



## Announcement of CIHS's Annual General Meeting: Thursday 17 October 2019

The 2019 CIHS annual general meeting will be held at St. Anthony's Soccer Club, 523 St. Anthony Street, Ottawa. St. Anthony Street runs off Preston immediately north of the Highway 417 overpass.

Our Guest Speaker will be Yasir Naqvi, Chief Executive Officer of the Institute for Canadian Citizenship.

A cash bar will be open at 6:00 pm, and the meeting will come to order at 7:00 pm. The club is wheelchair accessible and has free parking. The meeting will be accompanied by an excellent Italian buffet at the cost of \$40. Students are particularly welcome and pay half price. We are looking forward to greeting new members and old and extend a special invitation to any members from outside the National Capital Region who happen to be in Ottawa.

Please RSVP [rgirard09@gmail.com](mailto:rgirard09@gmail.com), [info@cihs-shic.ca](mailto:info@cihs-shic.ca) or call 613-241-0166.

This year we are offering proxy voting on the board recommendation and the Treasurer's Report, both of which can be read on pages 17-18 of this Bulletin. Information on page 17 also includes information on how to vote by proxy.

## In Memory of Rwanda 25 Years Ago

Holly Edwards

*Holly Edwards was an immigration foreign service officer from 1981 to her retirement in 2012. Much of her career was spent on refugee policy and processing. She was posted to Belgrade, Cairo, Boston, Damascus, Vienna, and Brussels. While in Ottawa, among other assignments, she was Director of Africa Middle East Operations in what was then the International Service of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. She held this position during the genocide in Rwanda in 1994.*

At the time of the genocide in Rwanda, I headed up a small team at Immigration headquarters responsible for that part of the world. This article is an attempt to set down what we in headquarters and immigration officers in the field faced and what we did during that time. Those immigration foreign service officers who went to Rwanda on area trips prior to the genocide and to Burundi just as the genocide in Rwanda was beginning were, without a doubt, heroic, but I was not there to witness the full nature of their challenges, and they will have to tell those stories.

I was Director of Africa Middle East Operations in Immigration headquarters and thousands of miles away when the genocide began. I had arrived back in headquarters in late August 1993, after being immigration program manager in the Damascus office, which then was one of our bigger visa offices, encompassing work from Lebanon, Syria, Iran, Iraq, and

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Jordan. As an immigration director, I regularly attended meetings of the directors for the Africa Middle East region at the Department of Foreign Affairs under Assistant Deputy Minister Marc Perron, with whom I had worked while in Cairo in 1985-1986. From 1993 to 1994, every week that I attended the meeting there was a crisis somewhere in Africa or the Middle East; I recall we had to pull the immigration officer out of Algeria because security there deteriorated so badly.

I had never been a director at headquarters. My boss, Konrad Sigurdson, was usually out of the office working full time on integrating Immigration into the new Department of Public Security that had been announced in June 1993. Thank goodness Wayne Hammond, who had been the director of Africa Middle East Operations at one time, was both working on the same floor and nice enough to provide advice. Hugues Mathieu, Francine Galarneau, I, and our secretary made up the entire team. Hugues covered mostly the Middle East. He had lots of experience and was always very calm. When the genocide began, Hugues deftly handled "everything else" whenever necessary. Francine worked on Africa. She was new to working in geographic operations at headquarters, but it was an inspired choice to assign her to work with our visa offices in Africa, as she had lived there and understood a great deal about the area, whereas, although I had lived in Egypt, the only "African" country I had visited was the Sudan.

As it became clear a genocide was taking place, my team did its utmost to respond to requests for assistance. We trusted that the officers abroad were careful in their assessments. In emergency situations generally it is possible that "really bad guys" get in, to Canada, but we at HQ and our partners dealt with such situations when necessary. Perhaps more than anything, we tried to manage expectations of what the Immigration department could actually do in this very challenging situation.

### **The Rwandan Genocide and Government of Canada's Response**

The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) was established in 1993 to assist in the implementation of the Arusha Accords meant to end the Rwandan Civil War between the two main ethnic groups. The Hutu dominated the Rwandan government, and they were opposed by the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), at the time based in Uganda.<sup>1</sup>

The genocide began in April 1994. On 6 April, the plane of Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana was shot down. All aboard, including Habyarimana and Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira were killed. It was never conclusively established who was responsible, but within an hour Hutu extremist groups began slaughtering other Rwandans who were either ethnic Tutsi or moderate Hutus. Among the first victims were the moderate Hutu Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana and 10 Belgian soldiers with UNAMIR. The killing rapidly spread across Rwanda. At the same time, the Rwandan Patriotic Front began advancing out of Uganda against the predominantly Hutu army.

An undated copy of a situation report ("sit rep") which I kept, outlined the situation.

Up to now, more than 300,000 Rwandan nationals have fled Rwanda and reached neighbouring countries such as Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and Burundi. The immediate needs facing the refugees are safety, food, shelter and medical care.

On April 13, some representatives of the Rwandan community in Canada and two members of the Centre international des Droits de la personne et du Développement démocratique (CIDPPD) met with Minister André Ouellet to discuss the position to be adopted by Canada regarding the Rwandan crisis. The Rwandan community is mainly formed by Tutsis and their support for the RPF is widely known. On the subject of immigration, the community insisted that family reunification with their relatives fleeing atrocities be favoured by our office in Nairobi and that no Rwandan nationals responsible for human rights abuse be admitted to Canada. Special emphasis was also put on the admission of Rwandan human rights activists to Canada. In that sense, the help provided by Canada to M., the Rwandan human rights activist who has been issued a Minister's permit through our office in Brussels, was appreciated by the community.

The first phase of the international effort was to address the immediate needs of the hundreds of thousands of Rwandan refugees. Through CIDA<sup>2</sup>, Canada has provided 2 million dollars to the International Committee of the Red Cross for food aid and one million dollars in emergency funds.

Our office in Nairobi was processing about 60 immigration cases involving Rwandan nationals before the tragic events and a senior officer was sent to Bujumbura, Burundi, to facilitate the processing of those applications the week following the crisis in Rwanda. The officer issued Minister's permits to several orphans adopted by Canadian citizens and to a refugee. As more Rwandan nationals have reached Burundi in the last two weeks, the officer was sent again to Bujumbura between May 3 and May 6 to meet with applicants. Our objective is to facilitate the admission of people who have connections to Canada and who have no link with either of the warring factions. Further trips to Burundi would depend on whether the

office is able to reach applicants, whether there is a sufficient number of new sponsorships and last but not least, whether our officer can continue to travel safely to Burundi.

Since the UNHCR has not requested resettlement outside of Africa, no initiative has yet been taken to have a special program for Rwandan refugees. Our office in Nairobi continues to accept Rwandan refugees under its allocation for African refugees. The Ministère des Affaires internationales, des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration du Québec is prepared to accept about 100 refugees from Rwanda. In cooperation with our office in Nairobi, the Service de l'Immigration du Québec in Brussels will be processing these expeditiously.

So far, only the Kenyan authorities have requested our help in dealing with Rwandan nationals. A group of 165 refugees had fled their country and were stranded at the Nairobi airport. Canada was the first country to offer to help, though the Americans and the Australians have now come on board. As of today, 47 refugees from this group have been selected by Canada.

Twenty-five nuns and postulantes who work with the Canadian group "Soeurs du Bon Pasteur" and most recently 27 working with the "Communauté du Bon-Conseil" are expected to be evacuated from Kigali to Nairobi, where they will receive Minister's Permits to travel to Canada. These individuals seek temporary asylum only, until such time as the situation in Rwanda stabilizes. In the meantime, they will be housed respectively in Quebec City and Chicoutimi by the religious communities to which they belong.

As is usually the case when "hell breaks loose" in a country, the Department of Foreign Affairs issued a consular instruction for Canadians to leave Rwanda. Québécois priests and nuns had been very active in Rwanda for many years, in particular the Sisters of Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil from Chicoutimi since 1976, and the Sisters of Bon Pasteur from Quebec City since the 1960s. In 1988 the Sisters of Bon Pasteur established the Centre Umushumba Mwiza ("Bon Pasteur" in Kinyarwanda, an official language of Rwanda). By the time of the genocide, 60 women were participating in its social reintegration program. Seven of the Canadian sisters of Bon Pasteur were repatriated to Canada in April. Eight Canadian sisters of Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil left for Canada the same month.

