



Effects of Postwar Immigration Selection Policy on Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada

Raphael Girard

Raphael Girard joined what was then the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1963 and moved to External Affairs in 1981. Over the span of 40 years in the Canadian foreign service he specialized in refugee and immigration issues, leading the task force on refugee determination which developed legislation that continues to form the basis of Canada's approach to the protection of persons claiming asylum.

In Canada's 2016 census data, 7,674,585 people identified themselves as members of a visible minority group. They represented 22.3 percent of the total population. Of these visible minorities, almost 70 percent were born outside the country and came to live in Canada as immigrants.

Contrast this with what prevailed when I joined the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1963. Results of the 1961 census show that only 1.33 percent of the non-aboriginal population in Canada consisted of members of visible minority groups. People of British origin dominated, while those coming from continental Europe were close behind.

No one disputes the fact that the most important contributor to the growth in ethnocultural diversity in Canada has been and remains the immigration program. My intention is to demonstrate how the transformation of the face of Canada was a direct result of the way the immigration program was managed, rather than of a deliberate choice by governments. Surprisingly there was very little legislation and even fewer parliamentary debates behind this dramatic demographic shift. Two key changes in immigration regulations created the legal framework and were followed by vigorous implementation by public servants within the immigration program. This combination was the primary driver that created the Canada we see today, which will continue to become more diverse into the future. This is a situation where the plumbing (program delivery) was at least equal to, if not more important than, the poetry (policy).

In the years after the Second World War, immigration policy was controversial. Within the federal cabinet, the immigration portfolio was thought to be the graveyard of ministerial ambitions. Between 1910 and 1978 there was only one significant legislative change, and yet by 1978 the wheels had already been set in motion to transform the ethnocultural composition of Canadian society. The questions are: how did that happen, and who was responsible?

During my 34 years in the immigration program, the last 10 of which were in senior management, bureaucrats had a remarkably free hand in shaping how and where immigration services were dispensed to the world at large. In most cases, rather than directing the department, ministers looked to it for guidance in dealing with the enormous pressures

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flowing from the immigration program and its multiple facets. There were exceptions—Robert Andras, Lloyd Axworthy, Flora MacDonald, Barbara MacDougall, and Sergio Marchi—but by and large ministers looked to the department for advice rather than imposing their vision on it.

I joined the immigration department in September 1963 shortly after graduating from the University of British Columbia. I left as assistant deputy minister of Operations in August 1997 to accept an appointment as ambassador to Yugoslavia. That period coincided with the program's transformation. I do not pretend that I had a major influence on the changes that made Canada a much more diverse and tolerant society than the one I grew up in, but I influenced some of the improvements that were made in policy and program delivery, and I was certainly a witness to the rest.

The numbers tell the story. In 1963, immigration to Canada was still primarily European—a pattern that began in colonial times and continued into the immediate postwar years, when much of western Europe was in ruins from the effects of World War II.

Statistics for that year show that Canada welcomed 74,586 immigrants and the top five source countries were Great Britain, the United States, Italy, Germany, and Portugal. Statistics for 1997, by contrast, show a transformation in sources and ethnic composition: the top five source countries were China, India, Taiwan, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines, in a movement in excess of 216,000 immigrants.

European migration, which had accounted for more than 80 percent of the immigration flow in 1963, was reduced to 17 percent by 1997, while Asia, Africa, and the Middle East accounted for almost 68.5 percent—an almost complete inversion of the immediate postwar pattern.

How did this transformation happen? While there was waning interest in immigration to Canada among Europeans once the postwar economic miracle took root in Europe by the early 1970s, it was not just a matter of replacing Europeans with more numerous candidates from elsewhere. There were a number of other factors.

In 1963, immigrant selection was governed by the *Immigration Act* of 1952, which had been authored by Jack Pickersgill. It delegated authority to the government to decide, more or less at its discretion, who could be admitted for permanent residence. There were no classes of immigrants mentioned in that Act. The basic test for a person to be accepted as an immigrant was the ability to establish successfully. The 1952 Act did little to change the direction implicit in the *Immigration Act* of 1910, but it did provide a ministerial override on decisions by immigration officers to circumscribe concerns about their arbitrary decision making.

The regulations that followed the 1952 Act preserved preference for British subjects from the old Commonwealth and for citizens of countries in continental Europe. Curiously, it also included Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, and Turkey among preferred sources. Pickersgill was the minister behind Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speeches that supported the need for immigration but insisted that it should not change the character of the country. Application forms and landing records from that era still contained references to the holder's religion and ethnicity, although by 1963 these were no longer formal selection factors.

The 1952 Act also maintained a number of longstanding clauses that, by the time I started my career in immigration, were already considered anachronisms by my peers and more experienced colleagues. The prohibited classes barred homosexuals (who were lumped in with pimps and prostitutes); it excluded people who were public charges or unable to settle in Canada; and it prohibited the entry of people labeled as idiots, imbeciles, and morons. Immigrant selection could be arbitrarily denied to individuals based on their inability to adapt to Canada's climate or culture, which was seen as shorthand for a colour bar. Similarly, immigration could be denied based on the individual's habits with regard to the ownership of property, which excluded communal religious groups such as Hutterites and Doukhobors. The Act proudly proclaimed that decisions taken under the *Immigration Act* were not reviewable by any court.

Through the 1950s, Canada opened more widely to the world as it industrialized and developed a national identity. Canada became an active player in the United Nations system and a leader in the Commonwealth. The election of the Progressive Conservatives in 1957 provided an impetus for human rights reform, both domestically and in immigration policy. The proclamation of the Canadian Bill of Rights in 1960 made it virtually impossible to continue to pursue an immigration policy consisting of preferred sources selected on the basis of race and ethnicity.

Annual dues

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Initial Conservative government attempts to bring about an ambitious reform of the *Immigration Act* ran into difficulty almost immediately. In 1957, thanks to the Hungarian Revolution and Suez debacle, more than 250,000 immigrants came to Canada, the second-largest number since the turn of the century. With the economy in recession and poorly skilled people from southern Europe outpacing British immigration year after year, the federal government felt pressure from Ontario to slow things down. A planned change to limit sponsorship rights to curb unskilled migration was shelved rather quickly after a bitter and well-organized campaign by Italian and other southern Mediterranean communities in southwest Ontario. Instead, the government resorted to less transparent administrative restraints while it searched for a means to increase the skill requirements for new immigrants.

The first woman appointed to the Diefenbaker cabinet, Ellen Fairclough, was named Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and counseled to avoid parliamentary debate on immigration reform. She settled instead for a change in the immigration regulations in 1962. For the first time, anyone, anywhere in the world could qualify to immigrate to Canada if they could prove they had the skills and the means to establish successfully without assistance from government or family. I regard this as less an attempt to universalize access to Canada and broaden the number of source countries than an attempt to inject more skill content into the immigration flow to curb the flow of unskilled southern Europeans.

Even after 1962, for many who wanted to immigrate to Canada the opportunity remained largely theoretical. Entire regions had no access to selection because everyone who wanted to settle in this country had to apply for and receive an immigrant visa before travelling to Canada. There was a mandatory personal interview with a visa officer as well as medical and other tests. The network of visa offices was biased toward the old policy, and there were no plans to change it substantially. Fully 23 of the 30 visa offices Canada operated abroad were in Europe, while there were only two in Asia, two in the Middle East, and one in Africa. Americans could simply present themselves at any border station to be assessed for immigration.

The 1962 regulations also perpetuated some of the discriminatory provisions of the 1952 regulations. All Canadians had the right to sponsor immediate family living abroad, but only Canadians from Europe and the four eastern Mediterranean countries named above could sponsor extended family members. The 1962 regulations also retained the miniscule quotas on total immigration from the Indian subcontinent.

The watershed for fundamental change came in 1966-1967. The reform package was preceded by a government policy paper (known as a "White Paper"). Both emphasized matching immigration to skill shortages and did not set out to make the immigration movement more diverse. The problem the paper sought to rectify was the continuing large-scale intake of sponsored immigrants with skills that did not correspond to labour market shortages. There was no public policy review or parliamentary debate, but the process did elicit a fair amount of reaction, mainly from ethnic communities that complained about the measures in the same way they had objected to the proposed restraints on extended family migration proposed in 1957.

What have become known as the regulation changes of 1967 occurred during the tenure of Jean Marchand, one of the "three wise men" brought into the cabinet from Quebec by Liberal Prime Minister Lester Pearson. My own view is that, although the changes certainly reflected the liberal attitudes of Marchand, they were very much a creature of his deputy minister, Tom Kent. Almost all of the reforms that Kent championed were achieved through changes to immigration regulations pursuant to the 1952 Act. Some minor changes in law were enacted in 1967, such as when the government enacted a separate piece of legislation to create the Immigration Appeal Board as a body independent from the department.

CIHS Member Receives Manitoba "Honour 150" Award

On 18 February 2021, the Government of Manitoba announced that CIHS member Robert Vineberg was one of 150 winners of its "Honour 150" Award. Postponed for a year due to Covid-19 restrictions, this award to community volunteers marks Manitoba's 150th (sesquicentennial) anniversary, as it became a province in 1870. Rob will receive the actual award when it is safe to hold an event, and the corporate sponsor, Canada Life, will donate \$500 to the charity of his choice.

Rob received this award for "revitalizing the landscape for Manitoba immigrants". More information about his extensive volunteerism in support of immigration (and opera!) is available on the Manitoba 150 website. While not mentioned in the write-up, Rob's voluntary work includes being: past chair of the board of trustees of the Immigrant Centre Manitoba, a settlement service provider in Winnipeg; current chair of the board of governors of Immigration Research West; a member of the governing council of Winnipeg's Local Immigration Partnership; and former chair and ongoing member of the CIHS's Gunn Prize committee.

There remained an abiding reluctance to open up the Act to debate, given the uncertainty about Canadians' attitudes on either side of the question. Government majorities in parliament were razor-thin through the period, and political strategists therefore avoided controversial issues. Amendments to the 1952 Act had been proposed by the immigration department almost annually since the Act was first proclaimed to bring it into step with evolving practices and social values, yet political support for such changes was always found wanting.

The 1967 regulatory changes embodied five major principles.

