led with a brief history of the genesis of the book—the classic conversation around a coffee table and, more seriously, the impetus provided by the conference on the Indochinese Refugee Movement held in Toronto in the fall of 2013.

As the authors told stories from the book or described their mutual experience from individual points of view, the audience listened with rapt attention. Personal accounts and anecdotes are the strength of this publication.

All too often, the accounts of the real heroes, the people on the ground and at the working level, go untold, but these are the stories that show us how the impossible was done and these are the stories that Canadians want to hear. And, as one member of the Vietnamese community remarked, the importance of the book is in its account of how and why we can and should help people in trouble around the globe.

The origins of Running on Empty may have begun in 1975, but the launch had a 21st-century flavour, with Joe Clark posing graciously for selfies with his fans, all of whom were happy to acknowledge that they owe their lives to Canada and to the politicians and public servants who worked so hard to bring them here, thereby redefining Canada’s role on the world stage.

On 28 May, members of the Running on Empty writing team travelled to Canadian Forces Base Longue Pointe in Montreal for a ceremony attended by over 150 people, during which the Vietnamese community of Montreal expressed its appreciation to the base for the role it played in welcoming tens of thousands of Indochinese refugees to Canada in 1979 and 1980. The event was organized by Thi Be Nguyen, President of UniAction, Youth Chambers of Commerce of Quebec, and the energetic producer of the documentary A Moonless Night/Une Nuit sans Lune (See Bulletin 78, p.9).

Minister of Immigration, Diversity and Inclusion Kathleen Weil represented the Government of Quebec, and Frantz Benjamin, the Conseil de la Ville de Montréal. Minister Weil stressed the importance of the arrival of 60,000 refugees from Southeast Asia in 1979-80 as a pivotal moment in Canadian history, noting that it changed our understanding of multiculturalism and demonstrated that diversity can bring strength.

In addition to former refugees who passed through the reception centre and their families, a number of former private sponsors and retired Immigration officers from the federal and Quebec services were also in attendance.

CIHS president Mike Molloy reminded the participants of Longue Pointe’s role in welcoming over 4,000 Ugandan Asian refugees expelled in 1972 and 603 refugees from the derelict tanker Hai Hong in November 1978, a historic event during which Quebec first exercised its new refugee selection powers under the Cullen-Couture Accord. Molloy noted the positive role the Canadian military has played in a succession of refugee crises.
The audience responded to several emotional, impromptu presentations by refugees describing their sufferings in Southeast Asia and the warm welcome they received in Canada. Clearly moved, base commander Colonel Sebastian Bouchard accepted from the Vietnamese community an impressive 12-foot-long mural representing the flight of the boat people and their reception in Canada.

The Society was touched to see a prized model "small boat" brought out for the occasion—the same one that Mike Molloy and Donald Cameron arranged to have presented to Longue Pointe’s commandant by Employment and Immigration Canada’s Quebec office way back in 1980.

The Senate of Canada, 7 June
Charlene Elgee

Senator Peter Harder, erstwhile deputy minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, was one of our gracious hosts for an event held in honour of Running on Empty. The organizational skills of the Senator's office staff and the capable assistance of Octopus Books made this event a pleasure to attend and a very successful evening for the book. His colleagues Senators Ngo, Omidvar, and Jaffer shared in the hosting duties.

In his welcoming speech, Senator Harder recalled his personal experience as part of the management team dealing with the Indochinese refugee crisis in the 1970s. He spoke in glowing terms of the contribution of public servants, many of whom were present among the more than 50 people in attendance.

Senators Thanh Hai Ngo, Ratna Omidvar and Mobina Jaffer all expressed deep convictions about the importance of Canada’s role as a destination for refugees. Senator Omidvar in particular emphasized the importance of Running on Empty in connecting the past (the Indochinese refugee movement) and the present (the Syrian refugee crisis). Senator Ngo’s personal remembrances were both touching and funny. Senate Speaker George J. Furey also dropped by in the midst of the festivities. President Michael Molloy’s account of the book’s origins, along with several stories from the book, inspired several chuckles as well as appreciation among his attentive audience.

The warm welcome the CIHS members received gave a lot of pleasure on a personal level, but also brought home the importance of Running on Empty within the larger historical context. On a lovely evening in June, this story took its place alongside so many others within the walls of Canada’s Parliament.

Public Service Week, 15 June
Gerry Maffre

On 15 June before appreciative audiences at Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada NHQ and (by videoconference) the Calgary and Vancouver regional offices, Messrs Molloy, Duschinsky, and Shalka presented Running on Empty. Their presence was but one of the Public Service Week events in the department—something CIHS has contributed to for several years now. Local business Octopus Books was also there to sell copies of the book.

The presentation was hosted by Corporate Secretary Jennifer Irish and ADM of Operations Robert Orr. In his opening remarks, Orr linked the experiences documented in the book and recent experiences of departmental employees during the Syrian refugee movement. He also congratulated the four authors for their work in capturing this important time in the department’s history. After their formal remarks, the authors entertained a number of questions from IRCC employees, including one asking whether a mass refugee movement could ever be organized without employees “running on empty”. “Not possible”, according to the authors.
CIHS Auction, 16 June
Gerry Maffre

On a warm summer evening in mid-June, some 65 CIHS members and friends gathered at the home of Elizabeth, Scott and Ward Heatherington. “Special” guests included Running on Empty authors Michael Molloy and Robert Shalka.

After some socializing and conversation, Scott Heatherington welcomed everybody formally, and Mike Molloy spoke briefly about the book. Guests then proceeded to an auction in support of the Gunn Prize. Roy Christensen was again our auctioneer, and he was assisted by Charlene Elgee and Gail Devlin.