When they left, the sisters of Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil brought with them four Rwandan orphans who had been or were in the process of being adopted by families in Quebec. Canadian families had been adopting Rwandan orphans since 1991. Forty-two Rwandan children were adopted before the genocide. Of the four babies the sisters brought out with them in April 1994, one did not have all the required papers. The sisters stopped in Burundi, where the Belgian embassy helped them contact the Canadian high commission in Nairobi. They then continued to Nairobi. Someone from the high commission went to the sisters' hotel in Nairobi, checked that they were all right, and provided them with the documents required for all the children to enter Canada (probably Minister's permits). Bob Romano, who was Acting Immigration Program Manager in Nairobi at the time, recalls that:

We had no idea when Canadians or persons of interest would be arriving at the airport, so we organized a 24-hour airport watch which included everyone at the Mission, including a number of local staff. When groups arrived at the airport, we bused them to a hotel. There they were met by a welcoming committee of spouses who arranged for them to get fed, clothed if necessary, and held hands, hugged and listened to their stories—some of which, as you can imagine, were horrific. Later, the spouses all got a special award from Foreign Affairs for their efforts.

The sisters managed to take a total of six orphans out of Rwanda over the period of the genocide. One Canadian sister was unable to leave in April 1994 as she was too far away from Kigali and could not get to the capital. She left Rwanda in June and brought another adopted child with her. The last adopted child, who arrived in Canada in late August or early September 1994, had been with some Rwandan sisters and priests who had escaped to the forest when the genocide began.<sup>3</sup>

Articles about the Sisters of Bon Pasteur in Rwanda and the Sisters of Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil can be found on the Université Laval's site "Patrimoine immatériel religieux du Québec". I was able to speak to sisters of both Bon Pasteur and Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil who had been in Rwanda and obtained more information from them. The stories these sisters have to tell are fascinating, but they tell them modestly; perhaps that is why I did not find it possible to locate their stories written down anywhere in any detail. A number of the sisters involved have since passed away.

Bob Romano also remembers that some of the Belgian special forces were especially helpful with the evacuation of Canadians:

One group made it to a convent in which there were three Canadian nuns and 15 Rwandan novitiates. The nuns refused to leave without the novitiates . . . I advised that we would take them and sort it out later.

They arrived the next night. One nun was waving a Canadian flag followed by her flock. It was very moving.

In Africa Middle East Operations, we liaised with the mother house of Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil and briefed the Minister and senior departmental officials on the situation. The orphans arrived very quickly and very early, and since the Canadian media were not yet attuned to the magnitude of the crisis in Rwanda, there was little coverage. The Immigration Minister, Sergio Marchi, and his office raised the possibility of the Minister appearing at the airport in Montreal to welcome the adopted children. This did not take place, as there were fears that publicity about the arrivals might be detrimental to bringing more people out of Rwanda or could endanger the Canadian military and religious personnel who were still in Rwanda. It was also unclear if the sisters, who had organized and carried out all the work in these cases, or the adoptive parents of the children were receptive to the idea.

When Foreign Affairs issued its consular warning, it became clear that the Government of Canada had to take action to deal with Rwandans in Canada. At the time, there was a clear division between the domestic and the foreign service, and I was both at a loss to figure out what kind of action that might be and also not in a position to tell any domestic officers what to do. It may have been Wayne Hammond who suggested I contact Brian McQuillan, who was at that time, I believe, responsible for inland enforcement. For those who do not know him, Brian McQuillan, who has since left the federal public service, was a gentleman with a lively sense of humour and an ability to cut to the chase. He was also one of the most efficient domestic officers with whom I had the privilege to work. He answered my call immediately, came to my office, and promptly laid out a plan of action.

Although it was arguably one of the worst humanitarian situations since the Second World War and the concentration camps, it was not the first time that we had to deal with a country in crisis. There was a list of things to do, and Brian ran me through it. We decided that, since the situation in Burundi was also fragile and violent and it too might rapidly degenerate into genocide, we would adopt concurrent measures for Rwanda and Burundi. The plan included extending student and visitor visas for Rwandans and Burundians who were already in Canada (there were a lot of CIDA scholarship students in Canada), providing information sessions to them on their status, giving them an opportunity to ask questions about family, and stopping any pending deportations of Rwandans and Burundians. On the foreign service side, we issued an instruction to visa offices telling them about the situation in Rwanda and Burundi, asking them to report if any stranded nationals approached them, and warning them to be on the lookout should relatives of people already in Canada, by some miracle, present themselves to their missions.<sup>4</sup>

While Brian organized the in-Canada side, we in Africa Middle East Operations worked with the visa office in Nairobi to see what else we could do. Nairobi thought that it could do one last interviewing trip to Burundi, despite the growing risk of it becoming too dangerous. The primary objective was to see all the family class applicants and all the Rwandan refugees in Burundi sponsored by private groups, with the idea that, if qualified, they should be given visas or permits and get out before it became impossible. I believe Susan Scarlett went on the above-mentioned 3 to 6 May trip to Burundi. We in Africa Middle East Operations obtained the interview schedule and decided to call all the sponsoring groups to inform them of the date and time of the interview scheduled in Burundi for their relative or "their refugee". We told them that we could not evaluate how dangerous it would be for their relatives to get to the interview, but if possible, they should show up, as it might be the last interviewing trip made to Burundi in a while. My recollection is that almost everyone we wanted to interview showed up.

Presumably the Sisters of Bon Pasteur got my telephone number from the Sisters of Notre-Dame du Bon Conseil, because, to my surprise, their mother superior in Quebec City began to phone me, asking if we could arrange for the visa office in Nairobi to tell the Kenyans that Canada would provide permits to certain individuals that the nuns were able to get out of Rwanda. We could and we did. They included a group of about 12 Tutsi novitiates.<sup>5</sup> The mother house in Quebec City got a fax from Italy that these novitiates were still alive and near the Zaire<sup>6</sup> border. Two sisters who had left for Canada in April went back. They could not enter Rwanda, so they went to Bukavu, Zaire, where they found 10 of the novitiates at a Jesuit mission. The other two novitiates were in Rwanda near the border close to Goma (Zaire). The two Canadian sisters crossed Lake Kivu, but because they could not enter Rwanda, French military went into Rwanda and brought the two novitiates out. The 12 novitiates all came to Canada, but once the genocide was over and a new predominately Tutsi government was in place, they returned to continue their work in Rwanda. Together with the 15 novitiates Nairobi processed earlier, a total of 27 Rwandan novitiates came to Canada. There were also individual cases. A Canadian priest, who is currently in Rwanda, was able to get a young woman out via Nairobi. She is still in Canada and has since married. Every case was miraculous, given the dire situation in Rwanda.

The other group that got people out was, of course, the Canadian military. Regular Canadian military planes flying to Rwanda with supplies were, on occasion, able to facilitate the departure of individual Rwandans and Canadians. These Rwandan cases were rare and in the main were dealt with by the Nairobi visa office issuing Minister's permits and giving assurances to the Kenyans that the individuals would leave Kenya. Our headquarters was not involved in most of these

departures. I do remember Bob Romano joking that he had a special consular suitcase that he took with him to the airport. It contained a bottle of expensive Scotch in the event he needed to “persuade” a Kenyan official. Even if everything is arranged, one individual can suddenly put it all in jeopardy for no reason other than he is looking for a personal reward.

There was another group that I was personally involved with. It was a Sunday afternoon and my husband had taken our toddler to the Children’s Museum with some friends. I was in my pajamas in my kitchen when I got a telephone call from Lucie Edwards (no relation), our High Commissioner in Kenya. She had been called by General Dallaire, who said his troops might have a “window of opportunity” to reach some 40 or so Tutsi orphans at an orphanage in or near the capital, Kigali. If they managed to get the orphans to safety, they needed CIC to commit to bringing them to Canada, sight unseen and no checks possible. Without such a guarantee, they could not bring them to Kenya. I hung up and immediately called Mike Molloy, who was then Director General of Refugee Branch, and explained the situation. He called Minister Marchi. Within 30 minutes, Mike called me back to say that the Minister agreed to bring the whole group to Canada. I have never been so proud of a minister. I transmitted the message back to Lucie within an hour of her call to me. Unfortunately, the “window” never materialized and Dallaire’s men were unable to reach the orphanage. A little while later, Minister Marchi was being grilled by the press, which felt Canada was not doing enough to help Rwandans. In the heat of the moment, he announced that CIC had an “operation” to assist Rwandan orphans. The press, of course, wanted to know where the orphans were. Luckily, there had been no publicity about the adopted children who had arrived earlier, and so we were able to tell the press about them, and that got us and the Minister out of a tight spot.