- 1 Immigrant selection criteria were universally applicable. The last vestiges of discrimination by country of origin were swept away through regulation changes that made family class and extended family sponsorship available to everyone who had the means and reaffirmed that anyone who could establish successfully in Canada could apply and receive a decision.
- 2 A point rating system was introduced in order to standardize selection practices and remove the subjectivity that had plagued the system in the postwar years. Points were awarded on the basis of age, education, skill level, demand for the applicants' skills, linguistic competence in English and French, close family already established in Canada, arranged employment, labour market conditions in the area of destination, and personal assessment by the visa officer in charge of the application. The pass mark was initially 50 points, but over time it varied to produce more or less volume annually depending on Canada's general economic conditions.
- 3 Facilities would be created to accept applications from candidates in any country except those where security screening facilities were not available, such as countries in the communist bloc. Provision was also made for visitors to Canada to apply to change their status to that of permanent resident without leaving Canada if they could qualify according to the same criteria as were being used abroad.
- 4 Right of appeal to the newly established Immigration Appeal Board was provided to everyone who had been ordered deported from Canada, for sponsored immigration cases that had been refused, and for people facing deportation who believed themselves to be refugees in accordance with the 1951 Geneva Convention.
- 5 Annual intake volumes would be adjusted to labour market conditions and moved up or down accordingly by changing the weight of immigrant selection factors (points) and by varying the pass mark.

This plan was more permissive and reactive in terms of changing the ethnic mix in the immigration intake than it was deliberate or proactive. There were minor improvements to the network of visa offices abroad to give some substance to the policy changes. Every country was given a designated visa office to which their citizens could apply. For example, an office was established in Beirut to cover all of the Middle East and Africa (excluding Egypt, which already had a visa office). Port of Spain in Trinidad was established to serve the Caribbean (excluding Jamaica, which got its own visa office), as well as the entire Central and South American region. A central processing centre was set up in Ottawa to cover those parts of Asia not already served by Hong Kong, New Delhi, and Manila.

A regional office was also established in Geneva to provide itinerant service to countries in Eastern Europe other than Yugoslavia, which received its own office, to deal with those clients in the family and assisted relative categories whose security screening could be carried out based on their family connections in Canada. No independent immigrants would be selected through this process.

There was greater efficiency in these measures, but nothing that would level the playing field for non-European applicants. Applications in the large processing centres often languished, as increasing demand and appallingly bad communications prevented timely delivery of visas to those who qualified.

It was not until 1973 that measures were introduced to rectify the glaring inequalities in service to applicants in areas outside of Europe. I had been assigned to the operational planning function at immigration headquarters and was immediately confronted with having to justify a resource base that was producing fewer and fewer immigrants due to the precipitous drop in interest in northwestern Europe. At the same time, data from area offices such as Beirut, Port of Spain, and the central processing office in Ottawa, indicated important sources outside of Europe had no resident visa facilities. My group put together a proposal to senior management to rationalize underutilized resources in Europe and open new facilities in those places where there was growth. We enunciated the principle that productive demand should be served from within those countries where the demand arose. The decision to proceed was taken without cabinet consultation, nor was there much interdepartmental dialogue. An exchange of letters between the ministers of Immigration and External Affairs set the wheels in motion that over time would produce the 180-degree shift in the ethnic composition of the annual intake of immigrants—and it was done with no new resources nor direction from the government.

The department, which was by then called the Department of Manpower and Immigration, opened more than 20 new visa offices in the 1973-1975 fiscal years. In addition to improving access to immigration services to applicants from outside of

Europe, these measures also wiped out the advantage enjoyed by American applicants, who until then had still been able to apply at the border. In addition to offices that had promoted immigration to Canada from the United States in places like New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, more than 10 new offices were opened in the U.S. to ensure program continuity. At the same time, the network in northwestern Europe was rationalized, with the closure of some 15 offices in the U.K., Scandinavia, and Germany. This rearrangement of the overseas network of visa offices set the stage for the gradual shift in the composition of the annual immigration intake from European to non-European. There were no quotas nor country preferences. The only factor that influenced the speed with which an application could be completed was the capacity of the immigration office to receive the application and make a decision on it.

When legislation finally came, it ratified these developments; it did not precede them. The impetus for modernization of the *Immigration Act* to conform to the earlier modernization in selection policy came in 1973, with the complete breakdown of the immigration enforcement system resulting from the appeal provisions the Tom Kent reforms had provided for individuals facing deportation. The assumption proved to be unfounded that those who applied to immigrate to Canada while here as a visitor would leave if they failed to meet immigration selection requirements. Most of these people ended up having to be ordered deported after refusing to leave voluntarily, and while they could not appeal their failure on selection, they could appeal against deportation, even if the grounds for appeal were not strong. The Immigration Appeal Board had a statutory limit of 10 judges and was unable to keep pace with the scale of removals being ordered. By the early 1970s, anybody wanting to achieve *de facto* permanent residence had only to seek to appeal from a removal order to be added to the IAB backlog, which at its worst even then extended into the 21st century. Minister of Immigration Bryce Mackasey's apparent lack of concern over loss of control of the border provoked a revolt by immigration enforcement officers, who refused to clear aircraft inbound to Canada with would-be immigrants seeking to exploit the appeal loophole.

The immediate effect was the dismissal of Mackasey and the appointment of Robert Andras and Alan Gottlieb as minister and deputy minister respectively to put the house in order and fix immigration. Andras and Gottlieb not only pushed through adjustments to the immigration regulations to close the appeal loophole and regain control of the border, but they seized the opportunity to launch a broad consultation with Canadians through the publication of a Green Paper that elicited Canadians' views on immigration. They also modernized the Act, which had remained essentially untouched since 1952.

What became the *Immigration Act* 1976 essentially caught up with the selection principles championed by Tom Kent in 1966-1967, in effect for almost ten years. It reinforced the cornerstone of the policy flowing from the 1966 White Paper on alignment with the labour market, but it also highlighted the principal objectives of family reunification and resettlement of refugees. The 1976 Act was more important for modernizing the prohibited classes, detention, and removal powers. Although it was essentially myopic on the issue of refugee claims in Canada, it did provide for protection of refugees via the Immigration Appeal Board that would review administrative decisions by the minister on recommendations from the newly established Refugee Status Advisory Committee. It introduced the concept of planned levels of immigration, compulsory approval of annual levels by the cabinet, and mandatory consultations with the provinces (section 91 of the *British North America Act* gave all provinces shared jurisdiction with the federal government over immigration). It also sought to develop a national demographic policy that would give immigration planning a more solid base, to which annual levels planning could be referenced.

While the 1976 Act did little to alter immigrant selection and practice, another major step in 1981 affected the delivery network and access to Canada by intending immigrants. In that year, the immigration delivery system was transferred to External Affairs from Employment and Immigration. Immigration services became a business line of the Department of External Affairs, and that department became accountable for the achievement of the annual intake level approved by parliament. Establishment of new visa offices in embassies, consulates, and high commissions became much simpler, and budgeting became much less complex. It was in this period that the immigration program delivery system became global. Visa services were expanded in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, and more points of service were set up in eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall. At the same time, office coverage in the United States was sharply rationalized when the demand for migration services from U.S. residents declined. Nevertheless, those visa offices near the border (Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, and Seattle) continued to serve temporary workers, who, being manifestly settled in Canada, needed an easy way to change status to become permanent residents.

The *Federal Court Act* of 1971 was also a watershed, but it affected immigration enforcement practices in Canada more than selection practices abroad. The Federal Court from its inception became heavily involved in overseeing the treatment of non-residents in Canada who had become implicated in the immigration enforcement system. Parliament probably did not foresee what would happen when it gave oversight of all federal government decisions to the Federal Court, but by the early 1980s, the immigration caseload of the court's Trial Division exceeded 80 percent of its cases and caused long queues of cases seeking judicial review. Cynical observers pointed out that a motion to the court was sufficient to stave

off the execution of immigration enforcement action for months if not years, regardless of the case's merit or lack thereof. In immigrant selection, the Federal Court intervened on the margins of selection practices in ways that probably embedded principles of procedural fairness and transparency in decision making that have now become routine. Court surveillance has also been the root cause of the curtailment of subjectivity in personal assessment awards by immigrant selection officers and the use of discretion by such officers to reverse a pass or fail based only on points.

In the landmark *Singh* decision in 1985, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the Immigration Appeal Board's practice of deciding the merit of claims to refugee status without a hearing involving the claimant constituted a denial of fundamental justice because the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the *Canadian Bill of Rights* guaranteed due process. The Immigration Appeal Board, which still had a statutory limit of 10 judges, overnight found itself in charge of an oral hearing backlog which completely overwhelmed its capacity, The resulting inability of the immigration department to remove anyone in the refugee claims backlog endured for more than five years and led to two different amnesty programs: Immigration Minister Walter McLean's Administrative Review of the 25,000 cases backlogged prior to *Singh*; and an additional 125,000 cases that accumulated between *Singh* and the coming into effect of the reformed refugee determination system enacted through Bill C-55 in 1989. Through these measures to address immigration backlogs, large-scale intakes came from countries such as Sri Lanka, Somalia, Trinidad, Portugal, Turkey, and El Salvador. The first boat landings on Canadian shores by immigrants from the Indian state of Punjab also exploited the stalled refugee determination system to effect *de facto* immigration to Canada. Most of these people were able to settle in Canada as immigrants without passing through the selection process.

The resulting amendments to Canada's asylum system in 1988-1989 and subsequent revisions to it, gave Canada the most generous refugee claims system in the world and thereby provided access to other non-European groups in large numbers who would not have made such a rapid impact on the immigration mosaic had they had to comply with more conventional forms of selection.