Bids on the items up for auction contributed some $1,400 to the budget for our annual $500 contribution to the Gunn Prize. As well, many attendees left with their own signed copy of Running on Empty.

Pier 21, 27 June
Michael Molloy

About 65 people gathered at the Canadian Immigration Museum at Pier 21, Halifax, on 27 June for the Nova Scotia launch of CIHS’s Running on Empty. Pier 21 CEO Marie Chapman was master of ceremonies; also attending were former colleagues Ernest and Thea Allen, Richard Martin and former P.E.I. Refugee Liaison Officer Dawn Munroe.

The program began with the new Historica Heritage Minute “Boat People”, which elicited a knowing response from the many members of the Nova Scotia Vietnamese community in attendance. After a short introduction by Mike Molloy, the book’s editor Gail Devlin spoke about the challenge of working with the four authors and imposing consistency, good style, and readability on the original manuscript.

Peter Duschinsky provided a succinct overview of the events that led to the exodus of over one million Indochinese from their native lands and the decisions taken by the Canadian government in response. Molloy spoke about how the Immigration department implemented the government’s decision to admit 50,000 refugees. He noted the role played by Ernest Allen in recommending the establishment of the reception centres in Montreal and Edmonton and the strategic impact of instructions Allen issued to the Hong Kong visa office to increase the pace of refugee section in the spring of 1979.

Richard Martin then provided a moving description of the hardships endured by Canadian visa officers based in Singapore and responsible for refugee operations in Malaysia and Indonesia. He contrasted the difficulties they faced in Malaysia with the outstanding cooperation of the Indonesian authorities.

The final speaker of the evening, the Vietnamese Society of Nova Scotia’s Quy Linh, spoke about the welcome extended to Vietnamese refugees and the deep attachment the refugees and their descendants feel for Canada.

The program concluded with a CBC film clip, Former Vietnamese Refugee Pays it Forward, about an Edmonton doctor who arrived in Canada in 1979 as a five-year-old child with her mother and five siblings and who has organized a sponsorship group for a Syrian single mother with five children—a fitting conclusion to an emotional evening. CIHS has always enjoyed good relations with Pier 21, one of our two corporate sponsors; this event broadened and deepened that friendship.
Sixty Years in Canada
Peter Duschinsky

Last night, on arrival at Pier 21, a great surprise was waiting for me. Carrie-Ann Smith (Pier 21’s Chief, Audience Engagement) handed me beautifully mounted mementos of my 60 years in Canada, including a 60-year certificate, a photo of Canadian Pacific’s Empress of Britain, and personal documents of my voyage that I believed had long been lost. Tears came to my eyes. Thank you, Carrie! Thank you, Pier 21! Thank you, Canada!—from an old Hungarian refugee.

Forthcoming...

Great News!—McGill-Queen’s University Press is planning a second printing of Running on Empty, whose initial run was in the neighbourhood of 500 copies. This is really gratifying and a testimony to the quality of the book, the relevance of the topic, and the marketing efforts of the CIHS executive team. Mike Molloy has been particularly active in promoting the book, not least by a cross-Canada series of interviews with local CBC radio stations. Our book marketing will pick up again in the fall, so please stay tuned for a possible event close to where you live.

The Canadian Immigration Historical Society will hold its next Annual General Meeting and dinner:
Thursday, 26 October 2017, 6:00 p.m.,
Ottawa St. Anthony Italia Soccer Club,
523 St. Anthony Street, Ottawa, K1R 0A6

St. Anthony Street runs west off Preston Street, just north of the Highway 417 overpass. There is free parking and wheelchair access. The club provides an excellent buffet for $40. Cash bar. Students in a discipline related to immigration policy research are welcome and pay a reduced admission fee.

The four authors will be present to sign copies of Running on Empty, which will be on sale at the special members’ price. The Society is also in the process of engaging a guest speaker.

RSVP rgirard09@gmail, or info@cihs-shic.ca. Please indicate how many will attend.

Members who would like to serve on the Board of Directors for the coming year are asked to contact Anne Arnott at annearnott2@gmail.com

Canada: Day 1

An exhibition prepared by the Immigration Museum at Pier 21 opened at the Canadian Museum of History (CMH) in Gatineau on 1 June 2017. Called “Canada: Day 1”, it provides glimpses of the experiences and impressions of immigrants back to the time of Confederation as they arrive and settle in their new homes. Stories are told through artifacts and quotations both written and audio and presented in an interesting variety of formats. A group of CIHS members including Peter Duschinsky, Bob Shalka, John Burrows, Guy Belisle, Gerry Maffre, Joan and Neil Busch, Kurt Jensen, and Mike Molloy attended the opening and were pleased when both Pier 21 CEO Marie Chapman and CMH CEO Mark O’Neil acknowledged the work of CIHS in their remarks.

The impressions of newcomers to Canada range from sad and poignant to funny and quirky. Perhaps the most memorable are the rantings of a thirsty, newly arrived German who ordered a beer and was served a root beer. Across the years you can feel his pain.

You can find a virtual edition of the exhibit in English, and en français. It continues its travel across Canada as follows:

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<th>Museum/Location</th>
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<td>Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, QC</td>
<td>2 June 2017 to 7 January 2018</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Halifax, NS</td>
<td>18 March to 12 November 2017</td>
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<td>Simcoe County Museum, Minesing, ON</td>
<td>January to April 2018</td>
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<td>Resurgo Place, Moncton, NB</td>
<td>April to September 2018</td>
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The exhibit is also being toured in Thailand by the Canadian embassy in cooperation with Pier 21 and the International Organization for Migration. The Society has provided the embassy with copies of Running on Empty to be given as gifts and with our book-marketing banners.