Another issue that arose in this crisis frequently occurs in such situations. It is to Canadians’ credit that they want to help, and to help children in particular. But taking individual minor children from a country is fraught with difficulty, even when there is no armed conflict. Neither the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) nor the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) supports representatives of foreign countries flying into conflict zones and removing children when it is not absolutely clear that the children are both without family and in immediate danger.<sup>7</sup> Provincial authorities for child welfare do not want children to be given to families or individuals in Canada unless they are convinced that those individuals are qualified to take care of them, have the best interests of the children at heart, and have a plan to take care of the children. In the case of the Rwandan genocide, by the time foreigners could safely get into the country, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), which controlled most of it, was firmly against foreigners coming and taking away minor children. The RPF was predominantly Tutsi, like most of those massacred, and its objective was for the Tutsi children who had survived to find their relatives and to stay in Rwanda.

A group in British Columbia, however, was determined to get on the next plane to bring Rwandan “orphans” back to Canada. They wanted CIC to issue permits for the children they intended to bring back. The British Columbia child welfare authorities did not know who these children were and were concerned that formal adoption procedures had not even been started. At the time, the new Rwandan government had halted all foreign adoptions.<sup>8</sup> The Department of Foreign Affairs was worried that these Canadian citizens would run afoul of the Rwandan authorities and find themselves in serious difficulty. CIC had to react very quickly.

I organized a telephone conference call with various B.C. stakeholders at about 6 p.m. on a Friday before a long weekend. It was such a last-minute arrangement that my husband and young daughter were waiting for me in the car downstairs so that we could leave town for my in-laws immediately after. As I recall, only Valerie de Montigny (from CIC Communications) and I were in the CIC conference room in Ottawa taking the call. The “adopting group” from British Columbia and the B.C. welfare authorities were on the line, along with (possibly) someone from Foreign Affairs. I do know that I was able to convince the group not to fly off to Rwanda. Whew!!! I quoted chapter and verse of the UNHCR and UNICEF policy and talked about the likely reaction of the new Rwandan government. The provincial authorities asked good questions about how the children were to be identified. The group realized, I believe, that they needed to do more preparatory work. The crisis was defused, and I left for Sherbrooke with my family. Since we had to brief immigration officials in other parts of Canada in case such groups approached them, Valerie offered to do the minutes of the meeting. I gratefully accepted.

After having done so well, I made one mistake. It was before the days of cell phones and Blackberries. I was still relatively new to HQ. If there had continued to be a problem, I would of course have stayed to handle it and would certainly have told my boss about it. But I was thrilled that the situation had been so categorically resolved; I figured that my superiors would know that all was ok because I did not contact them; and I thought I could wait until Tuesday to report on it. I was exhausted and under pressure to hit the road immediately, and I did not want to bother anyone unnecessarily on the long weekend. On Tuesday, instead of kudos, I got an earful from senior management for not having kept them “in the loop”.

### **Léon Mugesera**

The story of the work done by CIC at the time of the Rwandan genocide would not be complete without mention of Léon Mugesera. As per the Supreme Court decision in 2005, Mugesera was an active member of a hardline Hutu political party who spoke to about 1,000 people at a party meeting in Rwanda in November 1992. The speech’s contents led the Rwandan Minister of Justice at the time to issue the equivalent of a warrant for his arrest for inciting hatred. Mugesera fled

the country. Applying as a privately sponsored refugee, he was able to obtain a visa and enter Canada in 1993. In 1995, having received and verified information about Mugesera, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration began proceedings to deport him on the grounds that by delivering his speech, he had incited murder, genocide, and hatred and had therefore committed a crime against humanity. Mugesera appealed the decision several times.

Even after the Supreme Court decision in 2005 that there were reasonable grounds to believe he had committed a crime against humanity and he was declared inadmissible, he was still not deported from Canada until 2012, when guarantees were obtained from Rwanda that he would be neither executed nor tortured. He was returned to Rwanda for trial and in 2016 a Rwandan court sentenced him to life in prison.

CIC obtained a tape recording of his 1992 speech through our mission in Nairobi. Pierre Duquette, who wrote the main reasons for the Immigration Appeal Division decision to dismiss the appeal of the original decision of adjudicator Pierre Turmel that ordered Mugesera deported, deserves special mention for his painstaking and careful analysis of the evidence. (The background and his analysis appear starting at para 28 in the [decision](#). It is fascinating reading to see how he explained his reasons for preferring one witness's testimony over another, referred to other evidence that came to a different conclusion, and explained why he rejected that evidence.) One of the "really bad guys" did get into Canada along with the many innocent victims but, although it took a very long time to send him back to Rwanda to face justice, the immigration system did a good job of explaining why he should be deported and ultimately, he was.<sup>9</sup>

While I believe the main heroes of this story were individual Rwandans, the members of UNAMIR and Roman Catholic nuns and priests in Rwanda, I think it is important to show that CIC was, and continues to be, able to do something when "hell breaks loose" thousands of miles away. The visa section in Nairobi did a stellar job at the time of the Rwandan genocide with little help required from headquarters. What headquarters can do lives on wherever the "operational readiness" function is currently housed, to be dusted off and put into practice when there is another crisis. The Mugesera case was awful, but the only way to completely obviate the risk of accepting a war criminal in such situations is not to accept anyone. I am very proud that Canada accepted as many Rwandan refugees as we did.

I dearly wish General Dallaire could have had his "window of opportunity" and that Canada could have welcomed another 40 children, but I am very proud that both Dallaire and the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration were willing to try. We do not generally think of Roman Catholic nuns or priests as being inventive, pragmatic, and skilled in logistics and problem solving like the military, but they certainly impressed me by their work in Rwanda. After the experience of Rwanda, I began to say that if I was ever in trouble, I hoped that there would be Canadian military or nuns in the neighborhood. I still hope so

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<sup>1</sup> For more about the background, the work of the UNAMIR and the genocide, readers might consult the book by General Roméo Dallaire *J'ai serré la main du Diable*.

<sup>2</sup> Canadian International Development Agency

<sup>3</sup> The children who went to Canada were adopted and have remained in Canada. There were five in Quebec and one in Ontario. They and the other 42 who arrived from 1991 to 1994, have done well in Canada, with many studying at university.

<sup>4</sup> In one of those strange vagaries of life, my last assignment at CIC Headquarters included being responsible for Operational Readiness, i.e., what to do when a crisis occurs. By 2012, many experienced officers, both domestic and foreign service, had left and the corporate experience of what we had always done in times of crises had, to a large extent, gone with them. Alain Neveu, who was himself new to CIC, took on the role of recreating the "to do list" that Brian McQuillan had first introduced me to.

<sup>5</sup> The number quoted here is different from the Laval University article, which talks about nine novitiates coming to Canada. I, however, spoke with one of the two sisters who went to Zaire to locate the novitiates and bring them back to Quebec City. She was clear that 12 were brought out— ten in Zaire and two in Rwanda.

<sup>6</sup> Zaire was the name of the current Democratic Republic of the Congo from 1971 to 1997.

<sup>7</sup> UNHCR Refugee Children: Guidelines on Protection and Care. <https://www.unhcr.org/protection/children/3b84c6c67/refugee-children-guidelines-protection-care.html?query=policy%20on%20adoption%20of%20children%20in%20conflict%20situation>

<sup>8</sup> It took some time until Rwanda again had a legal process. The Rwandan government did not sign the Hague Convention on Adoptions until 2012 and even subsequently there have been periods where adoption has not been possible from Rwanda.

<sup>9</sup> Between 1996 and 2000, when I was serving in Vienna, I dealt with an application from a Rwandan who had been accepted as a refugee years before by Austria. In his application, the principal applicant noted that he had served in the government in power at the time of the Rwandan genocide. I flagged this to the War Crimes unit and they consulted with colleagues in Foreign Affairs responsible for Rwanda. (The War Crimes unit was still in CIC as CBSA had not yet been created.) The applicant was refused. Had it not been me, with my experience of Rwanda, who reviewed this application, we might have let in another problematic Rwandan, albeit a much less high profile and odious figure.

## The CIC Library and the Canadian Immigration Historical Society: A Fruitful Partnership

Charlene Elgee

*Charlene Elgee, a retired CIC library manager, is a CIHS Board member and its archivist.*

Many years ago, a group of federal librarians was asked to define a “Government of Canada Library” for the now-defunct Canadian Library Association’s journal *Feliciter*<sup>1</sup>. The journal was preparing a special issue on special libraries. Special libraries are those dedicated to and existing within a specific organization, such as a corporation, a law firm, an arts organization, or a research foundation. What all special libraries have in common is a strong ethic of providing high-quality (no fake news here) information to their client base. Our article was remarkably unsuccessful in coming up with one definition for federal libraries—their service offerings and mandates are as various as the departments they serve.