What is most interesting about this evolution of immigration policy was the almost total lack of debate about either the size or composition of the immigration flow and its long-term impact on what Canada would become over time. There was political consensus on objectives such as family reunification, assistance to refugees, and supply of needed skills to the labour market. Beyond that, there was a very passive, perhaps *laissez-faire*, attitude where no substantive debate took place. Some political parties proposed the notion of an intake of one percent of the Canadian population annually, but that idea never really captured the public's imagination. No discussion occurred about race or ethnic origin. In the initial drafts of the 1973 Green Paper that led to the *Immigration Act* of 1976 there were timid references to visible minorities and the rate of change in the ethnic composition of Canadian society, but the reaction to early drafts from a select audience of academics and members of the Immigration Bar was so shrill that the draft was personally edited by Deputy Minister Alan Gottlieb before sign-off by Minister Robert Andras. Similarly, attempts to link immigrant intake to an overall demographic policy for Canada sputtered to collapse when, after several years of federal efforts to begin a dialogue with the provinces, it turned out that there was no support among provinces to set growth objectives for the country. The futility of using immigration to iron out demographic imbalances across the country became more and more evident when it was realized that because of mobility rights enshrined in the Charter, immigrant selection based on destination could not be enforced either directly or indirectly.

What my 34 years in the immigration program were witness to was a process in which the policy makers laid down some basic general principles and then let the public service, supervised by an activist Court, get on with the job. Despite interludes of anarchy, settlement data bear witness to what was a successful match of the immigrant flow to opportunity in the labour force. At the same time, the pace of change of the ethnic composition of the immigration flow was sufficiently gradual that there was no significant pressure on political leaders to slow it down or stop it altogether. Immigration created the diversity that is Canada today and will continue to make our society more diverse as we move into the future. Contrary to the views of skeptics who opined that the government approved the universal approach to immigrant selection in the 1960s in the belief the Public Service would find a way to defeat it, the Public Service championed the change and became part of it in the process. It is a lesson for us all and an example for the future.

Website update

Our website now offers a bit more support to those who come our way in their genealogical research. The research tab has been enhanced with a [genealogy](#) link to Library and Archives Canada's "Genealogy and Family History" site and its universe of advice and links.

Pier 21: A History by Steven Schwinghamer and Jan Raska, University of Ottawa Press, 2020.
Book Review by Peter Duschinsky

Peter Duschinsky is a retired visa officer who had postings in Europe, the Middle East and the U.S. He is a former CIHS board member and a participant in the Hearts of Freedom project.

The two authors of this book, historians at the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 in Halifax, Nova Scotia, have covered an important but barely researched or known area of Canada's 20th century story. Carefully sifting through a large mass of material at the museum—including its archival, digital, oral history, and story collections, material from archives across Canada and Britain, many newspapers and government publications, and an impressive array of secondary sources, they have produced a valuable and interesting volume.

The book focuses on immigration. It starts by describing the facilities at old Pier 2, at Halifax harbour's north end, where, at the beginning of the 20th century, immigrants from Europe disembarked from transatlantic ocean liners, went through official port-of-entry facilities, and embarked on rail journeys to their final destinations in Canada. At Pier 2, Government of Canada immigration personnel checked the immigrants' health, security, financial and personal resources and backgrounds to look for criminality. The private service sector was well represented by faith-based organizations and institutions like the Red Cross that helped immigrants when they stepped on Canadian soil.

Yet the book does not limit itself to immigration. By the first decade of the 20th century, major commercial and trade pressures had transformed the 19th-century harbour of the old colonial town into a modern ocean-trade facility. New terminals at the south end of the harbour were the most significant aspect of this transformation. The authors describe the complex interactions between supporters and opponents of this enormous construction project that took over 20 years. After delays caused by World War I, the great Halifax explosion of 1917, bankruptcies, and the postwar recession, the project was finished in the late 1920s, and new passenger facilities were ready at Pier 21. Immigration officialdom and private aid organizations moved to the new, larger facilities that included better detention facilities and food services for passengers.

The immigration office's move to the new pier in 1928 occurred less than two years before the start of the Great Depression, when policy makers reduced immigration to a bare minimum until the end of World War II. The few immigrants who arrived in the 1930s were almost all British subjects, U.S. nationals, or immigrants proceeding to close family.

The Second World War was a heroic period for Pier 21. Traffic was enormous and strained the pier's capacities. Most Canadian troops leaving for Europe shipped out through the pier, and many prisoners of war also passed through it. Nazi prisoners rubbed shoulders with refugees from Germany on some incoming ships; once in Canada, both categories of arrivals were sent to Canadian internment camps, the first as prisoners of war, the second for security reasons. Merchant seamen, refusing to board their ships and attempting to stay illegally in Canada rather than face the dangers of war in the North Atlantic, were detained in Halifax; they staged a hunger strike demanding to be transported to the better detention facilities of Pier 21. Princess Juliana of the Netherlands and her children disembarked at Pier 21, as did Winston Churchill. Poland's Wawel treasures were brought through the pier for Canadian safekeeping and were repatriated to Poland only in 1961. In 1944, a major fire raged through Pier 21. Reconstruction took until 1946 to complete, yet the pier continued to function albeit with severely reduced facilities.

Another important period for Pier 21 was the post-World War II rebound of immigration, with more than 40,000 British war brides, a large group of Polish refugee soldiers, and Polish and Jewish orphans. There were also "Viking boats", carrying refugees from the Baltic countries. As Canadian visa officers scoured the camps in destroyed Germany, they selected large numbers of displaced persons who were then brought to Canada through Pier 21. The 15 years following the war's end witnessed a period of strong economic immigration from Europe. A large percentage of these immigrants entered Canada at the pier. Among the most significant immigration movements of this period was that of 35,000 Hungarian refugees in 1957, following the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956; many came through Pier 21. The large number of Hungarian refugees who arrived in Canada by air rather than sea foreshadowed developments during the next decade, when air travel gradually replaced transatlantic sea routes.

During the 1960s, as the focus of Canadian immigration moved away from Europe and air travel replaced sea travel, immigration to Canada through Halifax declined. In 1968, a small group of Czech refugees who asked for asylum in Gander were processed through Pier 21. This was the swan song of immigration through Halifax. In 1971, after 43 years of service and almost one million immigrant arrivals, Pier 21 closed and remained, for a while, an abandoned shell.

This book has succeeded in bringing together in a highly readable form the elements of the complex, many-faceted history of Pier 21, one of Canada's major immigration ports of entry. The book's greatest strengths are the many anecdotes, supported by contemporary photographs, which describe the experiences of immigrants on arrival in their new homeland. Some of these stories are happy, others are sad, some describe major problems, while others relate small joys. But they provide the book with a sense of immediacy, of connection with even the most casual reader. This is a good book. I can unreservedly recommend it, though I have one minor criticism: it does not offer many statistics. With few exceptions, the authors refer to numbers of immigrants, refugees, arrivals, departures, etc., only in general terms. In the opinion of this reviewer, this is a minor fault that could be easily remedied in a future edition.

A final word: writing and publishing this book has been possible only because Pier 21 is no longer an empty shell. Since 1999 it has housed one of Canada's six national museums: the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21. Many people were instrumental in rescuing the Pier 21 buildings and making them into a national treasure. But, as the book emphasizes, two names should be highlighted. Without the selfless efforts of John Paul Leblanc, director general of Immigration Canada's Nova Scotia region in the 1980s and especially Ruth Miriam Goldbloom, a Halifax philanthropist and community activist, Pier 21 might still be an empty hulk, instead of a beautiful national museum serving all Canadians.

The Resettlement of Displaced Persons in Canada (1947-1952): Lobbying, Enlightened Self-Interest, and Humanitarianism (Part 1)

Robert J. Shalka

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Displaced Persons in the Aftermath of Conflict

Of the 11.3 million persons involuntarily displaced from their homes in regions overrun by Nazi Germany during World War II, an estimated five million came from territories incorporated into or dominated by the U.S.S.R. and included some three million Ukrainians.¹ Responsibility for their food and shelter fell upon the Occupying Powers and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA); the latter operated more than 800 displaced persons camps by 1947.² The fate and disposition of this population became a priority for the victorious Allies, with different agendas being pursued by Western Allies and the Soviet Union.

Even before the end of hostilities, the Allies had agreed that displaced persons should be repatriated to their places of origin. In February 1944, U.S. President Roosevelt issued a statement encouraging the Allied Powers to protect refugees from Nazi and Japanese persecution until they could return "home".³ A year later, at the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the "Big Three" (U.S., U.K. and U.S.S.R.) agreed that such persons would be repatriated without delay. A secret clause confirmed Soviet authority over its displaced nationals and allowed the use of force to repatriate the unwilling.⁴ Repatriation was attractive to the Allies, as they assumed displaced persons would want to return home—a solution that would quickly reduce the burden of caring for this population in war-ravaged countries. This was a logical assumption borne out by the rapid return of French, Dutch, Norwegians, Danes, and others in western Europe with or without UNRRA assistance. Repatriation to Soviet-dominated areas was more problematic.

Soviet authorities maintained that anyone from within the U.S.S.R.'s pre-September 1939 borders, or territories incorporated following the Hitler-Stalin Pact, were Soviet citizens subject to repatriation.⁵ In formulating this policy, the Soviets were well aware that many displaced persons were anti-Soviet/Communist and sought to avoid the creation of hostile émigré groups and minimize their exposure to Western influences. Furthermore, the millions of displaced persons from areas under Soviet control represented a significant potential labour force to rebuild war-damaged areas. Soviet occupation forces and "Repatriation Commissions" began rounding up and transporting these people, voluntarily or otherwise, almost as soon as fighting ceased. In keeping with a spirit of Allied cooperation, U.S. and British forces initially assisted these efforts. An estimated 2.8 million Ukrainians—primarily forced labourers from the pre-1939 Soviet territories—were repatriated by the end of 1945.⁶ Although many returned voluntarily, incomplete records make it difficult to distinguish between voluntary and forced repatriations.⁷

The remaining 200,000 displaced Ukrainians in the zones of occupation were adamant in their refusal to be repatriated and engaged in various forms of resistance, including suicide, rather than return to Soviet control.⁸ Many Western military personnel were perplexed as to why people would refuse to return "home", but in the face of continued resistance, deteriorating relations with the Soviets, and negative publicity over forced repatriation, Western military commanders

ordered the cessation of cooperation by the late summer of 1945; only voluntary repatriations continued. Soviet repatriation teams remained active, and British and U.S. military authorities prohibited Ukrainian-language activities in the camps in order to reduce “nationalist agitation” and to make conditions as unattractive as possible to encourage voluntary departures.⁹

Ukrainians resisting repatriation were a diverse group. They included persons associated with Ukrainian nationalist and anti-Soviet or anti-Polish organizations, some of whom had been in exile since the 1920s¹⁰; members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia; persons who had served the German occupation in various roles; personnel from the Galicia/Halychyna Division¹¹; concentration camp survivors; liberated prisoners of war; former forced labourers; and civilians who had fled west ahead of the advancing Red Army.¹² All had their own good reasons for avoiding repatriation, including the experience of having lived under Soviet rule.