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The Health of the Indochinese Refugees, Then and Now
Brian Gushulak

Ed note: Dr. Brian Gushulak joined Immigration Medical Services of Health and Welfare in the early 1980s and held positions in both Health and Immigration departments. From 1996 to 2001, he was Director of Migration Health Services of the International Organization for Migration in Geneva, and from 2001 to 2004, he was Director General of the newly created Medical Services branch, Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration. He has since been engaged in research and consulting in the area of health and population mobility.

The Canadian government’s decision in July 1979 to accept 50,000 Indochinese refugees generated a great deal of discussion and comment. Some of that commentary was concerned with the health of the new arrivals and potential consequences. The admission of large numbers of refugees from crisis zones was not a novel occurrence: Canada had been a leader among those nations that accepted Hungarian refugees after the failed revolution of 1956, and roughly 6,000 Asians expelled from Uganda in 1972 eventually made their new homes in Canada. The Indochinese movement, however, occurred in a much different environment, and in common with so many aspects of migration health, it is the context of the time that often shapes the organizational and public health response to a major immigration event.

Before the July announcement, there was little interest in or concern about the health of immigrants to Canada. Many of the changes in the “new” 1976 Act dealing with health centred on aspects of chronic non-infectious diseases and issues of excessive demand for health services. The public health aspects of the Act reflected traditional historical interests—tuberculosis and syphilis.

Lack of interest in health and migration in itself is not surprising. Medical and scientific advancements in the previous three decades, primarily vaccines and antibiotics, had successfully reduced the impact and consequences of many infectious diseases. For example, tuberculosis rates in Canada, which had been in the range of 100 per 100,000 residents in 1946, had fallen to about 11 per 100,000 by 1979, following the introduction of anti-tuberculosis drugs in the 1950s and 1960s.1

Another important contextual factor is national travel patterns at the time. International tourism and recreational travel to exotic and tropical destinations were not all that common by today’s standards. In the 1980s, most expertise in domestic tropical medicine and what would become “travel medicine” was found in the military and a few specialty units in large university cities. They identified malaria, dengue fever and other conditions encountered by military personnel returning from the Vietnam conflict.2

Health Concerns Resulting from the Announcement
It was against that background that the 1979 decision on Indochinese refugees was issued. Soon after, commentary on potential health concerns began to appear. In August, the Canadian Society for Tropical Medicine and International Health3 held a press conference in Toronto to make two major points.

The first was that the new arrivals would pose a very low risk to the health of Canadians.4 The society noted that while it was true that certain tropical diseases and other infections were common in Southeast Asia and might arrive with the refugees, Canadian sanitation and public health systems would prevent their spread beyond close family contacts. Clean water, adequate housing, municipal sanitation, and the Canadian public health system, coupled with the seasonal Canadian climate and absence of the insects and other vectors of tropical infections made the likelihood of transmitting imported tropical infections to the host Canadian population very low. The second point made by the society was that many Canadian physicians might not be familiar with the unusual illnesses arriving with the refugees and that some training or education in that regard would be beneficial as it would help ensure that these maladies could be quickly identified and treated.5

While the latter recommendation was balanced, because parasites, worms and exotic diseases are unusual and

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interesting, it did provoke some media attention to the risk of imported diseases. In retrospect—and in comparison with health issues yet to come, such as severe Group A Streptococcus infections (“flesh eating disease”) and the soon-to-be-identified HIV pandemic—the media response was relatively muted. And the suggestion was heeded: the Canadian health sector did issue guidelines on how to investigate and manage the health of the refugees after they had arrived in Canada.

It didn’t get a lot of public attention at the time, but the identification of active pulmonary tuberculosis was operationally and logistically challenging. Growing the TB bacteria was complex and time-consuming. The disease was quite common in older individuals, and Canadian processing required all family members to be medically cleared before travel. As a result, immigration delays caused by TB processing were frequent and could be quite long. These delays generated media attention as well as considerable departmental and governmental concern.

As time passed and the refugees began arriving in larger numbers, attention shifted from the process to the new arrivals themselves. Once the refugees arrived in Canada, health care providers had access to guidelines and recommendations prepared by provincial/territorial health authorities, professional societies, and medical clinics. These guidelines were very similar and ensured that the important issues were addressed.

It is important to note that Canadians working with the refugees recognized that cultural and psychosocial stresses had a major impact on their health. They understood that the post-conflict refugee experience and immigration to a new country were potentially important health issues. Attention to and the study of those pressures and outcomes were highlighted in many of the post-arrival screening protocols. Over the course of the Indochinese movement and through long-term studies, a substantial amount of research has accumulated, resulting in much greater understanding of the psychological aspects of refugee movements and how the children of refugee families adapt to a new home.

**What was Observed as the Refugees Arrived**

As the medical community serving the Indochinese refugees began to report its findings, results turned out to be pretty much what had been anticipated. While rates of tropical and infectious diseases were higher than those found in the host Canadian population, they reflected the patterns of disease present in Southeast Asia. There were lots of intestinal parasites, high rates of inactive tuberculosis, hepatitis B, and some rare and exotic infections such as malaria. There could also be scabies or conjunctivitis (Pink Eye) because of overcrowding and accommodation issues in the refugee camps or transit centres, but these were easily managed. These and similar outcomes continued to be observed during the flow of Indochinese refugees to Canada. The studies bore out what had been anticipated: the spread of imported infections to the Canadian population was minimal.

This finding should not be taken to mean that there were no long-term health consequences of the Indochinese movement that began in 1979. Some refugees arrived with chronic, persistent infections that would have a long-term impact and influence on their own health and well-being, though they didn’t affect public health. These types of infections could persist for years or even decades. Common examples include inactive (now called latent) tuberculosis, hepatitis B, and some parasitic infections. While not presenting illness on arrival, such individuals carry the disease with them. (It is important to note that infections of this type have nothing to do with being a refugee and can affect all migrants and travellers who have resided in areas of the world where these infections are prevalent.) As the infected person ages, becomes ill, or is treated with drugs or agents that can affect the immune system, these chronic, persistent infections can become worse or re-activate and cause illnesses.