The CIC Library had its own unique role to fill within the department; and for us, providing access to the history of immigration was of particular importance. The history of Canada is to a large extent the history of immigration and, in many ways, it’s a living history. The policies of yesteryear that did or did not work for the country are still shaping our path as a nation. They need to be studied and understood in order to create today’s policies. The legal decisions and instruments of a hundred years ago have an effect on today’s immigrants and today’s lawmaking. It’s the reason why the CIHS is so important and one of the reasons why the CIC Library maintained an enduring bond with the CIHS.

But what about the Library and Archives Canada (LAC) collection? Doesn’t it cover everything historical in Canada? The short answer is NO! LAC has never had a mandate to be the repository of all the federal departmental documentary heritage. And don’t forget that we didn’t even have a national library until 1952, almost a hundred years after Confederation! The history of the curation of our published and unpublished documentation in Canada is one of both haphazard and deliberate collection and care by dedicated librarians throughout our history as a nation and long before. This huge feat was accomplished while standing on quicksand; only four libraries at the federal level have the stability and security of being founded in legislation: LAC, the National Research Council’s library (The Canadian Institute for Scientific and Technical Information or CISTI), the Library of Parliament, and the Supreme Court Library.<sup>2</sup>

Immigration documentation has the additional complication of a constantly changing parent department for the immigration mandate in the Canadian government: Mines and Resources, Agriculture, Manpower and Immigration to name a few. The collection on the shelves when the CIC Library closed its doors in 2012 had started with a core collection pulled from the Human Resources and Development Canada (HRDC) Library which in turn had been an amalgamated collection from all of the departments that had gone into creating that super-department in 1993-94. In 1997 the Employment and Immigration Commission (immigration collection) and the Secretary of State (citizenship collection) were brought into the CIC library. The next 15 years saw the growth of that carefully chosen original collection into a unique and extensive collection on Canadian immigration. Attention was given to collecting all publications on the topic, print and electronic, and to bringing together the extensive historical record which had been scattered by the peripatetic nature of the immigration portfolio. All annual reports and the complete legislative history (laws and instruments) were brought together under one roof.

From the beginning of that newly minted CIC Library, the members of the CIHS were both clients and resources. Dawn Monroe, the first manager, extended library-use rights to all retired employees and gave full support to the CIHS by collecting all their publications and by publishing bibliographies of the CIHS works on the library intranet site. The library bought the Society’s first corporate membership. This policy included giving as much support as possible to the Pier 21 Resource Centre because Pier 21 shared founding members with the CIHS. Once Pier 21 became a federal museum, the library forwarded extra copies of pertinent published material and ephemera to its Resource Centre.

In turn, CIHS gave back to the library and to the department. The Bulletin was a rich resource for historical research, often being the first line of attack for library staff. It was so important that the library arranged for the creation of an index by students on placement from the Algonquin College library technicians’ program. The first 50 Bulletins were indexed under this initiative, and this year (2019) all remaining bulletins up to Bulletin 88 were indexed.

CIHS members often came into the library to research topics for Bulletin articles or for academic research, and they in turn became an important resource for the library research staff. Enquiries from CIC staff on past policies and departmental procedures often meant a call to the Society’s membership when no documentary source existed. A university professor writing a book<sup>3</sup> on a topic that took her to post-war Paris was put in touch with an officer who had been there—and the whole process started with a question posed to the CIC Library. At one point, Michael Molloy even helped create a more welcoming space on the third floor of the North Jean Edmonds Tower by lending the library his paintings for a special exhibit.

A highlight for me in the many years of exchange between the library and the CIHS came in 2005. Library staff along with the CIHS organized a book launch for one of the Society's venerable members, Roger St. Vincent. It was a joyous event. All of the library staff came together to provide food and a great atmosphere to launch the story of Roger's career with the immigration side of the foreign service. We even had CIC employee Cabot Yu and one of his student employees dressed in historical immigration uniforms. At no time was it more evident how libraries can provide a valuable community space to bring together people and ideas. And it was an event that grew out of many years of mutual cooperation on work dear to the hearts of the library staff and the CIHS: preserving and telling the story of our past as newcomers to Canada.

<sup>1</sup> Elgee, Charlene et al. "What exactly is a Government of Canada Library?" *Feliciter* 58 (3), 101-102, 2012

<sup>2</sup> Royal Society of Canada Expert Panel. *The Future Now: Canada's Libraries, Archives and Public Memory*. Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 2014 (pages 139–153 deal with federal libraries) <https://rsc-src.ca/en/future-now-canadas-libraries-archives-and-public-memory>

<sup>3</sup> Coady, Mary Frances. *Georges and Pauline Vanier: Portrait of a Couple*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2011 [https://www.mqup.ca/georges-and-pauline-vanier-products-9780773538832.php?page\\_id=46](https://www.mqup.ca/georges-and-pauline-vanier-products-9780773538832.php?page_id=46)

## First Gunn Prize Winner Earns More Honours

Gerry Maffre

Stephen Fielding, the winner of the inaugural 2010 Gunn Prize, has achieved further academic recognition. He recently received his doctorate in history from the University of Victoria. For his thesis, entitled "Sporting Multiculturalism: Toronto's Postwar European Immigrants, Gender, Diaspora, and the Grassroots Making of Canadian Diversity", he received the Canadian Historical Association's John Bullen Prize. The prize honours "the outstanding Ph.D. thesis on a historical topic submitted in a Canadian university".

Fielding's dissertation explores the politics of immigration and multiculturalism from the grassroots level of immigrant leisure, where a pluralistic envisaging of English Canada was foreshadowed, renegotiated, and acted out through community and professional sport. It reveals how, during the postwar period of Canada's rapid social and political transformation and national self-reflection, European immigrant men created a competitive and economically profitable model of popular multiculturalism that emphasized cultural distinctiveness. Fielding focusses primarily on soccer and pays particular attention to the outsized organizational role of Italian immigrants. He weaves together politics and public policy, urban renewal, and immigrant experiences. He argues that Italy's 1982 World Cup victory produced a watershed moment in the history of Canadian multiculturalism and that the Italian-Canadian celebration inaugurated new modes of citizen participation in the public sphere. At the same time, he identifies the paradoxical problem that in the new vision of inclusivity, cultural distinctiveness had to be identified, maintained, and sometimes defended to survive.



Stephen Fielding at his doctoral graduation

Fielding is now working on a book manuscript of the thesis. The Society congratulates him on these latest achievements!

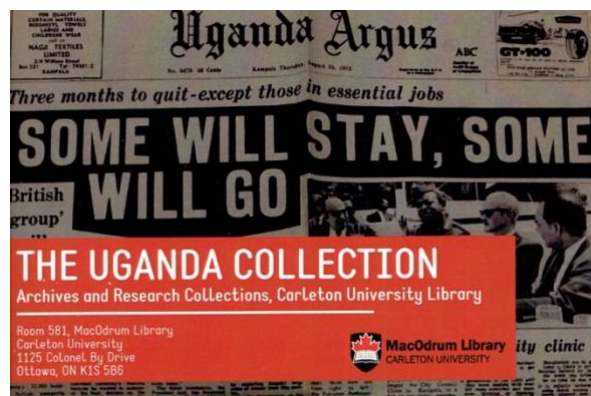
## Busy Times at CIHS

Michael Molloy and Kurt F. Jensen

Spring 2019 set a new record for CIHS outreach and activity. Below is a list of the events and a description of CIHS's involvement. We were busy! For illustration, the article includes images of a few of our new postcard-sized publicity handouts, which were distributed at these events.

### Visit to Toronto: 13 May

The sustained burst of activity began on 13 May with Mike Molloy travelling to Toronto to assist at a fundraiser for Carleton University's Ugandan Asian Archive and to co-chair a panel at the Canadian Association of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies annual conference at York University. While in Toronto, Molloy met with the head of the Vietnamese Canadian Federation to discuss the possibility of bringing out a shorter version of *Running on Empty* in Vietnamese (more to follow about that in future Bulletins).





At the CIHS's 23 May Executive Meeting in Ottawa, we hosted IRCC Assistant Deputy Minister David Manicom, to hear about his upcoming assignment with UNHCR in Geneva leading implementation of the recently adopted Global Refugee Compact.