For Western Ukrainians, whose lands had been ruled by Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia from 1919 to 1940, 21 months (September 1939 to June 1941) of brutal Soviet occupation had been marked by confiscation of property, political and religious repression, arrests, deportations of “anti-Soviet elements”, and the killing of some 15,000 prisoners held by the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in the days immediately before the arrival of the invading German army in June 1941. These people were determined not to return to their former homes as long as they remained under Soviet occupation. Ukrainians from pre-1939 Soviet Ukraine had endured two decades of state-imposed terror, including mass famine deliberately caused by the Soviet regime, forced collectivization, purges, deportations, and executions. Wartime conditions offered those not already forcibly sent west as conscripted labour by the Germans an opportunity to flee the U.S.S.R. Many were members of the intelligentsia—including clergy, artists, and academics—or members of the middle class, who had suffered repression at Soviet hands. Successful avoidance of repatriation was a matter of determination, dissemblance, and luck.¹³

By the late fall of 1946, all, or almost all, “Soviet citizens” willing or pressured to leave for the U.S.S.R. had left the camps. For the Western Allies, the issue was now one of dealing with a “residue” who, it was felt, could not be left permanently in Occupied Germany and Austria and who presented a major burden to house and feed. This situation changed only in mid-1947, with the replacement of the UNRRA by its successor, the International Refugee Organization (IRO), which had a rigorous resettlement mandate as the most viable solution to the problem. The U.S.S.R. and its subordinate states did not opt to become IRO members and could not object to resettlement beyond Europe.

Canadian Awareness: Lobbying

At war’s end in 1945, Canada was home to a large Ukrainian diaspora, the result of two massive waves of immigration from 1891 to 1914 and again from 1922 to 1930. By the 1941 Census of Canada, 305,921 persons listed “Ukrainian” as their nationality out of a total population of 11,506,655. Most (241,347) lived in the Prairie provinces, where they made up 10 percent of the population. These numbers underlay considerable political clout and were sufficient to elect Ukrainians as members of provincial legislatures as early as 1913 and two federal members of parliament by the 20th Parliament (1945-49): Anthony Hlynka (Vegreville-Social Credit); Fred Zaplitny (Dauphin-CCF). The community would soon learn of the plight of Ukrainians in Occupied Germany and Austria and would advocate for their admission to Canada.

Some 30,000 Ukrainian-Canadians served in the armed forces in World War II. This was significant in several ways. First, it dispelled any lingering reservations about loyalty to Canada, whereas in World War I, many Ukrainians had been interned as “enemy aliens”. Secondly, the return of so many Ukrainian former combatants who were entitled to veterans’ benefits helped break down the many unofficial barriers to higher education, the professions, and housing that were commonplace before 1945.¹⁴ Finally, active service in Europe made many Canadians aware of the plight of displaced persons. Ukrainian-Canadian veterans led in providing practical assistance and lobbying for their admission to Canada.¹⁵ Having proven their loyalty to Canada, they had no hesitation in expressing support of Ukrainian causes, mobilising action through their ethnic organizations, and pressuring the government to take action.

Most prominent among these veterans was the group associated with Flight Lieutenant Bohdan (Gordon) Panchuk, a former teacher from rural Saskatchewan who had joined the Royal Canadian Air Force and served in the U.K. and Northwest Europe. Soon after arriving in the U.K., Panchuk and others formed the Ukrainian-Canadian Servicemen’s Association (UCSA), which became a “home away from home” for personnel on leave or posting in London.¹⁶ When Panchuk was sent to Normandy after D-Day, he began to encounter Ukrainians who had deserted German military units or had been conscripted as forced labourers. The numbers increased further east and included family groups fleeing the Red Army.

Even before the end of fighting, Panchuk and his UCSA colleagues formed the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau (CURB), which, by late 1945, was carrying out relief operations to Ukrainians in the camps. Their continued military status gave

them access and freedom of movement. Panchuk and his CURB colleagues soon realized that many displaced persons had no wish to return to their counties of origin, and on occasion they intervened to halt forced repatriations.¹⁷ They sent information back to Canada about the Ukrainians' plight and the fact that Canada was a preferred destination for resettlement. Consequently, Canadian members of parliament and the Immigration Branch received a flood of enquiries from Canadians seeking information about "sponsoring" relatives in the camps. In the absence of appropriate regulations or processing facilities to allow an immigration movement, officials could only provide standardized, negative replies. One such, provided by a constituent, was read into the record by Vegreville Member of Parliament Anthony Hlynka on 25 March 1946:

Literally hundreds of similar applications are being received in the Department from residents of Canada who are anxious to assist relatives in distressed circumstances in Europe. Practically all of the proposed immigrants are inadmissible under the existing regulations and, after careful review of the whole situation, it has been decided that the entry to Canada at this time of any considerable number of aliens would not be advisable....We are obliged to refuse so many applicants which present at least equal merit from a sympathetic standpoint. I can only express regret therefore, at being unable to let you have a favorable reply.¹⁸

Within Canada, representations on behalf of Ukrainians in the camps began shortly after the cessation of hostilities. Speaking on 11 September 1945 during the Debate on the Throne Speech, Fred Zaplitny (CCF–Dauphin) noted that:

Many...[Ukrainians]...have found themselves in other parts of Europe, some by their own choice and some by force of circumstances. They are desirous of entering this country. I hope that the Government will take that into consideration and will make it possible for these people to enter Canada and add their contributions to the future life of the country.¹⁹

Other MPs echoed these sentiments. David Croll (Lib–Spadina) emphasized that the Government had to consider two objectives in setting an immigration policy: the immediate or short term based on humanitarian goals to assist displaced persons through resettlement in Canada and a long-term objective where immigration would increase the country's population and stimulate economic growth. In Croll's estimate, any future immigration policy had to be planned, selective, and digestible.²⁰

Sessions of the Senate Standing Committee on Labour and Immigration from 1946 to 1949 gave Ukrainian and other groups an opportunity to advocate for or against the admission of displaced persons in the camps.²¹ Ukrainians were among the first to appear, on 29 May 1946, representing the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) and the pro-communist Ukrainian Farmer and Labour Temple Association (UFLTA). The UCC, represented by Member of the Legislative Assembly J.R. Solomon, maintained that Canada needed a larger population to hold on to its territory and build its economy and that these people, based on the progress and achievements of Ukrainians already settled in Western Canada, would make first-class future citizens:

Measured by any standard whatsoever we fail to see wherein and how it takes longer to make a desirable citizen out of the Ukrainian than out of any other European. He learns English just as fast; he educates his children just as readily; he serves on school and municipal boards just as well; and in the matter of paying his debt his record is second to none in the Dominion.²²

Others spoke in a similar vein. As a recently serving and decorated officer with first-hand experience and having just returned from Germany, Bohdan Panchuk made a particularly favourable impression on the senators with his testimony:

I feel very strongly, as every serviceman who served overseas, that Canada needs more men. Certainly, our population is much too small. But in the selection of these immigrants, we must always emphasize quality; we want men of integrity and with respect for themselves and others. Men who love their homes and country and who know their duty and strive to do it. I have no doubt we all agree that this is the type of person we want. If we want such citizens, they are at our disposal; if we do not take them, someone else will.²³

The UCC appeared again before the standing committee on 12 June 1947. Ukrainian displaced persons, now specifically referred to as "refugees", were again portrayed as future citizens in the most glowing terms:

They are a better counterpart of their kinsmen who today enjoy the privileges and perform their duties as citizens of Canada. All Ukrainian refugees form a cross section of the most enterprising, most

determined and most dependable class of the Ukrainian people. They represent all levels of trades, occupations and professions of the nation in a well-balanced proportion. All of them have a definite background as producers and not middlemen. All of them are sons of the soil.²⁴

The UCC's efforts were successful, as the standing committee's first report on 13 August 1946 singled out the Ukrainians as a desirable group: "If they are such people as the Ukrainian settlers who came to Canada in the years preceding the last war, they will possess characteristics of intelligence and industry which may well contribute to Canada's development".²⁵

In contrast, the pro-communist Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) and its affiliate, UFLTA, were totally opposed to the admission of any displaced Ukrainians. Following Soviet guidance, they maintained that Ukrainians who refused repatriation were either war criminals, Nazi collaborators, or persons "beguiled" by the prospect of "greener pastures" in Canada, where they could live a life of ease rather than face hard, but honest, toil rebuilding a homeland devastated by war.²⁶ They were a "type" Canada did not need: intellectuals, teachers, businesspersons, and priests. None would make a useful or productive contribution to Canada. According to the AUUC, Ukrainian workers forcibly taken to Germany for slave labour had since returned home and were rebuilding the "motherland".

These allegations were given short shrift by the standing committee.²⁷ The start of the Cold War also played a role. Actions by Stalin's Soviet Union demonstrated that its objectives did not coincide with those of the Western Allies. In the Canadian context, the 1945 defection of Igor Gouzenko and his revelations of Soviet espionage became public in February 1946. A month later, Sir Winston Churchill delivered his celebrated "Iron Curtain" speech in Fulton, Missouri. The wartime alliance was disintegrating. Hostility to communism was now viewed with favour and would serve the cause of the refugees in Occupied Germany and Austria.