In addition, some longstanding or chronic infections can lead to serious, even fatal outcomes. For example, hepatitis B can eventually lead to serious liver damage and cancer of the liver. Studies have demonstrated increased risk of tuberculosis and liver disease in Canadian immigrants from Southeast Asia. Since 1979, vaccination—and more recently, treatment—for chronic hepatitis B have been developed. Modern guidelines recommend screening for these sorts of diseases in high-risk groups and referral for potential treatment.
Longer-Term Follow-Up
As the Indochinese migrant population ages, the presence of these chronic or latent infections can be important aspects of personal health. Many diseases manifest themselves as people age. Some modern medical treatments for severe joint disease and certain dermatological conditions, and cancer therapy can suppress the immune system and "reawaken" pre-existing infections. This complication has been observed in some immigrants from Southeast Asia who developed cancer and were treated for it after settling in Canada. Awareness of these sorts of potential problems has become widespread since the 1980s, and these risks are now regularly considered in assessing patients who have come from areas of the world where these types of infections are more prevalent.

Over the past three decades, some patterns of post-arrival refugee health have emerged in Canada. Refugees in general (not just the Indochinese) have a greater risk of mortality than other immigrant groups, with a limited number of exceptions. And this risk is still less than that of the Canadian-born population.\(^1\) Those areas in which mortality of refugees does exceed that of the Canadian-born include infectious and parasitic diseases and cancer of the liver. A 2000 study from Manitoba and British Columbia indicates that refugees and family-class immigrants have higher rates of physician and hospital services than other immigrant classes.\(^2\) More recent studies have suggested that refugees from Vietnam might have lower hospitalization rates than those from Poland or the Middle East.\(^3\) Other studies have revealed that those arriving from Indochina, where routine screening for health conditions was not available at the time, do not use some screening services (for example, breast cancer screening and Pap smears) in Canada at the same rates as the Canadian-born population, a finding that is not surprising.\(^4\)

On a broader scale, the attention, awareness, and study of the psychosocial and mental-health aspects of the Indochinese movement greatly advanced the understanding of those issues. The Indochinese movement was accompanied by detailed study and investigation of the adaptation, integration, and well-being of the migrants—\(^5\) and importantly, migrant children.\(^6\) Awareness of the psychosocial implications of the refugee experience gained during the Indochinese movement has been instrumental in building the knowledge base that continues to address issues of mental health and migration to this day.

Impact of the Movement on the Canadian Health System
The logistical and operational lessons learned in dealing with the health of the Indochinese refugees provided the basis for future large movements, such as the Kosovars in 1999 and the current flows from the Syrian conflict.

The arrival of the Indochinese refugees can also be considered an important milestone in raising general understanding of cultural and diversity issues. One example is the globalization of ethnic and cultural medical practices. Cultural diversity in Canada was much less in 1980 than today. The large wave of Asian arrivals, including many from rural Southeast Asia, carried with it many traditional aspects of health care that were not well understood in parts of Canada. Canadian medical journals of the period document the education of the Canadian medical profession in the cultural aspects of Vietnamese approaches to such events as pregnancy and delivery.\(^7\)

This unfamiliarity again reflects the context of the time. Today many ancient Asian medical practices are commonly understood and practiced globally. The use of cupping by athletes, for example, received extensive media coverage during the 2016 Summer Olympics.\(^8\) But in the 1980s, cupping and coin rolling by parents and family members during home treatments of ill children were sometimes misunderstood. Children who presented to Canadian physicians and emergency rooms with evidence of the procedures sometimes raised fears of child neglect or abuse.\(^9\), \(^10\) The Indochinese movement can be seen retrospectively as opening the door to what is now known as cultural competency in medical practice.

The medical legacy of the Indochinese refugee flows has cast a long shadow. Improving the management of health and medical challenges observed in refugee movements has become an important area of study within the Canadian health sector. While screening elements related to immigration formalities were nationally consistent, guidelines and recommendations for follow-up after arrival continued to vary for some time. It was 2011 before Canadian evidence-based national guidelines were developed, for example.\(^11\) Those guidelines and many other aspects of how health and disease are approached and addressed in refugee populations today can trace their genesis to July 1979.

Notes
Tanya Bouchard, chief curator of the Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, invited Society member Peter Duschinsky to participate in a full-day visioning workshop in February. The workshop was attended by a range of academic, refugee settlement, and NGO professionals, as well as the museum’s professional staff. Their task was to discuss the main themes and concrete elements of an exhibit the museum is preparing to stage in 2018 on refugee movements to Canada. The museum has chosen three main themes: issues of exclusion and inclusion; humanitarianism; and the formation of personal, group and national identities. The visioning workshop defined some of these themes more narrowly and placed them within the international and Canadian policy contexts. It was an opportunity for CIHS to play a professional role in preparing a major exhibit on an important aspect of Canada’s immigration history.

Visioning Workshop, Museum of Immigration at Pier 21

In consultation with Society President Michael Molloy, Historica Canada has produced and released (on World Refugee Day, 20 June) a Heritage Minute on the Indochinese boat people. Its story is based on the experiences of CBC Ottawa reporter Judy Trinh, who was master of ceremonies at the launch of Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1979-1980 at Library and Archives Canada on 17 May this year. Small world!

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3 Now known as the Canadian Society for International Health. Originally founded in 1977 as a division of the Canadian Public Health Association, the Society was established to deal with the health needs of Canadians travelling and working in tropical areas.


L'ambassade du Canada était située dans le premier édifice sur la droite.

Carmen et César
Christian Labelle

Note de l’éditeur : Ceci est la première de deux parties.