### **Presentation to IRCC's Research Matters Group: 29 May**

IRCC disseminates emails containing the latest research on migration under the heading of *Research at a Glance*. These informative packets are of interest to anyone following the ever-expanding fields of migration, displacement and diaspora studies. IRCC also hosts periodic meetings of immigration scholars and interested employees. CIHS presented on 29 May to one such meeting on the Hearts of Freedom project's initial findings, based on what we had noticed with the 30 or so interviews that had been conducted to date. While the project's main purpose is to record and preserve the former refugees' recollections, specific themes have emerged. These include the lifelong impact of severe trauma and the resilience of the refugee population after arrival in Canada. We also explained that we had observed how important language training is and the implications of its absence; the critical role of family reunification to refugees' mental health combined with the beneficial impact of community building; and the enduring positive impact of Canada's private sponsorship model.

### **Participation in National Public Service Week, Ottawa, 10 June**

For several years we have delivered presentations at IRCC HQ on matters of historical interest. This year Kurt Jensen did the honours with a briefing on the work CIHS has undertaken on the Lebanese Special Movement (1975 to 1990). Participants were treated to lunch provided by the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (PAFSO) and to a Lebanese dessert provided by CIHS, both arranged by Randy Orr, our CIHS departmental representative.

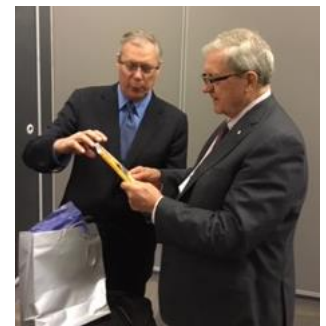


The presentation focused on our early research and the papers completed so far. After a brief summary of Lebanon's history, the presentation explained the beginning of the civil war in April 1975, when Beirut changed from the "Paris of the Middle East" to a city caught in a vicious religious civil war. The impact of this conflict on the immigration program was felt overnight, with staff and clients often unable to get to the Canadian embassy because of fighting in the streets. In the midst of the daily fighting, the embassy was

caught up in an assault by a distraught Lebanese-Canadian who held mission staff hostage for a day [See article elsewhere in this Bulletin]. It proved the final straw: the immigration section was moved to Athens and then to a hotel in Limassol, Cyprus, where it remained until its return to Beirut in July 1977. The return was not permanent. Unrest continued. Terrorist attacks and an Israeli invasion had the visa section move in 1984 to Amman, Jordan and to Damascus, Syria the following year. The immigration office finally returned to Beirut in August 1995.

### **CIHS Presentation to the PAFSO Professional Development Day, 13 June**

Randy Orr and fellow CIHS member Norman Morgan were the main organizers in putting on a well-attended, high-quality PAFSO professional development (PD) day at the Shaw Centre in Ottawa, focussing on the work of the Immigration Foreign Service. The Honourable Ahmed Hussen, Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, opened the session by highlighting innovation, client service, and the added value Immigration's foreign service contingent brings to the program. Former Minister of Employment and Immigration and current Chair of the World Refugee Council, Dr. Lloyd Axworthy, provided the keynote address on *Transforming the Global Refugee System* and the work of the World Refugee Council in looking for innovative solutions for the world's 25 million refugees. These highlights were followed by thoughtful presentations on balancing facilitation and security, the UN's Global Compacts on Refugees and Migration, the return of female foreign fighters, trade and security dynamics of Central American migration, and the migration crisis in Venezuela. Brian Casey chaired a session in which Molloy and IRCC ADM Dawn Edlund compared Canada's Indochinese and Syrian movements. Kudos to Orr and Morgan for delivering a very classy event.



L-R: Randy Orr and Lloyd Axworthy at the PAFSO PD

### **Humanizing Migration**

On 20 June, World Refugee Day, four local universities—University of Ottawa (UofO), Carleton University, St Paul University, and University of Quebec (Outaouais)—hosted an event called "Humanizing Migration" in the UofO's new state-of-the-art Learning Crossroads Building. The opening session, "Canada's Role in Global Migration Policy", was

chaired by Jennifer Bond of the UofO's [Refugee Hub](#) and addressed by Immigration Minister Hussen, UNHCR representative Michael Casasola and Mustafa Alio of the [Network for Refugee Voices](#). Subsequent workshops addressed refugee education, the Safe Third Country Agreement, community engagement in resettlement and environmental displacement.

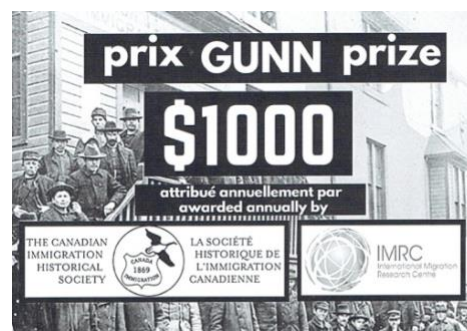


CIHS and our [Hearts of Freedom](#) partners, Allan Moscovitch, Mondy Lim and Mai Nguyen participated with a booth featuring an [eight-minute video presentation](#) created by Lim on the Hearts of Freedom project. As we are invited to attend increasingly more of such events, we used the occasion to debut a series of colourful postcard-sized handouts highlighting the Hearts of Freedom project, the Ugandan Asian online archive at Carleton University, the Gunn Prize, our book *Running on Empty*, CIHS, and the CIHS Bulletin.

There will be more information about CIHS involvement in the Hearts of Freedom initiative in an upcoming edition of the Bulletin.

### International Metropolis Pre-event and Pathways to Prosperity Preconference, 24 June

The International Metropolis Conference was preceded by a workshop for PhD students, where Kurt Jensen made a presentation about the [Gunn Prize](#) to build awareness about it in this targeted audience. Concurrently, [Pathways to Prosperity](#) hosted a day-long conference exploring various aspects of measuring settlement outcomes for immigrants and refugees. As the federal government now spends over a billion dollars a year on immigrant and refugee settlement and integration, it was reassuring to see Canadian and international practitioners, officials and academics coming together to discuss how to measure the effectiveness of our settlement system.



### International Metropolis Conference, 24-28 June

"[The Promise of Migration: Inclusion, Economic Growth and Global Cooperation](#)" at the Shaw Centre attracted approximately 1,000 participants with inspiring keynote speakers, plenaries on international governance, south-south migration, economic repercussions of migration, non-governmental actors, internally displaced persons, technology, cities and migration and public confidence. A bewildering choice of 125 workshops included such disparate topics as mental health and refugees—when one size fits all or none; Indigenous education for newcomers; Canada's Operation Syrian Refugees—in Canada and Overseas; raising our game—communicating to counter anti-immigrant rhetoric; making skilled migration work through innovative support structures; Chinese and Indian immigrants in Singapore, Vancouver and Los Angeles; migration health in a global context; mediating and brokering—Canadian immigration bureaucracy and its interfaces; and refugees as economic migrants and the development of complementary pathways for refugees.



CIHS at the International Metropolis Conference. L-R: Charlene Elgee, Raphael Girard, Michael Molloy, Sylvie Doucet, Mondy Lim (Hearts of Freedom project), Peter Duschinsky. Courtesy of Mondy Lim.

Conference participants had an opportunity to see the [musical \*Pier 21\*](#) by Vancouver-based playwright and actor Allen Desnoyers, thanks in part to the efforts of Gerry Maffre and Randy Orr.

The CIHS/Hearts of Freedom conference booth, equipped with a video presentation, banners, and postcard hand-outs, provided us with an opportunity to interact with Canadian and international participants about the society and its projects. It seemed to be the most active of the dozen booths at the conference. Thanks to those who volunteered to set up and staff the booth. Sales of *Running on Empty*, *Strangers at our Gates* and *The Hai Hong* were modest but the event gave us an opportunity to acquaint a large number of immigration scholars and experts with our work. The pre-conference and plenary presentations are available on the [Metropolis website](#).

The International Metropolis Conference was hosted by IRCC, and the team led by Enrico del Costello did a masterful job.

## Historical Donations

Gerry Maffre

CIHS continues to arrange donations to the Pier 21 Museum. We recently proposed to them several Immigration lapel pins including those from Brian Beaupré, Gordon Cheeseman (via Gary Blachford) and Gerry Maffre. As well, we helped Pat Marshall, a well-known immigrant settlement worker in Ottawa, to connect with the Museum about donating passports, landing records and personal effects testifying to her and her family's migration to Canada from the United Kingdom. We also connected her to our partner, the Hearts of Freedom project at Carleton University, to pursue some other donations.

Finally, we have been working with Ken Brown, son of Captain Bryan Brown. Captain Brown is featured in Chapter 20 of *Running on Empty* for his role in rescuing Vietnamese refugees at sea who were then sheltered and cared for on the Canadian Pacific ship *M.V. Mather* that Brown captained. The refugees were eventually permitted to leave the ship in Japan, whence they migrated to the U.K. and Canada. The Society has worked with Ken to have his father's papers accepted into the Carleton University Archives as part of the Hearts of Freedom project.