Presentations also came from organizations representing the Polish, Baltic, Finnish, Croatian, and Czechoslovak communities, with contrasting positions from pro- and anti-communist factions. The Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) pressed for the admission of Jewish displaced persons on humanitarian grounds and stated frankly that the Canadian government's stand respecting refugees prior to and during World War II had been disappointing. It also urged, in view of the Holocaust's impact, that the categories of admissible relatives announced in mid-1946 be extended to include cousins.²⁸

The Canadian National Committee on Refugees proposed a more general view on Canada's obligations toward refugees in its appearance on 30 July 1946²⁹:

In any future legislation on immigration there shall be special provisions whereby persons falling under the definition of "refugee" established by the International Refugee Organization of the United Nations shall be exempted from the ordinary restrictions on Immigration into Canada and shall be subject only to whatever special restrictions may be considered by parliament to be necessary and justifiable in face of the moral claim of the refugees to the right of sanctuary.³⁰

Although Canada would be a signatory to the United Nations Convention on Refugees, the inclusion of specific refugee provisions in legislation had to wait until the 1976 *Immigration Act*.

In summary, ethnic and other organizations made the government aware of the plight of displaced persons in camps in occupied Germany and Austria and made a strong case for their admission to Canada. They successfully portrayed "their" refugees as hard workers eager to live and work in a free Canada. The next question was: What action would be taken by Canada?

Ed. Note: This is the first of three parts. Readers may refer to a book review by Erica Usher in Bulletin 95 and an article by Brian Gushulak in Bulletin 93 for more information about the institutional postwar efforts by Allied leaders and the international community to identify, repatriate, and relocate involuntarily displaced people in the aftermath of World War II.

Notes

¹ Marta Dyczok, *The Grand Alliance and the Ukrainian Refugees* (Oxford: St. Antony's Series, 2000), 14ff, www.diasporiana.org.ua provides a comprehensive overview.

² The UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency) operated from 1943 to 1947, when its main functions passed to the International Refugee Organization (IRO) and the World Health Organization (WHO). While providing crucial assistance to displaced persons, UNRRA's focus was repatriation rather than resettlement. Its mandate did not include *Volksdeutsche* or ethnic Germans

displaced from their former homes in Eastern Europe. For a description and map of the various Ukrainian camps, see Ihor Stebelsky, "Ukrainians in the Displaced Persons Camps in Austria and Germany after WW2". *The Ukrainian Historian*. 23. 3-4 (1986).

³ Library and Archives Canada. *Cabinet Conclusions*. Item 5344. 1944-03-24. Cabinet opted not to respond to or indicate concurrence with the U.S. President's statement.

⁴ Dyczok, 10. For a complete discussion, see Nikolai Tolstoy, *Victims of Yalta: The Secret Betrayal of the Allies, 1944-1947* (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1977).

⁵ This included the Baltic republics, Eastern Poland, Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine, Northern Bukovina and Moldova/Bessarabia.

⁶ Dyczok, 42.

⁷ According to Dyczok, who has made use of previously unavailable Soviet archives, some repatriates were executed, sent to the Gulag, or exiled to remote areas in the Far East. The majority, however, resumed their lives, but they and their children endured severe official discrimination due to having "been abroad", a situation that lasted until the end of the U.S.S.R.

⁸ See Dyczok, 51 ff for a description of one such incident as well as efforts to make life in the camps as unattractive as possible.

⁹ U.K. and U.S. military authorities were perplexed and exasperated by Ukrainians' insistence on being identified as Ukrainians rather than by their country of former citizenship (Poland, Romania, or Czechoslovakia). Dyczok, 51 ff.

¹⁰ This earlier group included "Nansen refugees" who had fled Ukraine following the Bolshevik Revolution and civil war or who had been involved in revolutionary actions against the Polish occupation of Western Ukraine.

¹¹ A military formation established by the German occupation authorities in Western Ukraine as part of the Waffen-SS. It has been, and remains, a subject of controversy. A full discussion is outside the scope of this article. The reader is directed to the *Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals: Report, Jules Deschênes, Commissioner* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1986), [www: publications.gc.ca](http://www.publications.gc.ca) and Grant Purves, *War Criminals: The Deschênes Commission* (Ottawa: Library of Parliament; Parliamentary Research Branch, 1998). See also Reg Whittaker, *Double Standard: The Secret History of Canadian Immigration* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys Limited. 1987), 129-138.

¹² John Kolasky. *The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1979), 88-91 and Dyczok, 5-20.

¹³ One stratagem to avoid Soviet attention was to assume a Western Ukrainian, or even Polish, identity, an often-problematic task because of distinct regional accents and surnames. Personal accounts related to the author.

¹⁴ On 13 September 1945, in responding to the Throne Speech at the opening of Canada's 20th Parliament, MP Alastair Stewart (CCF-Winnipeg North) noted forcefully that the realities of widespread discrimination against Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, and Afro-Canadians were in sharp contrast to the government's noble statements during the election. The MP also spoke to the urgent need for a Canadian Bill of Rights, which would not be seen until the Diefenbaker government over a decade later. House of Commons. *Debates (20th Parliament), 1st Session, Vol. 1, 135 -138*.

¹⁵ Lyubomir Luciuk, ed. *Heroes of their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983), www.diasporiana.org.ua

¹⁶ Panchuk had pre-War experience as a Ukrainian community organizer in Saskatchewan. He was innovative spreading the word about the UCSA. He wrote to the editors of every Ukrainian newspaper in Canada with information about the UCSA, encouraging readers to inform their sons, daughters, relatives, and friends serving in the U.K. The success of the UCSA would inspire the formation of several "Ukrainian" branches of the Royal Canadian Legion.

¹⁷ For example, Panchuk arrived at a small camp in Belgium to find a group of Ukrainian women about to be handed over against their will to the Soviets. He said that, as a Canadian officer, he assumed responsibility for the group, and the Belgians allowed them to stay. In another instance, Captain Stanley Frolick, learned that the British authorities were about to screen members of the Polish army at a camp in England to ascertain whether they were ethnically Polish or Ukrainian. Anyone found to be Ukrainian faced repatriation to the U.S.S.R. Initially denied access to the camp, Frolick borrowed clerical vestments from a friendly military chaplain and was able enter. His "sermons" in Ukrainian advised the soldiers to claim "Polish" ethnicity to avoid repatriation. Many followed his advice. Dyczok, 86.

¹⁸ House of Commons. *Debates*, 20th Parliament, 2nd Session: Vol.1, 224-31.

¹⁹ House of Commons. *Debates*, 20th Parliament, 1st Session: Vol.1, 79-81. "Classic" lines that would be repeated over the decades.

²⁰ House of Commons. *Debates*, 29th Parliament, 2nd Session, 5492 -5518, 27 August 1946.

²¹ The Standing Committee took testimony from May 1946 until the end of the 20th Parliament in April 1949. It was tasked with the following: desirability of admitting immigrants to Canada; type of immigrants to be preferred, including origin, training and other characteristics; availability of such immigrants for admission; facilities, resources and capacity of Canada to absorb, employ and maintain such immigrants; and the appropriate terms and conditions of such admission. See Senate of Canada. *Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour*. 20th Parliament (parl.canadiana.ca).

²² Senate. *Standing Committee (2nd Session)*. Vol. 1. No. 1, 28. Solomon took particular pride in extolling the achievements of Ukrainian farmers, noting their frequent awards as world barley and oat kings in international competitions.

²³ *Ibid.* 41. The notion that other countries would take Ukrainian and other camp residents if Canada did not move quickly would be frequently mentioned, in view of interest from Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. It was also understood the most of them would prefer the U.S.A., if it would initiate a resettlement program.

²⁴ Jaroslaw Arsenych, K.C., Secretary, UCC. Senate. *Standing Committee (3rd Session)*. Vol. 1, No. 11, June 12, 1947, 296.

²⁵ Senate. *Standing Committee (2nd Session)*. 312.

²⁶ The Soviet embassy in Ottawa was well informed about activities on behalf of the Ukrainians. As early as April 1945, Soviet Ambassador Zabourin met the Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (J.E. Read) to protest aid to Ukrainian refugees from a "Canadian refugee fund". According to Zabourin, Ukrainian refugees unwilling to return home were pro-fascist and "enemies not only of the Soviet Union but of Canada and the United States as well....This question was not one of charitable appeals only but was looked upon by the Soviet Government as a political question to which they attached a particular importance." See *Documents on Canadian External Relations*. Vol. 13 (1947), 329.

²⁷ See Kolasky. *The Shattered Illusion* for a detailed account.

²⁸ Orders in Council expanding “admissible relatives” to include parents, siblings, orphaned nephews and nieces under age 18 were considered inadequate as they did not include more distant relatives who had survived the Holocaust. The CJC urged including cousins, a proposal that was never adopted. See Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1982), Chapter 7-8. Best known for its account of the Canadian government’s policies against Jewish immigration in the 1930s and World War II, the book also argues that the Mackenzie King Government acted with inordinate slowness and reluctance in resettling refugees, Jews in particular, after the war.

²⁹ Senator Cairine Wilson, Chair of the Senate Standing Committee, explained that the committee had been formed in the autumn of 1938 to provide assistance to persons displaced from their homes in the Czech Sudetenland as a consequence of the Munich Agreement.

³⁰Senate Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour (2nd Session). Vol. 2. No. 9. 238.

CIHS Book Donation to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada Charlene Elgee

Charlene Elgee, a retired CIC Library manager, is a CIHS board member and its archivist.

This is what a social event looks like in these strange Covid times—cold! Pictured here are Eleanor Berry of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada’s (IRCC’s) Research and Evaluation Branch and Michael J. Molloy, former president of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society. On a freezing, blustery day at the end of December 2020, Molloy performed an outdoor and masked presentation of a small collection of books to Eleanor.



For the last decade, CIHS has partnered with Wilfrid Laurier University in awarding the one-thousand-dollar Gunn Prize to a university student for an outstanding essay on immigration or refugee history. Unfortunately, 2020 yielded no winning essay. The Society decided to use the funds set aside for its share of the 2020 prize to purchase a number of outstanding books on migration published in the last year or so as a gift to IRCC’s Research and Evaluation Branch in appreciation for the work it does in preserving the documentary heritage of this important aspect of Canadian history.

We consulted Eleanor Berry about which books would be of greatest use and interest to IRCC. She tells us that there are already waiting lists for several of the books. We hope that these works will serve departmental employees well as they carry out their valuable work. The Society’s gift is itemized below.