“Je crois que la grande majorité des Chiliens condamne aujourd’hui les violations des droits de la personne. Mais je n’ai pas l’impression que ce qui s’est passé ne pourrait pas se produire à nouveau. Le « jamais plus » n’est pas si enraciné qu’on le croit.”

“Secretos de confesión”, Enrique Palet Revista Caras August 2013

Voici l’histoire d’une jeune fille qui a été victime d’un des pires excès de brutalité du régime d’Augusto Pinochet au Chili et des circonstances qui l’ont amenée au Canada et d’un jeune homme dont les actions auraient pu faire tout échouer.

Nous étions le samedi 4 juillet 1986. L’avion venait de se poser à l’aéroport international de Santiago au Chili. La traversée des Andes du haut des airs nous avait offert un spectacle inoubliable de ces majestueuses montagnes, à la fois sauvages et attirantes, que nous allions admirer tout au long des trois années de notre affectation à Santiago. Mon épouse m’accompagnait. Elle était aussi employée permutante du Ministère des Affaires Extérieures et venait occuper le poste d’adjointe de l’ambassadeur.

C’était ma première affectation à titre de Chef de Programme d’immigration. Ce programme avait connu des périodes assez mouvementées au cours des années précédentes, surtout à la suite du sanglant coup d’état militaire du 11 septembre 1973, qui avait porté au pouvoir la junte militaire dirigée par le Général Pinochet. Le Canada avait accepté un bon nombre de prisonniers politiques et de réfugiés qui avaient fui ce régime brutal responsable de l’exécution de plus de trois mille personnes et la disparition de plusieurs milliers d’autres personnes soupçonnées de sympathie envers le régime de l’ancien président Allende qui avait lui-même trouvé la mort lors de ce coup d’état.

En 1986, même si des manifestations contre le régime se produisaient régulièrement, le pays était fermement sous le contrôle de la junte militaire et avait trouvé une certaine stabilité. L’inflation était maîtrisée et les perspectives économiques étaient prometteuses. Le gouvernement avait alors manifesté son intention de retourner graduellement vers la démocratie. Après tout, le Chili était un des rares pays d’Amérique Latine qui avait pu connaître une très longue période de stabilité politique grâce, entre autres, à la tradition de neutralité et de loyauté de ses militaires. Cette tradition avait volé en éclat avec le coup d’état de 1973.

Ma collègue Merle Bolick, l’autre agent de notre section, nous avait accueillis à notre arrivée à l’aéroport. Sur le chemin vers notre hôtel, elle nous avait dressé un portrait sommaire de l’état du programme, de la clientèle, et des quelques défis qui nous attendaient. Presque tous les immigrants étaient de la catégorie de la famille, ce qui en soi ne présentait que peu de difficulté, et la principale préoccupation était celle des personnes à qui nous avions délivré des visas de visiteur et qui revendiquaient le statut de réfugié une fois arrivé au Canada.

Le lendemain, alors que je parcourais le journal offert par l’hôtel, mon attention fut attirée par un article qui parlait de « Los quemados » [les brûlés]. Comme ma connaissance de l’espagnol était encore embryonnaire à cette époque je n’ai pas trop compris de quoi il s’agissait, mais je savais qu’il y était question de personnes qui avaient été brûlées et trouvées sur une route près de Santiago. Je ne le savais pas encore, mais cette histoire allait marquer de façon incroyable le début de mon affectation au Chili.

Je me suis présenté à l’ambassade du Canada le lundi matin pour mon premier jour de travail. Alors que je faisais connaissance avec les quelques employés de la section, on m’apporta un message urgent qui venait d’arriver et qui m’était destiné. Ce message venait du bureau du ministre d’état canadien de l’Immigration, Gerry Weiner, et me

L’ambassade du Canada était située dans le premier édifice sur la droite.
Carmen Quintana avant de se faire brûler par les soldats

Carmen Quintana en 1987

demandait de faire le nécessaire pour que les deux personnes qui avaient été brûlées vives par les soldats chilens puissent être amenées au Canada afin d’être traitées par la section des grands brûlés de l’hôpital Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal. C’est à ce moment-là que j’ai appris ce dont il s’agissait et que j’ai compris l’ampleur de la tâche qui m’attendait.

Ceux que l’on appelait « Los quemados » étaient deux adolescents, une jeune fille de 18 ans, Carmen Quintana, et un jeune homme de 19 ans, Rodrigo Rojas, qui avaient été interceptés par une patrouille de soldats lors d’une manifestation quelques jours auparavant. Ils transportaient à ce moment un pneu et un bidon d’essence qui devaient servir à ériger une barricade. Les barricades étaient habituellement constituées de pneus empilés auxquels on mettait le feu afin de retarder les soldats et de permettre aux manifestants de se sauver avant d’être attrapés par ces derniers.

Lorsque la patrouille de soldats a intercepté ces deux jeunes gens, ils les ont brutalement frappés avec la crosse de leurs fusils. Puis ils les ont aspergés avec l’essence du bidon qu’ils transportaient et ont mis le feu, ce qui les a immédiatement transformés en torches vivantes. Ensuite, croyant qu’ils étaient morts, les soldats ont chargé leurs corps à l’arrière d’un véhicule et les ont transportés à l’extérieur de Santiago, puis ils les ont jetés dans un champ et sont repartis.

Cependant, les jeunes n’étaient pas morts. Ils ont repris connaissance quelques heures plus tard et se sont péniblement dirigés vers la route où ils furent découverts par un automobiliste qui les amena immédiatement à l’hôpital. Leurs brûlures étaient extrêmement sévères et couvraient plus de 60 pour cent de leur corps.