## Indochinese Refugee Processing in the U.S.A. after the Fall of Saigon

Michael Molloy

I had the pleasure of having lunch with colleague Murray Oppertshauser and his wife Victoria at the beautiful Hester Creek winery in Oliver B.C., this August. Murray and I worked closely together during the big Indochinese movement from 1979 to 1980, when Murray established and managed the Bangkok operation. Murray's involvement with the Vietnamese movement, however, goes back further.

After the defeat of South Vietnam in April 1975, the Canadian government authorized the admission of any Vietnamese or



Cambodian with relatives in Canada, plus 3,000 Convention refugees. The Americans rescued about 130,000 Vietnamese who had put to sea as Saigon fell, moving them first to Subic Bay in the Philippines, then to Guam and Wake Island, and then to four military bases in the U.S.: Camp Pendleton in California, Fort Chaffee in Arkansas, Eglin Air Force Base in Florida, and Fort Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania. The Canadian consulate in Los Angeles handled resettlement of Vietnamese from Camp Pendleton (see *Running on Empty* pages 52-54), and after the General Quang affair (a story for another time) Joe Bissett sent Murray to process refugees in Fort Chaffee and Eglin AFB and finally Fort Indiantown Gap

L-R: Murray Oppertshauser, Michael Molloy

The Canadian team in Fort Indiantown Gap included immigration officers, mainly from the domestic service, visa typing experts Jolène Carrière and Veronica Clark, and doctors Monty Palmer and Roger Leclerc. There is little photographic evidence of these operations (except Guam) but during our lunch Murray donated rare photos of the streetscapes and refugee accommodations at Eglin AF Base and Fort Indiantown Gap. By the end of 1975, Canadian teams in Hong Kong, Guam, Wake Island, and the four U.S. bases had sent 7,000 refugees to Canada.

Three years later, Murray and Bob Shalka were posted to Bangkok after UN High Commissioner for Refugees Poul Hartling, during his first visit to Canada in the summer of 1978, thanked Canada for its efforts on behalf of Vietnamese boat people and asked if we would take some Laotian and Cambodian refugees as well. That request had three consequences:

- a draft "Small Boat Escapee Designated Class" was expanded to include Laotian and Cambodian refugees as the "Indochinese Designated Class";
- the 1978 "metered" commitment to accept 50 boat families a month was expanded to include 20 "Thailand Overland Refugee" families; and
- Canada opened a visa office in Bangkok, Thailand to handle refugee processing that had previously been done in Singapore.

Murray and Bob, who arrived in Thailand in November 1978, were resourced to provide regular immigrant services and select 20 refugee families. By July 1979 they were selecting 18,000 of the 60,000 refugees called for by Joe Clark's government.



Fort Indiantown Gap, Pennsylvania, 1975.  
Courtesy of Murray Oppertshauser



Refugee accommodation at Eglin Air Force Base, 1975.  
Courtesy of Murray Oppertshauser

## **The Haymour Hostage Crisis in Beirut**

Joseph Zakhour with Kurt F. Jensen

*This article is part of a series being prepared on the Lebanese Special Movement, 1975-1990. An article describing the same incident appeared in Bulletin 87. Joseph Zakhour was a locally engaged staff member of the Canadian embassy in Beirut and a witness to these events.*

Early in the development of the Lebanese Special Measures, when the danger of civil war and daily strife was just beginning to sink in with the staff of the Canadian embassy in Beirut, they were briefly held hostage by a group of gunmen. This is our second account of this little-known event.

### **Hostage Taking**

It was warm and sunny on Monday, 23 February 1976, when five armed men broke into the Canadian embassy in Beirut. It was located in the Sabbagh Centre on Hamra Street, a prime location with the best shops in Beirut, nice hotels, and sought-after apartments. Lebanese ministerial buildings, the central bank, and a prominent newspaper were among the embassy's other neighbours.

The leader of the armed group was Eddy Haymour, a Canadian citizen of Lebanese extraction, who had serious legal problems with the B.C provincial authorities; the other four were his cousins. Possibly Haymour decided to attack the embassy to take out his frustrations or to focus attention on his legal problems.

The Sabbagh Centre had 14 occupied floors and five parking levels below ground and was not an easy target. The Canadian embassy shared the second floor with Fransabank and occupied the entire third floor. On the day of the attack, Haymour and his cousins drove their Mercedes to the building and parked on the fifth underground level. They took their weapons from the trunk of the car and all but Haymour pulled nylon stockings over their heads. Then they took a freight elevator directly to the second floor<sup>1</sup>. Upon arrival, the group quickly ran to the embassy's visa and medical sections.

Haymour was the first to enter the visa section. The medical secretary, Knarig Shitilian, attempted to resist capture. Haymour fired two shots into the ceiling and yelled for everyone to come out of their offices. One of Haymour's cousins helped him to shepherd these hostages up to the third floor using the internal staircase. The other three continued directly to the third floor to take control of the embassy employees there. In total, around 30 staff and other individuals in the embassy at the time were taken hostage and kept on the third floor.

Joseph Zakhour, this article's co-author, was the mission's customs clerk at the time. One of his responsibilities was to collect embassy shipments from the Beirut Airport customs office. (Zakhour later became an immigration program officer.) Zakhour's parents lived a few minutes from the airport. He had stopped that day to have lunch with them but he only picked up a sandwich to eat on his way to the embassy. Zakhour arrived at the embassy around 12:30 pm. He saw nothing abnormal when he entered the building's underground garage, and, as usual, took the elevator to the third floor. The fact that the elevator did not stop at any other floor did not alert him to something being amiss.

When the elevator door opened on the third floor and he stepped out, he felt the barrel of a machine gun rammed into his back. Thinking it was the military attaché's driver being funny, he said "Abou Rabih, please don't joke". He was met with a response of "Don't turn around, bastard, and walk inside". He did as he was instructed but he was uncertain of what was happening until Pierrette L'Heureux, the Canadian consular and administrative officer, asked him to be quiet and come in.

Zakhour entered the main area through the glass doors, which were not bullet-proof in those days. He was greeted by his colleagues, all fellow captives. He recalls seeing Elias Karaa, the ambassador's security guard who was killed by a sniper in East Beirut a few weeks later, and Yolande Akl, the receptionist, who later moved to Canada. He also remembers others standing along the wall: Fadi Kastoun, the military attaché's driver; Jean Ramia, the chargé d'affaires' driver; Louis Hashem, a driver-clerk; Knarig Shitilian; Roger Zahlan, the accountant; Pierrette L'Heureux; Mona El Kadi, a commercial secretary married to Greg Leithead, an immigration officer; Marie Rose Tohme, an immigration secretary and spouse of Hugues Mathieu, an immigration officer; Monique Ayoub, a commercial secretary (also now living in Canada); Gisèle Chevalier, a locally engaged secretary to the chargé d'affaires and spouse of immigration officer Peter Lilius; and Salwa Assily, a consular assistant. Others might also have been present.

About an hour after the five gunmen arrived, Haymour began to free visitors to the embassy and other occupants of the building. Around 4:00 pm, he offered to let the women leave and an hour later he offered to release the locally engaged staff. However, the majority remained, fearing the situation developing outside even more.

Shortly after Zakhour had reached the embassy, Haymour ordered him to replace the receptionist, Akl, who was no longer able to perform his duties in this very tense situation. The first telephone call Zakhour answered at the reception was from his crying mother who had heard about the attack on Radio Monte Carlo shortly after Zakhour had left his parents. She frantically asked why he had not waited for lunch. Subsequent calls were from the media and politicians, which Zakhour answered, as per instructions from Haymour, with "we are okay, and he doesn't negotiate with anyone".

Zakhour remembers that the hostages exhibited relative calm, considering that some likely feared for their lives. Haymour sought to ease the tense situation somewhat through conversation with the embassy staff. Among the conversations Zakhour recalled was one between Haymour and Jean Ramia, the ambassador's driver. Haymour told Ramia that he had had difficulty following the ambassador's car and confessed that he had tried to assassinate the chargé d'affaires twice: "You, Jean, are a tough driver and you gave me a hard time", said Haymour, likely unconscious of the irony of the conversation. Haymour had harsh words for Salwa Assily with whom he had met regularly prior to the attack, as she handled his consular file. Zakhour also recalled that gunmen escorted staff needing to use the washroom and waited for them to exit.