Title	Author	Bibliographic Notes
<i>Where are you from?: Growing up African-Canadian in Vancouver</i>	Gillian Creese	Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019
<i>Policy Transformation in Canada: Is the Past Prologue?</i>	Edited by Carolyn Hughes Tuohy, Sophie Borwein, Peter John Loewen, and Andrew Potter	Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019
<i>Communal Solidarity: Immigration, Settlement, and Social Welfare in Winnipeg’s Jewish Community, 1882-1930</i>	Arthur Ross	Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2019
<i>The Age of Migration: International Population Movement in the Modern World, 6th edition</i>	Hein de Haas, Stephen Castles, Mark J. Miller	New York: Guilford Press, 2020
<i>Refuge Beyond Reach: How Rich Democracies Repel Asylum Seekers</i>	David Scott FitzGerald	New York: Oxford University Press, 2019
<i>Crossroads: Comparative Immigration Regimes in a World of Demographic Change</i>	Anna K. Boucher and Justin Gest	Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018
<i>Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Native-Newcomer relations in Canada, 4th edition</i>	J.R. Miller	Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018
<i>Crossing Law’s Border: Canada’s Refugee Resettlement Program</i>	Shauna Labman	Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2019
<i>Strangers to Neighbours: Refugee Sponsorship in Context</i>	Edited by Shauna Labman and Geoffrey Cameron	Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2020

<i>A National Project: Syrian Refugee Settlement in Canada</i>	Edited by Leah K. Hamilton, Luisa Veronis, and Margaret Walton-Roberts	Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020
<i>Outward and Upward Mobilities: International Students in Canada, Their Families, and Structuring Institutions</i>	Ann H. Kim and Min-Jung Kwak	Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019
<i>Refugees, Migration and Global Governance: Negotiating the Global Compacts</i>	Elizabeth G. Ferris and Katharine M. Donato	New York: Routledge, 2020
<i>Crossing Borders</i>	Edited by Mimi Sheller and Kevin Hannam	New York: Routledge, 2018
<i>The United States and Canada: How Two Democracies Differ and Why it Matters</i>	Edited by Paul J. Quirk	Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019

Canada's First Citizenship Ceremony

Gerry Maffre

An early-rising CIHS member came across an interesting [blog post](#) about Canada's first citizenship ceremony, which took place in Ottawa on 3 January 1947—73 years ago. The story was posted by James Powell at "[Today in Ottawa's History](#)"; he aims to find a historical story about Ottawa for each day of the year. It was re-posted by the local CityNews affiliate. We thank both for allowing us to link to this blog. Diligent digging by Charlene Elgee found a very brief [televised report](#) of the ceremony on the Library and Archives Canada Facebook page. The Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21's [website](#) offers more background on this piece of history and includes a copy of the 1947 *Citizenship Act*.

Canadian Visa Offices: 1950-2000

Gerry Maffre, Raphael Girard, Diane Burrows, Robert Shalka, Anne Arnott, Peter Duschinsky, and Jo Molloy

Five preceding Bulletins have documented the global locations of visa offices and the countries they serviced, drawing on both the Global Affairs Canada online publication [Canadian Representatives Abroad](#) and the collective memory of the above-named retired former immigration officers. These 50 years of listings are brought together in this instalment, which summarizes the locations and operating dates of all 112 offices. These 50 years are, of course, but a small part of Canada's immigration program, which stretches back to the first office in Britain in 1869. Some contrary information on visa office locations and operational dates appears in Professor Freda Hawkins's 1972 book, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern*. Differences are highlighted in the table. The fact that this listing ends in 2000 by no means signifies that all the offices closed. Many continued into the new millennium, presenting a possible research project for another time. Decade-by-decade narratives and more detailed listings about these offices can be found in numbers 91 through 96 of the CIHS *Bulletin*.



Immigration promotion in the U.K., 1961. (photo credit: CIHS).

Readers should know that in several updates in the following list, information in *Representatives* differs with information shared with the authors and drawn from the actual experience of visa officers and managers who served in the missions. Some variances can be accounted for by the timelines for production of *Representatives* and the dates these officers were assigned to or left the offices for other assignments. Other sources of information also came into play. Co-author Robert Shalka drew our attention to the Hawkins data mentioned above and J.M. Trautsch's article, "The History of the Canadian Governmental Representation in Germany". The latter shows that Canada's relations with Germany were not formally established until 1951, providing some possible context for the discrepancies in those visa offices' opening dates.¹

Over the half-century analysed here, the network of offices expanded to an ever-growing number of countries, and this growth in migrant source countries contributed to the diversity of Canada. Diversification was a consequence of the adoption of a universal and non-discriminatory immigration policy in the mid-1960s and efforts to provide more equitable levels of service. It has led to a wider variety of contributions to the country. For example, the winner of the 2020 Giller Prize for literature, Souvankham Thammavongsa, came to Canada through the [Indochinese refugee movement](#) as a young Laotian refugee whose family was sponsored by a group of concerned Canadians.

No system perfectly ensures equitable service for similar applicants in different countries; however, Immigration has continuously adjusted the visa network in an effort to provide an acceptable level of service globally despite geo-political realities, shifting patterns of legal and irregular migration, departmental reorganization, and government resource pressures. These changes were particularly marked in the 1970s, when large regional offices were closed or reduced in order to shift officers and resources to new, smaller offices in more countries. By so doing, the department introduced a better level of service for applicants who hitherto had had to await itinerant service visits by visa officers. In the very early 1970s, the department established two regional overseas offices (London, Geneva) and one in Ottawa to coordinate visa operations, but the experiment didn't take hold and was abandoned not long into the decade.

Between 1950 and 2000, legislation and policies changed. The federal-provincial character of the program became more evident. Changing technology had its impact too: means of communication evolved from the weekly diplomatic pouch, and telegrams for the most urgent matters, to telexes, then faxes and, finally, email. Processes and forms for assessing and tracking applications changed as well. And where visa officers would once have travelled by train or ship to assignments, by the end of the century, they travelled mostly by airplane.



Ugandan Asians leave Kampala for Canada, 1972-1974. (photo credit: CIHS)

The immigration system and individuals who provided this service in overseas offices—and in Canada too—have dealt with millions of people in a great variety of situations: reuniting families; approving people with skills needed in Canada; providing a route to safety for refugees; and approving visas for tourists, international students, and temporary workers. Officers and locally engaged personnel at our embassies, consulates, and other offices have responded to humanitarian crises and worked through the good and bad times in the cities and countries of their assignments to deliver Canada's commitments in the immigration and refugee programs, and continue to do so.

Notes

¹ 1945-1950: CIHS members Robert Shalka and John Baker and Professor Hawkins provided the following dates for the post-World War II reopening of visa offices in Europe as well as in Hong Kong—the only non-European office to open during this period. London remained open during the war.

1946 Paris, Brussels, The Hague.

1947 Heidelberg, Germany, which became the base for Canadian teams serving displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria, November 1947 to March 1948.

1948 Karlsruhe-Durlach, Germany, which replaced Heidelberg. By August 1948, Karlsruhe had 13 visa officers, 11 visa control officers and 10 medical officers. Visa offices in Glasgow, Belfast, Brussels, Rome, Stockholm, and Hong Kong also opened.

1949 Salzburg, Austria, as the base for displaced persons camps in Austria. Also opened: visa offices in Berne, Athens, Dublin, Liverpool, and Belfast.

Shalka also relates that in a late 1940s annual report from the Immigration Branch of the then Department of Mines and Resources, the officer-in-charge of the Paris visa office, Odilon Cormier, was titled "Consul" versus the more common title for immigration officers of "Attaché". The latter was used in *Canadian Representatives Abroad* throughout the 1950s and most of the 1960s for immigration officers. The higher-level diplomatic titling for immigration officers started again in 1968.

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	NOTES
AFRICA		
Cairo, Egypt	1967 (Hawkins: opened 1963) -2000	
Accra, Ghana	1990-2000	
Abidjan, Ivory Coast	1976-2000	
Nairobi, Kenya	1974-2000	
Rabat, Morocco	1974-2000	
Lagos, Nigeria	1990-1997	

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	NOTES
South Africa Pretoria	1977-2000	Opened to facilitate the acceptance of expelled Asian Ugandans.
Cape Town	1978	
Kampala, Uganda	September-November 1972	
AMERICAS		
America, United States of Washington	1983-2000	Hawkins identifies the U.S. offices in the 1960s as "Counselling Information Offices".
Atlanta	1979-1992, 1995-1996	
Boston	1976-1992	
Buffalo	1973-2000	
Chicago	1957-1969 (only in Hawkins), 1970-1992	
Dallas	1974-1992	
Denver	1960-1970 (only in Hawkins)	
Detroit	1973 -2000	
Los Angeles	1966-1969 (only in Hawkins), 1973-1979 (Hawkins: closed 1970), 1980-2000	
Miami	1993-2000	
Minneapolis	1970, 1972-1992	
New Orleans	1973-1975	
New York City	1957-1969 (only in Hawkins), 1971-2000	
San Francisco	1960-1969 (only in Hawkins), 1974-1993	
Seattle	1950 (not open in Hawkins), 1974-2000	
Buenos Aires, Argentina	1972-2000	
Bridgetown, Barbados	1971-1992	
São Paulo, Brazil	1988-1989, 1991-2000	
Santiago, Chile	1974-1994, 1997-2000	
Bogota, Colombia	1975-2000	
San José, Costa Rica	1980-1992	
Havana, Cuba	1992-2000	
Guatemala City, Guatemala	1980-2000	No visa officer posted after 1989—satellite to Port of Spain 1990-2000
Georgetown, Guyana	1984-1989	

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	NOTES
Port-au-Prince, Haïti	1974-2000	
Kingston, Jamaica	1968-2000 (Hawkins: opened 1967)	
Mexico City, Mexico	1978-2000	
Lima, Peru	1984-2000	
Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago	1968-2000 (Hawkins: opened 1967)	
ASIA-PACIFIC		
Australia Canberra	1993-2000	
Sydney	1968-2000	
Dhaka, Bangladesh	1984-1987, 1996-2000	
China Beijing	1993-2000	
Hong Kong	1950-2000	
India Delhi	1954-2000	
Chandigarh	1997-2000	No visa officer posted—satellite visa office to Delhi
Jakarta, Indonesia	1997-2000	
Tokyo, Japan	1966-2000	
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	1988-1992	
Islamabad, Pakistan	1964 (Hawkins: opened 1967) -2000	
Manila, Philippines	1964 (Hawkins: opened 1967) -2000	
Singapore	1973-2000	
Seoul, South Korea	1973, 1984-2000	
Colombo, Sri Lanka	1984-2000	
Taipei, Taiwan	1990s	Immigration Control Officer presence in Canadian Trade Office in Taipei
Bangkok, Thailand	1978-2000	
EUROPE		
Austria Vienna	1957 (Hawkins: opened 1955) -2000	
Linz	1953-1955 (Hawkins: opened 1952)	
Salzburg	1950-1951 (Hawkins: closed 1952)	
Belgium Brussels	1950-1994 (visa office)	Visitor visa work only in 1994