Cette histoire a rapidement fait le tour du monde et de partout venaient les condamnations du régime chilien pour cet acte d’une si grande barbarie. La brutalité du régime chilien était à nouveau pointée du doigt. C’est en apprenant cette nouvelle que le ministre Weiner a pris la décision de faire venir ces deux jeunes victimes au Canada pour y être soignés. Cette tâche n’allait pas s’avérer simple.

Après avoir pris connaissance du message du ministre, nous sommes allés rencontrer les responsables de la « Vicaria de la Solidariedad », un organisme de l’archevêché de Santiago qui venait en aide aux victimes du régime, notamment en intercédant pour eux lorsqu’ils étaient arrêtés et en assumant leur défense devant les tribunaux. Comme le Chili est un pays fortement catholique et que le prestige de l’Église y est très respecté, y compris par les dirigeants du pays, cet organisme qui relevait directement de l’Archevêque pouvait efficacement porter assistance aux victimes du régime sans trop subir de représailles. Ce n’était malheureusement pas toujours le cas, et certains membres de cette organisation ont aussi été victimes d’attentats.

Nous avons donc rencontré Enrique Palet, Secrétaire Exécutif de la Vicaria, et Alejandro Gonzalez, Directeur de la section juridique. Grâce à eux, nous avons pu connaître plus de détails sur la situation des deux jeunes gens. Le jeune Rodrigo avait en fait la double nationalité, chilienne et américaine. L’ambassade des États-Unis avait fait savoir qu’elle s’occuperait de lui. Nous avons hélas appris le lendemain qu’il avait succombé à ses blessures. Il nous restait donc à prendre en charge le cas de Carmen. Elle était hospitalisée à l’Hôpital de l’Assistance Publique de Santiago et traitée par le Docteur Jorge Villegas, un chirurgien plastique spécialisé dans le traitement des personnes brûlées. L’aide de la Vicaria nous a été d’un grand secours dans nos démarches auprès de la famille de Carmen et du Docteur Villegas. Ils nous ont également tenus informés sur les initiatives, légales et autres, visant à protéger la jeune fille. Nous avons appris entre autres que des volontaires se relayaient pour assurer sa sécurité à l’hôpital afin que personne n’essaie de la tuer pendant qu’elle était à l’hôpital. On craignait en effet que le régime ne cherche à éliminer ce témoin qui était devenu trop gênant. Les organisations d’extrême-droite étaient particulièrement à craindre à cause de toute la mauvaise publicité faite au régime militaire chilien à travers le monde.

Nous avons ensuite contacté le Docteur Villegas afin de voir ce qui pouvait être fait concernant le possible transfert de Carmen à Montréal. Il fut très clair. Elle était encore entre la vie et la mort, et il n’était pas du tout certain qu’elle puisse
faire le voyage, si elle survivait, avant plusieurs semaines, voire des mois. Sa priorité était de faire tout son possible pour qu'elle puisse survivre. Nous avons maintenu le contact avec lui tout au long de la période jusqu'à son transfert au Canada. Quelques semaines plus tard, nous avons même craint que tout était perdu. Carmen faisait une septicémie et les médecins n’étaient pas certains que le traitement antibiotique qui lui avait été administré fonctionnerait. Après plusieurs jours d’angoisse, nous avons appris qu’elle était hors de danger. Par la suite son état continuait à s’améliorer et elle reprenait graduellement des forces. Elle a aussi eu des greffes de peau qui ont bien fonctionné.

Il n’était pas évident que les autorités chiliennes voient d’un bon œil l’initiative du Canada, surtout si on tient compte du fait que cette tragédie avait fortement entaché la réputation du Chili sur le plan international. Je suis donc allé rencontrer le Directeur des Affaires Consulaires au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères pour l’informer de notre intention de faire venir Carmen au Canada afin qu’elle puisse recevoir des soins spécialisés à la section des grands brûlés de l’hôpital Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal. Sa première réaction en fut une de compassion. Il se déclara fort attristé par le drame que subissait cette jeune fille. Il a ensuite souhaité que les soins médicaux que le Canada pourrait lui accorder lui permettent de récupérer pleinement des graves blessures qu’elle avait subies. Il a ensuite remercié le Canada pour sa générosité.

Cette question ayant été réglée, il fallait ensuite s’occuper des multiples autres aspects de cette opération. Tout d’abord, il nous a paru évident que d’amener seulement la jeune fille au Canada pouvait placer le reste de sa famille au Chili en situation de vulnérabilité, surtout si la communauté internationale continuait à accuser le gouvernement chilien de cruauté envers ses citoyens en citant en exemple l’incident des deux jeunes brûlés vifs par les soldats du régime. De plus, la présence de sa famille nous paraissait essentielle pour aider cette jeune fille d’à peine 18 ans à se remettre des blessures physiques et du traumatisme psychologique qu’elle avait subis. Nous avons donc décidé d’accepter toute la famille comme réfugiés, le Canada assumant tous les frais de transport. La famille comprenait huit personnes incluant Carmen. Les arrangements pour leur départ se sont faits avec la mère de Carmen, son père étant trop bouleversé pour s’impliquer dans les discussions. Nous avons appris par la suite que d’autres pays avaient offert de la faire venir pour la soigner, mais seul le Canada avait offert de faire venir toute sa famille.

Il fallait également s’assurer de la coopération des autorités policières de l’aéroport afin que les formalités de sortie de la jeune fille soient faites de la façon la plus simple et expéditive possible. Je me suis donc rendu à l’aéroport afin de discuter de la question avec le directeur de la police de l’aéroport. Ce dernier a eu une réaction qui m’a profondément ému. Lorsque je lui ai parlé des arrangements pour faire transporter Carmen au Canada pour se faire soigner il m’a tout de suite répondu, les larmes aux yeux, qu’il avait lui aussi une fille de 18 ans et qu’il ne pouvait imaginer les souffrances terribles qu’une fille de cet âge avait pu endurer. Il m’a tout de suite assuré de la pleine coopération de ses services, et nous avons revu en détail les divers éléments des procédures spéciales qui seraient mis en place pour faciliter son départ du pays.