### **Negotiations**

As the day dragged on, Haymour chose to negotiate an end to the embassy occupation by speaking with the Palestine Liberation Army (PLO). The Lebanese Army and the Lebanese security forces were already on the ground floor, but he refused to negotiate with them. At that time, the PLO controlled the west side of Beirut, including Hamra Street, and Haymour had seen armed PLO members south of the building. He likely assumed that the PLO was the only force on the ground which could ensure compliance with the terms he negotiated to end the occupation.

Details of the PLO-Haymour talks are not in the public domain, nor are those he may have had with Canadian officials. Zakhour believes that Haymour used a private telephone line in the restricted area of the embassy. Haymour seemed nervous with the first PLO negotiator who arrived and told him, "I don't like what you're doing, I can see military people around the building and I ask you to withdraw them", and he threatened to take the negotiator hostage. Shortly thereafter, two more PLO negotiators arrived, and talks were more productive.

### **Resolution**

Negotiations ended around 7:00 pm, with the PLO escorting Haymour and his cousins to Damascus. Zakhour later heard that Haymour had returned to Canada. The city was extremely tense, with armed factions patrolling the streets and random sniping of civilians who sought to cross the Green Zone dividing the city. The Lebanese army escorted home those locally engaged staff who lived in East Beirut, the city being already essentially divided into Muslim and Christian sectors. Zakhour reached his home around 9:00 pm. The occupation of the Canadian embassy in Beirut could have had a much worse ending. No one was hurt or killed, but all carried lifetime scars from that experien

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<sup>1</sup> In "The Start of the Lebanon Special Measures" by Kurt Jensen (Bulletin 89 of December 2018, pages 10-11), the following events are explained a little differently, with Haymour and associates entering on the ground floor and then moving everyone up to the second floor. These differences may be explained by the challenge of recalling such details more than 43 years later.

## The Twentieth Anniversary of Operation Parasol and the Arrival of Kosovar Refugees to Canada

Val Allain

*Val Allain participated in the CIC processing of Kosovar refugees at CFB Gagetown, New Brunswick in 1999.*

On 12 July 2019, an event was held at the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 in Halifax N.S., to mark the arrival in 1999 of over 5,000 Kosovar refugees to Canada.



L to R: Ron Heisler, Val Allain

The event's purpose was to highlight the arrival of Kosovar refugees and their contribution to Canadian society over the past 20 years. It was an evening of art, talks, music, and dance, with presentations from special guests, including his Excellency Lulzim Hiseni, Ambassador of the Republic of Kosovo in Canada. Ambassador Hiseni spoke of the exceptional assistance, which will never be forgotten, provided by Canada to Kosovo at a time when the Balkans were in political and ethnic conflict.

The Honorable Lena Metlege Diab, Nova Scotia Minister of Immigration, spoke of the settlement of the refugees in the province. She emphasized the artistic and economic

contributions they have made over the years. Ron Heisler, who was part of the CIC management team in the Atlantic Region in 1999, gave an overview for IRCC (CIC) on how the many agencies involved came together very quickly to manage the arrival and processing of the Kosovo refugee group. Ismael Aquino of the Canadian Red Cross explained his agency's role and said what an amazing experience it was to help such a group by providing assistance beyond food and medical care. Regrets were extended on behalf of the Canadian Armed Forces, as their representative became unavailable at the last minute. This commemorative evening concluded with musical and dance presentations by local artists, favoring a Kosovar/Balkan tone.



L to R: Val Allain, Bruna Caracristi, Sharon Burrows, Gloria Trecartin, and Anamarija Wagner—former members of CIC Atlantic Region and CIC Halifax

## Website News

Gerry Maffre

The CIHS website has a new and significant feature. Thanks to the work of the former CIC Library and the Knowledge Management–Research and Evaluation team at Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, all past issues of the Bulletin can be searched for topics and authors of material. The Bulletin represents a real research asset on immigration and refugee issues so we are very pleased to have this asset on our site. Our web master, Winnerjit Rathor, worked diligently to make this index user-friendly.

Our site continues to generate interesting queries. Having read *Running on Empty*, an MA candidate at a Maritime university approached us for comments on her thesis about the boat people. During a research trip to Ottawa she was able to consult the archival material the book's authors had deposited with Carleton University. We continue to assist a Quebec professor whose forthcoming book will include some discussion of the launch of the points system.

## In Memoriam

### Garnet Quigley

*Garnet Quigley was an immigration foreign service officer in the 1970s at the beginning of his career. He served in Hong Kong, Manila, and Chicago, but spent the majority of his career in Saskatoon as a citizenship officer. He passed away on 23 May 2018 in Saskatoon. The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix published his obituary.*

*Remembered by Donald Cameron*

I was in Hong Kong when Garnet and Marilyn arrived there on their first posting in 1974. I remember Garnet for his dedication to learning all he could about his new profession, for his hard work, for his unflappability in trying circumstances, and for the sincerity of his relationships with his colleagues.

*Remembered by R. Scott Heatherington*

I met Garnet when I was posted to Hong Kong in 1975. He was very friendly and sincere in his dealings with applicants, LES, and colleagues. The workload at that time was very heavy; he never complained and carried his weight. I recall him as a very unassuming, nice person. The family are right to be proud of his public service both in Canada and abroad.

*Remembered by Robert Shalka*

I met Garnet in Saskatoon in 1975 when our group was on cross-country training and again at HQ. I replaced him in Chicago for three weeks in 1981 while he was on compassionate leave. My last encounter was in 2003 or 2004 when he was brought to Ottawa as a citizenship subject matter expert for the early stages of the Global Case Management System. I mentioned that I had been issued a Citizenship Certificate in 1963 as part of a high school trip to Ottawa and he kindly dug out my case file from the system. Sad to hear of his passing.

## **Hercule Raymond**

*Hercule Raymond had a long career in the immigration foreign service. He passed away on 17 August 2019. His funeral was held at Notre Dame Cathedral in Ottawa on 31 August.*

*Remembered by Jacques Beaulne, Hector Cowan\*, Richard Dupont\*, Peter Duschinsky\*, Gerry Maffre\*, Gérard Pinsonneault\* (\*1974-1975 trainees)*

Hercule est passé du service national à Québec, où il a fait ses débuts en 1959 comme agent d'immigration, puis au service à l'étranger en 1966. Ses affectations les a amené à différentes villes y compris Paris, Bordeaux, Strasbourg, et Abidjan. Un agent qui n'a jamais hésité à contribuer au-delà de la normale, il a toujours été bien apprécié par ses collègues canadiens et employés locaux à l'étranger. Hercule a su servir le Service et son pays avec compétence, tact et fierté.

Hercule was responsible for the second portion of the 1974-1975 immigration foreign service training program. He was an officer with a strong character who passed along to the trainees the critical understanding that we would have tough decisions to make significantly affecting the lives of many applicants. His judgement, strong personality and understanding of the trainees' needs were appreciated; as were his deep sense of camaraderie and a deadpan sense of humour, both of which were balanced by his rigour about our training and a drive to ensure understanding of what could be expected in a 'rotational' life and career. A true gentleman and family man.

In retirement, he was deeply engaged in the archives at Notre Dame Cathedral in Ottawa, where he was clearly held in high esteem by others at the cathedral office. As the priest said at Hercule's funeral mass, "Il portait bien son prénom. He wore his first name well". Il laisse dans le deuil son épouse Marthe et son fils Martin.

*Remembered by Joyce Cavanagh-Wood*

In late April 1968 I arrived in Paris on my first posting. The immigration operation was housed in posh digs on Rue Ventadour, a stone's throw from the Opéra. Clearly, I was in heaven. Ah, but then I met Hercule . . . an absolute giant. Eight feet tall. He would loom over me, peer down, and ask how on earth I could come to this or that decision. Had I not read *The Manual*? Did I not keep my manual pages up to date? His voice boomed—not loudly, but softly boomed. I was terrified of him, but he was the guy I had to go to for counsel if I needed help with case processing. He knew everything, it seemed. And he knew where to tell me to look for the answer to my questions . . . in *The Manual*.

As time went by, I came to understand that the gruff was bluff. He really did know everything but also knew that I would retain knowledge more if I searched it out, rather than just hearing him provide answers. Before long I realized that inside that enormous intimidating exterior, lay a heart of gold surrounded by marshmallow. He was, in fact, *un grand nounours*. This was confirmed when I met his lovely wife, Marthe, whom he clearly adored. To this day, when I think of Hercule, it is with affection and respect. I am so fortunate to have had him play an outsize role in my early career!