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	NOTES
Brussels	1992-1996 (Office to EU)	
Prague, Czech Republic	1990-1995, 1998-2000	
Copenhagen, Denmark	1951 (Hawkins: opened 1950) -1975	
Germany Bonn	1954-1956 (resident in Karlsruhe-Durlach), 1957-1973 (resident in Cologne), 1973-2000	
Berlin	1958 (Hawkins: opened 1955), 1965-1969, 1973-1976 (Hawkins: closed 1970)	By 1976 shared one officer with Hamburg
Bremen	1953-1955 (only in Hawkins)	
Cologne	1957 (Hawkins: opened 1956) / (resident Bonn 1959) -1973 (Hawkins: closed 1970)	1972-1973 officer resided in Bonn. By 1976 shared one officer with Berlin
Hamburg	1958 (Hawkins: opened 1954) -1976 (Hawkins: closed 1970)	
Hanau	1954-1955 (only in Hawkins)	
Hanover	1952-1956	
Heidelberg	November 1947-March 1948	
Karlsruhe-Durlach	1950-1956	
Munich	1956 (Hawkins: opened 1954) -	
Stuttgart	1958 (Hawkins: opened 1952) -1978	Titled "Canadian Immigration Office" 1956- 1972, so not in diplomatic list.
Helsinki, Finland	1958-1966 (Hawkins: opened 1952)	
France Paris	1950-2000	
Bordeaux	1967 (Hawkins: opened 1966) -1979	
Marseille	1967 (Hawkins: opened 1964) -1993	
Strasbourg	1975-1979	
Athens, Greece	1956-1994	
Budapest, Hungary	1969 (only in Hawkins) 1970-1996	
Dublin, Ireland	1950-1992	
Italy Rome	1950-2000	
Milan	1968-1986	
Luxembourg	1955-1959 (resident in Brussels)	

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	NOTES
The Hague, Netherlands	1950-2000	
Oslo, Norway	1957 (Hawkins: opened 1951) -1966	
Warsaw, Poland	(Hawkins: opened 1951), 1974-2000	
Portugal Lisbon	1957-1998	
Punta Delgada	1968-1970	
Moscow, Russia	1978-2000	
Belgrade, Serbia	1968-2000	
Madrid, Spain	1963-1980, 1984-1985, 1987-1992	
Stockholm, Sweden	1950-1994	
Switzerland Berne	1950-1994	
Geneva	1967-1972 (Permanent Mission to the UN), 1980-2000 (reporting position)	Provided itinerant services in Eastern Europe briefly after opening. Regional office in early 1970s
Kyiv, Ukraine	1992-2000	
United Kingdom London	1950-2000	Regional office early 1970s
Belfast	1950-1978	
Birmingham	1967 (Hawkins: opened 1966)-1983	
Bristol	1957-1967	
Glasgow	1950-1984	
Leeds	1958 (Hawkins: opened 1957) -1968	
Liverpool	1950-1969 (Hawkins: closed 1968)	
Manchester	1969-1978	
MIDDLE EAST		
Tehran, Iran	1976-1979, 1988-2000	
Baghdad, Iraq	1976-1979	
Tel Aviv, Israel	1956-2000	
Amman, Jordan	1984, 1994-2000	
Kuwait City, Kuwait	1980-1985, 1988-1990	
Beirut, Lebanon	1968 (Hawkins: opened 1967) -1979, 1980-1983, 1999-2000	Temporary Cyprus offices: Limassol 1976-1977; Nicosia 1989-1994

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	NOTES
Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	1991-1998	
Damascus, Syria	1985-2000	
Ankara, Turkey	1987-2000	
United Arab Emirates Abu Dhabi	1997-2000	
Dubai	1994-1997, 2000	

Readers are invited to signal any errors or omissions in this table to info@cihs-shic.ca.

In Memoriam

Brush, Maurice

Maurice (Mo) Brush passed away on 5 January 2021. Mo started his 33-year career in immigration right after his MA studies at the University of Toronto. From late 1958 to early 1961, he and his young family were posted to Cologne, Germany, where Mo worked in the visa office. At immigration national headquarters, he served as the chair of the Legislative Review Committee and was deeply involved in work on and drafting of the Immigration Act, 1976. He retired from Citizenship and Immigration Canada in 1990.

Remembered by Patricia Brush and Family

As a family we knew very little of Dad's professional life. This is a perfect example. We were told that there were two men arguing in French in the corridor outside Dad's office about a point of immigration law. Dad got up from his desk and went into the corridor to correct the men, in French, as they were both wrong.

Man 1: I didn't know that Maurice could speak French.

Man 2: I didn't know that Maurice could speak!

And that's why we know so little. He didn't speak at home either. We only know this story because someone told it to Barbara, our Mom, at an office event.

When we were children, we absorbed societal attitudes, but we soon learned that Dad would absolutely not allow any slurs against people because of their place of birth, nationality, colour, etc. Everyone was to be respected, no ifs, ands, or buts.

When I was an adult, the family was at the cottage with Mom and Dad, and a highly competitive game of Trivial Pursuit ensued. Dad was the first person to get his filled "pie" to the middle of the board and would win if he could correctly answer the question that the rest of us chose for him. There was a lively discussion as we considered Dad's extensive knowledge base and tried to find a weakness. We decided on a category and I read the question, which he quickly answered correctly. People started reaching to put the game away, but I put up my hand and said, "Wait!" I then asked him all the questions in the other categories on the card. You know, he answered them all correctly.

Thank you for the stories. It is wonderful to learn how well regarded he was. He'd get on the bus at 7:50 am and return by 5:15 pm, never late, never early. He would read the paper or have a nap, sit quietly at the head of the table for dinner, then wander upstairs to work on his stamp collection, unless Wayne and Shuster or Red Skelton or Ed Sullivan were on. On the weekends, he would watch football, and once a year we would have a party at Lottie and Jim Mitchell's for the Grey Cup. He never spoke of what happened between the morning and the evening buses.

When he retired, he took the position of chief cook and bottle washer since Mom was still working for the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa. She told us his cooking was awful at first, but she didn't say anything as she didn't want to discourage him. Soon enough, he turned out really good meals.

I appreciated that he came to almost every concert I sang in. He didn't say anything about how well I had done, but I could see him puffed up with my success. He was a wonderful grandfather, and he would buy the grandkids the wackiest Christmas gifts, which provoked much anticipation.

Around 1980, Mom bought a cottage. Dad thought it was ridiculous. We didn't need a cottage. We lived a short walk from the Ottawa River. Plus, it cost \$55,000, which was almost triple what our house had cost when they bought it in 1966. But wherever Mom went, there was Dad. He had so much enjoyment at that cottage. We wouldn't see him for hours because he would be out walking the road or searching the woods for birds. He could easily walk 40 miles in a day and barely think about it, as he proved when Miles for Millions came to town.

Towards the end, we watched as dementia took Dad away, piece by piece. A man who could communicate in eight languages was reduced to eye contact and feeble gestures. It has meant so much to us since his death to learn about the important work he did and in what high esteem he is still held. We are so grateful to the members of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society for filling in the gaps in our knowledge and putting the pieces of Dad back together again.

Remembered by Raph Girard

First of all, I would like to offer the Brush family my heartfelt condolences on the passing of Mo. He was a true giant, a person who exemplified the best values of a public servant. His influence on the immigration program, and by connection the building of this country to what it has become, is hard to overestimate.

I worked with Mo on creating at least four immigration statutes that since the mid-1970s form the core of immigration law and practice in this country. In debates as to what had to be included in legislation to carry out government policy, Mo always had the last word. If changes were adopted in the policy forum, Mo had the singular ability without study to inform all present regarding any consequential amendments that would have to be made to other parts of the bill to make the proposed changes compatible with the scheme of the *Immigration Act*. Lawyers from the Department of Justice regularly sought advice from him on drafting legislation rather than *vice versa*.

The most memorable meeting I had with Mo occurred in the early years of the 1970s when the Green Paper on Immigration had been launched and public input was being solicited prior to the drafting of new legislation. Richard Tait, our assistant deputy minister, told me to begin the process to upgrade Mo's position by one grade in recognition of his critical importance to legislative reform. He noted that Mo's hard work and leadership over the many months that had gone into producing the Green Paper certainly qualified him for a higher grade. I called Mo into my office to advise him of the good news, only to be met with a flat rejection of the idea. Mo told me that he was happy in the job that he was doing, that he was properly classified, and that he would not cooperate with any measures to promote him to a higher grade. Tait was incredulous when I reported back that Mo would have nothing to do with the offer of a promotion, but we realized that that was Mo—modest, committed to the highest ideals of public service, and above all a man of integrity who sought neither recognition nor higher office.

Remembered by Dawn Edlund

With the inception of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 and the Singh Supreme Court decision in 1985, Legal Services started to have Charter-based challenges to the *Immigration Act* and decisions made under it. To defend the impugned provisions, we frequently turned to the "Mo Brush binder", which was his overview of each provision in the [then new-ish] 1976 Act, what they were about, what they replaced, and why they were needed. It was heaven-sent to help us understand the legislative provisions and was the start of an evidentiary basis for affidavits sworn by departmental officials.

Remembered by Gerry Van Kessel

When I joined Immigration in 1974, Mo Brush was the quiet policy writer always working on whatever policy issue was grabbing ministerial attention. He was a very good writer with a comprehensive knowledge of the issues. When Robert Andras started the Green Paper exercise, the principal writer was Mo. He was a man of few spoken words but lots of written words.