J’avais déjà pris contact avec le Chef d’escale de la compagnie aérienne Canadian Pacific. Il ne restait plus qu’à reconfirmer les arrangements. Pour la transporter, la compagnie avait besoin des sièges de trois rangées successives dont les dossiers seraient rabattus vers l’avant pour pouvoir déposer la civière. Étant donné la configuration de l’avion, cela voulait dire neuf sièges. Mais le chef d’escale nous a rassurés en nous disant qu’ils ne chargereraient que le prix de trois sièges, incluant celui du Docteur Villegas qui accompagnerait Carmen pour son voyage vers Montréal.

Tout était maintenant en place, tant au Canada qu’au Chili, pour le transfert de Carmen prévu pour le vendredi 12 septembre 1986. Mais le 7 septembre se produisit un événement majeur qui aurait pu détruire tous nos plans.

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In 2015 CIHS President Mike Molloy was asked to make a presentation at a workshop at Carleton University on Canada’s engagement with “the international refugee regime”. The objective of the paper was to lay out how the Canadian approach to refugees after World War II evolved from one characterized by indifference and periodic ad hoc responses to a law-based commitment to refugee protection and resettlement, and the role that civil servants played in bringing about that change. Molloy sought the assistance of friend Dr. Laura Madokoro of McGill University to bring the paper up to academic publication standards. “Effecting Change: Civil servants and Refugee Policy in 1970’s Canada” appeared in Refuge 33.1: Special Issue on Power and Influence in the Global Refugee Regime on 23 March 2017.
Kosovar Evacuation: Donation to Pier 21

CIHS has completed its donation to Pier 21 of an extensive collection of photographs taken by Immigration personnel at various stages during the 1999 evacuation to Canada of some 5,000 Kosovars. These photos show the work and people of such organizations as Immigration, DND, the Red Cross, and the International Organization for Migration involved overseas and at the Canadian military bases used as initial processing centres and temporary accommodation pending the refugees' settlement in Canada or repatriation flights.

Pier 21 will make the photos available to researchers and could use them in exhibits as it strives to present the wider sweep of immigrants to Canada than just those who passed through Pier 21 when it was a port of entry.

Over the past few years, CIHS has taken pride in assisting students who have gone on to obtain a PhD. We are pleased to congratulate Shezan Muhammedi, who, as a PhD candidate at the University of Western Ontario, played a key role in the development of the Ugandan Asian online archive at Carleton University. He was also the first PhD candidate to use the archive in research leading to his doctorate. Dr. Muhammedi, as he is now entitled to be called, successful defended his thesis, "Gifts from Amin: The Resettlement, Integration and Identities of Ugandan Asian Refugees in Canada" on 13 March 2017.

ERRATUM: On page two of Bulletin 80, in the sentence “The Syrians began arriving in Ottawa around Christmas 2016”, the date should have been 2015.

In Memoriam

Atkey, Ronald George, PC, QC

Courtesy of The Globe and Mail, 15 May 2017

Lawyer, legal scholar, cabinet minister, advocate for immigrants’ rights, national security expert, author, musician, supporter of the arts, loving father and grandfather—Ronald Atkey passed away unexpectedly but peacefully at home in Toronto on 9 May.

Ron was born 15 February 1942 in Saint John, N.B., and raised in Petrolia, Ontario. He and his sister Jane fondly remembered lively family discussions about politics and other current events around the dinner table, which most certainly shaped Ron's political inclinations. He attended Trinity College School and then Western University where he earned his law degree as Gold Medalist in 1965 before receiving an LL.M. degree from Yale University in 1966.

He was a law professor at Western, Osgoode Hall, and the University of Toronto before winning political office in 1972 as a Progressive Conservative Member of Parliament. In 1979, he became Minister of Employment and Immigration in Prime Minister Joe Clark's cabinet. In that position, he played a pivotal role in the decision to allow 50,000 Vietnamese refugees to immigrate to Canada during the 1979 Southeast Asian refugee crisis and was a supporter of the sponsorship programs that made it possible. Those events and decisions continue to have an impact on this country today. Not only have thousands made a new life and established families and businesses here, but the work that was done to make a home for those in need established a precedent and framework for Canada’s current approach to the Syrian refugee crisis.

After leaving Parliament Ron rejoined his law practice and was appointed as the first Chairman of the Security Intelligence Review Committee, the external review body which reports to Parliament on the activities of CSIS, a position he held from 1984 to 1989. He acted as independent adviser to the Arar Commission in 2004, and in recent years he lectured on national security law at a number of universities and conferences, and was a frequent commentator on national security matters in the news media. His interest in national security law was complemented by his strong support for civil liberties, and he was a board member of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association for many years.

Both within and outside of his legal practice he was a significant supporter of the arts, including the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, the Canadian Film Centre, and Entertainment One. Ron enjoyed entertaining and spending time with his family and many different circles of friends. He even took a short sabbatical to write a spy novel entitled The Chancellor's Foot, published by Little Brown in 1995. Throughout his life, Ron seized every opportunity to live, to travel, and to experience all that the world had to offer.
Baillargeon, Peggy  
*Remembered by John Baker*

Peggy Baillargeon, widow of former visa officer, Larry Baillargeon (deceased 1994) and mother of former CIC officer, Larry Baillargeon, passed away in Burlington, Ontario on 6 May 2017 in her 95th year. Peggy was the mother of four children (two of whom are deceased), grand-mother of six, and great-grandmother of seven. Larry and Peg had numerous postings, including Glasgow, Hong Kong, and Barbados.