*Remembered by David Dunnington*

One of the headquarters tasks I was assigned when I returned from abroad in 1974 was to be a member of the Foreign Service Recruitment Team headed by Hercule. I remember well his smile and *joie de vivre*. In those days, we were considered the poor cousins by our political and trade peers so they tried to run the show. Hercule would have none of it and inspired us to state quite clearly to the potential recruits on the university campuses across the country that our duties in dealing with people were vital to the country.

*Remembered by Paul Gray*

In 1971, someone in the department noticed a bulletin from the London School of Economics (LSE) announcing an upcoming symposium entitled "Predicting Future Manpower Needs". That someone arranged for Burt Gordon (Glasgow),

Hercule (Bordeaux), and me (London) to attend. On arrival, we were taken aback by the presence of some very heavy Brit hitters, such as the head of British Rail. The symposium lasted a week, got more boring by the minute, and did not provide us with much to send home. At the very least, I can say that I attended LSE. The secretary of the symposium was great and knew all the best local pubs, which we sampled at the lunch break, so something was achieved. It also started my career-long friendship with Hercule.

In 1977, as a member of the inspection team, I went to Strasbourg, where Hercule presided as immigration program manager. The most memorable part of this stay was joining Hercule for lunch at his favourite restaurants. With Hercule and his eatery knowledge, how could I go wrong? During one of these noon time gastronomies, I learned that Hercule played rugby football for a club in Bordeaux. Can you imagine being sent onto the field to try to bring Hercule down? Not me.

*Remembered by Terry Sheehan*

I met up with Hercule Raymond here in Ottawa several years ago, not having seen him for a long time. His foreign service career had gone in a different direction from mine, but, in the way that the immigration foreign service moves, it was not unusual for us to meet again after many years. In retirement, we had both become residents of Ottawa and met almost once a week during our Saturday morning shopping excursions in the Byward Market. I came to recognize his mannerisms, including, what was not all that common in the later years, his habit of sporting a cigarette in a lengthy cigarette holder. We were able to chat about “old days”, and I was reminded about my time as a foreign service trainee in the 1950’s. Part of my training included weeks of exposure to the immigration border service. My training colleague Charlie Rogers and I spent six weeks in Quebec City, where our duty had us participate in the examination of passengers arriving on trans-Atlantic liners, notably the CP Empress ships and the elegant Cunard liners. We travelled by train to Father Point (Pointe au Pere) down the St. Lawrence from Quebec City, then boarded the arriving vessels – which included a quick trip on a motor launch, then we scrambled up a shaky ladder to board the liner. The most enjoyable part was that, after we examined the ship’s passengers in the first-class lounge, we were treated to lunch in the first-class dining room. And one of my Immigration colleagues on those delightful trips was a young immigration officer from Quebec named Hercule Raymond.

**Raymond Yelle**

Raymond Yelle, retired CIC visa officer, passed away on 15 August 2019. His funeral took place on 21 August in Ottawa. No newspaper obituary was published. Yelle was single and had no dependants. He joined the federal government as an administrative trainee in 1967 and was posted to Chicago as an immigration officer in 1970. Subsequent postings included Port of Spain and Paris in the 1970s, Abidjan and Port-au-Prince in the 1980s, and a return to Abidjan in 1990. His HQ assignments were mainly to the geographic desks (supporting the visa offices overseas); he also worked for a year in 1996 in Refugees Branch. Yelle retired in October 2001.

CIHS thanks its corporate members - IRCC, P2P and Pier 21 - for their significant support as well as its life and annual members. All these contributions allow us to pursue our objectives and activities.

<p>The Canadian Immigration Historical Society (www.CIHS-SHIC.ca) is a non-profit corporation registered as a charitable organization under the Income Tax Act.</p>	<p>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.</p>	<p>President - Michael J. Molloy; Vice-President - Anne Arnott;          Treasurer - Raph Girard; Secretary - Gail Devlin;          Editor – Diane Burrows;          Members at large - Brian Casey, Roy Christensen, Valerie de Montigny, Peter Duschinsky, Charlene Elgee, Kurt Jensen, Gerry Maffre (Communications), Ian Rankin, and Robert Shalka          Member emeritus - J.B. “Joe” Bissett          IRCC Representative - Randy Orr          Webmaster: Winnerjit Rathor; Website translations: Michel Sleiman</p>
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## Annex – CIHS Annual General Meeting 17 October 2019: Official Business

At the Annual General Meeting on 17 October 2019, members present will be asked to vote their will regarding the slate of officers for the coming year and their acceptance of the Treasurer's report (details of both matters are found below). All members in good standing are entitled to vote. Those who cannot attend can elect to vote by proxy, authorizing either Michael Molloy or Raphael Girard by email (contact [info@cihs-shic.ca](mailto:info@cihs-shic.ca)) to vote their will at the time of the ballot. All life members remain in good standing while annual members need to have paid dues for the current year (ending 17 October 2019) to be able to vote.

Annual dues are payable for the coming year as of 17 October 2019.

### Slate of Officers for CIHS Executive

Position	Candidate
President	Michael J. Molloy
Vice-President	Anne Arnott
Treasurer	Raphael Girard
Secretary	Gail Devlin
Members at Large	Diane Burrows (Bulletin Editor), Brian Casey, Roy Christensen, Valerie de Montigny, Peter Duschinsky, Charlene Elgee, Kurt Jensen, Gerry Maffre (Communications), Robert Orr, Ian Rankin and Robert Shalka
Member emeritus	J.B. ("Joe") Bissett
IRCC Representative	Randy Orr

### Treasurer's Report 2018/19

Although expenses increased significantly in the last year, revenues also increased leaving the Society's finances in very good order. At the close of the fiscal year in April, we showed a cash balance of \$10,500 in the operating account and more than \$12,000 in the investment account even though bond funds have not fared well for some time. Supplementing dues from the membership, cash donations showed marked increase offsetting higher costs for travel, administration and web maintenance. Most of the travel was connected to the many book launches that were held in major centres from Halifax to Vancouver which did generate additional costs for the Society but nowhere near as much as the costs borne by the authors themselves and the contributors whose aid they were able to enlist.

Book purchases from McGill-Queens ran slightly ahead of revenues from resale during the year but the margin we are afforded by the publisher will eventually earn the Society a net profit. Even though the publication is now into its fourth printing, royalties remain meagre. There is no doubt that McGill-Queens has realized a handsome profit while the Society which put up \$13,000 to support publication, will be lucky to see royalties of \$1000. While *Running on Empty* is and will remain a monument to achievement for the Society and the authors, it would have been nice to have countenanced a fairer division of the returns.

Looking ahead, continuing support from the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 and Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, provides a sound base for the operations of the CIHS. The investment fund generates enough revenue annually to underwrite our share of the Gunn Prize. There has been a noticeable falling off of revenue from members who pay annually which probably could be enhanced by a more active follow up for those members in arrears. At this stage, the finances are stable but we need to continue to find ways to expand the membership so that the positive momentum we have generated through our publications, periodicals and outreach to the public service, NGOs and universities can continue.

Detailed information of revenue and expenditures follows below.

**Raphael Girard**  
**September 24, 2019**

## Canadian Immigration Historical Society

2017/18

2018/19

### Statement of Revenue and Expenditures

#### Revenue

Corporate Membership dues Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21	\$ 2500.00	\$ 2500.00
Proceeds from annual general meeting and dinner	\$ 1940.50	\$ 1500.00
Membership fee Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada	\$ 1000.00	\$ 2500.00
Receipted Cash donations from membership	\$ 3704.86	\$ 7097.05
Unreceipted cash revenue	\$ 1494.65	0.00
Laurier University share Gunn Prize	\$ 500.00	0.00
Royalty from Book sales McGill Press	\$ 77.54	\$ 289.68
Book sales CIHS publication Running on Empty	\$ 4388.98	\$ 3368.45
<b>Total Revenue</b>	<b>\$15606.53</b>	<b>\$17255.18</b>

#### Expenditures

Bank Charges	\$ 95.72	\$ 77.42
McGill Queens University Press publication charges	\$ 3033.37	\$ 3620.46
Professional fees (website)	\$ 1450.00	\$ 1591.01
Travel (speakers and prize winner)	\$ 500.00	\$ 3413.86
Hall rental and Catering Annual General Meeting	\$ 2327.08	\$ 1640.00
Essay prize	\$ 1000.00	0.00
Printing and publishing CIHS Bulletin	\$ 757.85	\$ 411.77
Office expenses and supplies	\$ 469.64	\$ 906.46
Transfer to Investment Fund	\$ 1400.00	\$ 3000.00
Publicity and Book Sales Promotion	\$ 1611.74	\$ 238.85
<b>Total Expenditures</b>	<b>\$12644.68</b>	<b>\$14899.83</b>