I recall when he learned that there was a family named Brush in the part of southwestern Ontario where I grew up. That excited him (perhaps too strong a word) because he said there were so few around Ottawa. I enjoyed working with him. He knew his stuff and was always willing to share it with me.

Remembered by John Baker

I was the Foreign Branch representative on the Legislative Drafting Group for the 1976 *Immigration Act*. I will always remember Mo as "The Pen", who would listen carefully to a vigorous debate about a particular subject, say (almost)

nothing, go off, and the next day produce a literary gem. Years later, whenever I was on posting at HQ, and a controversy came up over a clause in the Act (or Regs), I would phone Mo for some elucidation on how it got there. RIP Mo, and sincere condolences to the family.

Remembered by Joe Bissett

I would like to express whole-hearted agreement with those who have already sung the praises of Mo Brush. He was an exceptional public servant: intelligent, hardworking, a master at policy development, and a brilliant draftsman. He was, as well, a very private person and while he enjoyed a healthy relationship with his fellow workers, few got to know him on a personal basis. I knew enough when chairing a meeting with Mo present never to allow him to remain silent, and would make a point of asking him for his views. Inevitably he would add value to the issue in his straightforward manner, and in many cases he would provide us with a solution.

I now wish we had known more about Mo's private life—where he was born, who were his parents, his family, his schooling, his interests, especially after he retired. Patricia's words here certainly help portray Mo in a wider light.

Remembered by Brian Grant

My first encounter with Mo Brush would have been in the mid-to-late 1980s. I was in charge of Parliamentary Affairs in the deputy minister's office at the time, and I recall attending a meeting late the night before tabling some sort of legislative amendment. A "Council of Immigration Grandees", as I thought of them, had gathered to run through the final briefing. The meeting was well advanced when a small voice from the bottom of the table said "that's not accurate". Stunned silence followed, because it was not a minor point that was being challenged at this 11th hour. I remember thinking "where the hell have you been all this time". That was Mo Brush. Given his reputation as a silent actor, I feel honoured to have first seen him in a talking role.

But my real encounter with Mo came several years later, in 1991, by which time I was director of Control Policy and we were embarked on a substantial amendment of the 1976 Act, which became Bill C-84. There were three "leads" assigned to shepherding the amendments through parliamentary committees: Meyer Burstein had selection, John Butt had refugees, and I had everything else (which meant almost the entire Act). Unlike many involved, I had not spent my life engaging in fisticuffs and takedowns in the dockyards and restaurant kitchens of "Immigration Land". But I had a secret weapon. Mo had retired by then, but he left behind the most amazing document that I ever read during my career in government. And, blessings be upon him, Don Mackay gave me a copy of it.

The document was a chronicle of the preparation and passage through parliament of the 1976 Act. Mo had recorded in minute detail every step of the process, every consideration, every underlying intention of each section of the Act. The internal considerations to every amendment sought by committees were recorded in detail, including options considered and dropped, and the reasons why. Thanks to Mo's exegesis, for a brief period of time, I understood the 1976 *Immigration Act* (which remains in my view the most elegant version of the legislation) as well, if not better, than anyone in the world. I know it saved my hide more than once in committee hearings and during cross examinations to be in a position to interpret the framers' intentions. It is a great pity that a document of such incredible insightfulness as that will probably never again be written in government.

So, my deep condolences to Mo's family on their loss and my eternal gratitude to and admiration to Mo, whom I never did get the chance to speak to, but who told me so much.

Remembered by Andrei Grushman

I'm very sorry to learn that Mo Brush has passed away. I worked with Maurice Brush as a junior analyst at the immigration department during the 1980s, when he played an important role in developing legislative changes to the refugee determination system. Mr. Brush was a model public servant, always calm and knowledgeable, with a dry sense of humour. He set a great example for all those who worked with him.

Remembered by Donald Cameron

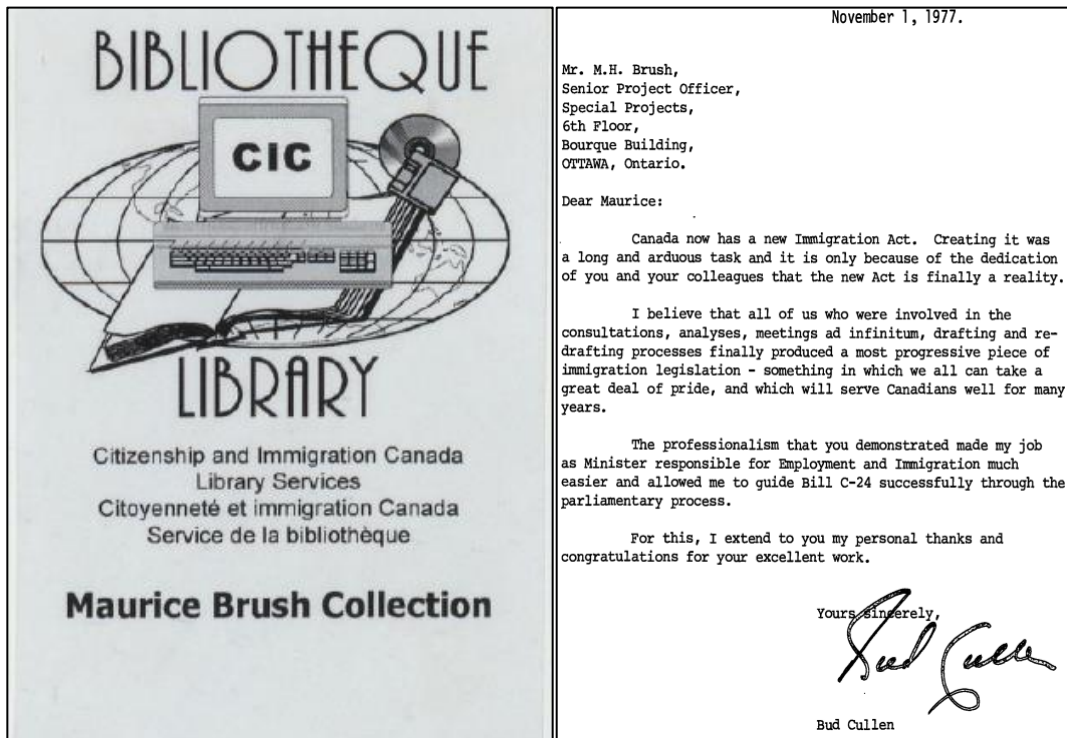
In the summer of 1986, when I returned to Ottawa from a posting, I was sent to work for Chris Taylor, the director of immigration policy. With Grant Donaldson from B.C. Region, I was one of two "outsiders" to work on control policy in advance of the new refugee determination system that was being developed by a team under Raph Girard.

At this time, the refugee determination system was being overwhelmed by a large number of claimants from Portugal who alleged that they were being persecuted because they were Jehovah's Witnesses. One of the main destinations of these claimants was Montreal, and there were so many of them that they were being housed in hotels at public expense. Some were placed in the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, and a few claimants unwisely complained to the media that they were located

in hotels of lesser luxury. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney visited the city at the high point of this ruckus and shortly thereafter ordered that a visitor visa requirement be imposed on citizens of Portugal immediately. This instruction found its way from the Prime Minister's Office to Chris Taylor, who passed it on to me. I knew that an Order-in-Council would be required but I hadn't the faintest idea of how one was passed. Casting about, I found that Maurice Brush was the expert about such matters. I still remember the smile on his face when I told him what the prime minister wanted and he set off to do it, knowing that the usual suspects who always opposed visa impositions would be impotent in the face of the directive from on high. Maurice had the OIC passed in record time, and the flood of alleged Jehovah's Witnesses came to an abrupt halt.

Remembered by Eleanor Berry

I'm very sorry for his family's loss. I'm also sorry to hear they didn't know very much about his work. While Mo's primary accomplishments at Citizenship and Immigration Canada were before my time, his legacy certainly carries on in our library. His donations to the CIC Library form the basis of our collection of legislative materials and are still consulted frequently today. The notes that he provided to the library, listing legislative and regulatory changes (dating back to the 1890s in some cases!), were invaluable in gathering and organizing these and subsequent materials. I was involved in the further organization and maintenance of the legislative collection when I started my permanent position at CIC in 2008, and became very familiar with the donations, courtesy of a special book plate. I took a peek at our library catalogue, and there are nearly 300 items listed as part of the "Maurice Brush Library Collection". In addition, I found a letter of thanks to Mr. Brush in a special bound copy of Bill C-24 (1977), signed by Bud Cullen, then Minister of Employment and Immigration Canada.



MacDonald, John

Former Canadian visa officer John MacDonald, originally from Windsor, Ontario, passed away on 3 March 2021 in Ottawa, where he had lived since his retirement. His immigration foreign service career was mostly served overseas. Foreign assignments included Cairo, Manila, Bridgetown, Colombo, Riyadh, Abu Dhabi, and Taipei. Upon retirement, he pursued social justice issues and assisted in immigration settlement with non-governmental organizations. Members are invited to share their reminiscences, which will be published in the next Bulletin.

Mark, Frazer

Frazer Mark passed away on 16 December 2020 in southern Ontario at the age of 75. His career in the immigration foreign service took him and his family around the globe, living and working in Japan, Jamaica, Pakistan, England, Egypt, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Trinidad and Tobago, and Sri Lanka.

Remembered by Susan Burrows

Frazer and Tom Ryan came to Singapore when I was there in 2004, to interview Aceh refugees in Malaysia. I also met Frazer in Cairo. I remember that meeting because it was the date of the first bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City in 1993, and on the same day, someone threw a bomb into a cafe in Cairo, killing a Swede and injuring a Canadian. Frazer and Sharon had invited the team with whom I was travelling over for lunch and Frazer had to leave to handle the consular case.

Remembered by Joyce Cavanagh-Wood

I worked with Frazer Mark in London and found him to be one of the gentlest souls ever. Thoughtful and warm he was.

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 – Dawn Edlund; Vice-President – Anne Arnott; Treasurer – Raph Girard; Secretary – Robert Orr; Editor – Diane Burrows; Past-President Michael Molloy Members at large – Brian Casey, Roy Christensen, Valerie de Montigny, 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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