I was posted with them in Barbados in the late 1970s and the carnival atmosphere of the Caribbean perfectly suited the Baillargeons, who loved a good party. Peggy was famous for her trunk full of hats which attendees had to put on and perform a vaudeville skit appropriate, or not, to the hat. Peggy also loved a good argument and was unafraid to speak her mind. I last saw her in February, very frail but still full of spunk.

Cram, Barbara  
*Remembered by Kurt Jensen, a retired foreign service officer and university colleague*

Barbara Cram, known as Barb, passed away in her sleep, her puppy Maggie by her side, on 10 April in Courtenay, B.C.

Barb joined the Immigration foreign service in 1972, having obtained her BA (History) from the University of Saskatchewan and her BLS (Library Science) from the University of Alberta. She completed her overseas training in Yugoslavia before embarking on a two-year posting to New Delhi. Barb returned to Canada only to spend many months in a tropical disease ward in a Montreal hospital. Soon after completing French-language training, she resigned from the foreign service to attend the College of Law at the University of Saskatchewan. She practiced law in rural Saskatchewan before establishing a decade-long practice in Regina. While in Regina, Barb spent many years as a member of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, becoming regional commissioner for Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Barb volunteered extensively in Canada and overseas, including a return to India with Habitat for Humanity.

I first met Barb in 1971 at the School of Library Science at the University of Alberta, where we both studied and became colleagues in the student government. She was a vivacious, sweet young woman, always with a smile on her lips. My wife and I will always remember a special moment with Barb. We had just arrived in Ottawa in July 1972 and sat in our room at the old Holiday Inn. We had left the prairies and its clean fresh air, transferring flights in Toronto, where we choked on the foul air. Eventually we arrived in Ottawa, which in those days was not very impressive (and we were from Edmonton!). We were sitting on the bed, forlorn and homesick, when there was a knock on the door and a small voice cried out, “Hi, it’s me, Barb, come down to the pool for a drink and meet the others.” She was a very special person.

Cross, Woody  
*Remembered by Daryll Cannon and others*

Woody Cross died on 27 March in Kelowna. He touched many lives in that community, and few people there didn’t know him. After a tough battle with a neuroendocrine tumour, a very rare form of cancer, Woody passed away quietly at home surrounded by his wife, daughters, and other family. In true Woody Cross fashion he fought hard to the finish line, never losing his humour and keeping his loved ones laughing until the end.

Woody was born and raised in Kamloops, B.C. He attended NorKam High School, where he was part of the student council and participated in track, baseball, hockey and sports of all kinds. At Cariboo College he was president of the student council and became heavily involved with the Boys and Girls Club. This was the beginning of a lifelong passion for community service and helping others.

In 1986 Woody discovered running. Running with buddies became probably his favorite thing to do. Eventually he completed 18 marathons and countless long distance races.
Professionally, Woody’s career with the federal government spanned 33 years, mostly with Immigration. He always had a story about those busy days when his running often came in handy. The friendships and relationships he built there outlasted his workdays. After retirement, Woody spent years on his own helping people navigate the system and become Canadian citizens.

Woody married his wife, Kathie, in 1974, and they had 43 wonderful years together, all in south Kelowna among family and friends. He and Kathie loved Maui and they spent time there each year relaxing on the beach and running races in the sun. He’s either running one of his favorite routes or maybe sipping a beer on Po‘olenalena Beach right now.

Opatovsky, Albert
Remembered by Tim Seburn

Many readers of the Bulletin will recall Albert Opatovsky, area manager of Niagara Ports of Entry in the 1980s and 1990s. Albert retired from the Canadian federal service in 1998 and became a financial advisor with The Investors Group. Albert passed away on 13 December 2016, at the age of 60, survived by his wife, Margaret, two sons and a grandson.

Albert was well-known for his loyalty to staff, his service to the Ridgeway-Crystal Beach community, and his humanity. Among the several hundred who attended his visitation and memorial service were many former and present “Immigration” folks. In addition to a touching speech by his brother John, a former Customs officer, the other highlight of the service for me was a tribute paid by a traveler he turned into a friend.

It was the day before Christmas Eve 1978. Ando Yukihiko, a 24-year-old Japanese sales agent from Chicago, had brought his girlfriend, visiting from Japan, to the Canadian side of Niagara Falls, where their car had been broken into and their passports and money stolen. They decided to go to the Canadian Immigration office at the Rainbow Bridge to ask for help. Here they met Albert, a young Immigration officer. He lent them $200 cash and called American Immigration to advise them of the situation. Unfortunately, the American officials were unable to assist and returned the couple to Canada.

Albert asked them to wait until he was finished work. He took them to his home for the night, where Margaret fixed them a hearty meal. It was not until Ando got up next morning, and saw Albert and Margaret sleeping on the couch that he realized this recently newlywed couple had given up their only bed to strangers.

Ando’s girlfriend was able to get a flight back to Japan on Christmas Eve, but the Opatovskys looked after Ando over the entire holidays, making sure there was always a present for him under the tree at each of the many Christmas functions they attended. Ando said that, in January, when he finally had his documents to re-enter the United States, “You cannot believe that the back seat and boot of my car were loaded with gifts from Albert, Marg and their relatives. It was the most wonderful Christmas I ever experienced. I will never forget his warm heart, kindness, humanity, the spirit of mercy. Thank you very much, Albert!”

The Canadian Immigration Historical Society (www.CIHSHIC.ca) is a non-profit corporation registered as a charitable organization under the Income Tax Act.

The society’s goals are:
- to support, encourage and promote research into the history of Canadian immigration and to foster the collection and dissemination of that history, and
- to stimulate interest in and further the appreciation and understanding of the influence of immigration on Canada’s development and position in the world.

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Upcoming Conference in Ottawa