

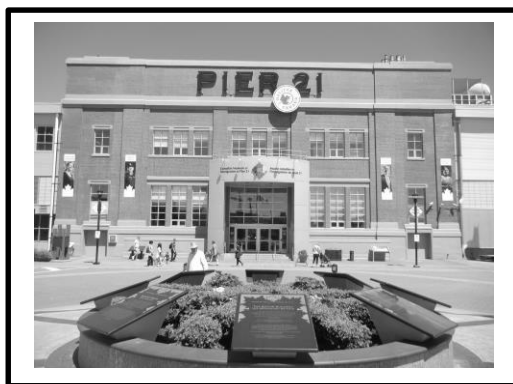


Reopening of Pier 21

Peter Duschinsky

On a sunny summer day, Canada's Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 was reopened to the public. The dream of John Paul LeBlanc to turn an abandoned Halifax pier, the port of entry for more than one million immigrants to Canada between 1928 and 1971, into a major Canadian historical site is continuing to evolve. Without doubt, with the latest expansion, Pier 21 has grown to be a world-class museum, a magnet for all who wish to learn about Canadian immigration history. LeBlanc was the Director General of Immigration Canada's Atlantic Region until 1982, a past board member of this society and, along with the late Ruth Goldbloom, a moving spirit behind the rescue of Pier 21.

The reopening ceremony, celebrating the new Immigration Hall and the redesigned Rudolph P. Bratty Hall, concentrated on the themes of Impact. Prominent Canadian the prize-winning novel *The Book* Order of Canada, who is himself acted as master of ceremonies. Honourable Peter MacKay and who arrived at Pier 21 as a ten-talented Canadian artists music. Museum CEO Marie chair of the museum's board of museum's history and evolution.



Journey, Arrival, Belonging and novelist Lawrence Hill, author of *of Negroes* and recipient of the the son of immigrant parents, Speeches were given by the the Honourable Julian Fantino, year-old boy. A number of performed beautiful and touching Chapman and Troy Myers, vice-trustees, talked about the

In his remarks, Troy Myers Canada's visa officers abroad. He drew attention to a Canadian flag, one of five objects given or lent to the museum through the auspices of the CIHS. This flag is a replica of one used by Canadian immigration officers in Kampala to protect an at-risk family. That family's story, recorded on video by the CIHS many years ago, is particularly moving. The Ugandan-Asian refugees, processed under difficult conditions, are now valuable citizens of Canada.

highlighted the activities of

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President Mike Molloy, Brian Casey and Peter Duschinsky represented the CIHS at the ceremony. Molloy was specifically sought out by a prominent Vancouver businessman whom he processed as a refugee decades ago. After the ceremony, there was an opportunity to visit the new Immigration Hall. It is a user-friendly, in-depth visual presentation of Canada's immigration experience from the beginning to our own days. Very impressive!



L to R: Brian Casey, Mike Molloy, Pier 21 Mascot Fenton, and Peter Dushinsky. Fenton is named after the late Fenton Crossman, a founding member of the CIHS. His memoir *Recollections of an Immigration Officer, 1930-1968* (published by CIHS in 1989) describes what it was like to serve in the immigration department during the Depression and war years.

The day before the ceremony, Molloy and Duschinsky talked at length with Emily Burton, the museum's oral historian, about their experiences as visa officers and Duschinsky's experience as a refugee and immigrant to Canada. As a result, she intends to contact the CIHS to arrange oral history sessions with members.

After the reopening ceremony, our president spoke to [CTV Atlantic Canada](#) about the challenges of processing refugees in a dangerous situation, like that of Uganda under Idi Amin. As well, [CBC](#) [livestreamed](#) the reopening ceremony.

Participating in the reopening was a very worthwhile experience which, we are convinced, will continue to deepen the meaningful and valuable relationship of the CIHS with the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21.

On 24 January 2015, Stuart MacLean broadcast a show from Halifax. His opening and evocative essay was about Ruth Goldbloom, her life and role in Pier 21. "Without Ruth," he said, "it wouldn't have happened." You can listen to his [audio essay](#) at the beginning of that *Vinyl Café* show on CBC.

The Gunn Prize

Gerry Van Kessel

Six years ago the society decided to sponsor an essay contest for Canadian university students. Reflecting the society's mandate, the essays were to be about Canadian immigration history. The International Migration Research Centre of the Balsillie School of International Affairs and Wilfrid Laurier University agreed to co-sponsor with our society. Each donates \$500, for a total prize of \$1,000 to the winning entry. A jury comprising members of the society and university professors decides each year's winner. The winning essays have shown a high degree of scholarship and have explored interesting and unstudied aspects of the Canadian immigration experience.

On 12 August, a mid-summer CIHS auction at the Ottawa home of Elizabeth and Scott Heatherington raised some \$3,130 in purchases and donations that will be used to fund our annual contribution to the Gunn Prize.

The prize has been awarded annually since 2010, apart from 2012, when no essay was deemed prize-worthy; winning entries can be found on the society's website. They are:



L to R: Secretary Gail Devlin, VP Anne Arnott, and Auctioneer Roy Christensen

- 2010—Stephen Fielding, Ph.D. student, University of Victoria: “‘We are Promoting an Up-to-date Image of Italy’: The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Italian Ethnicity in Vancouver, Canada 1973-1998”,
- 2011—Alyshea Cummins, Master’s student, Wilfrid Laurier University: “A Comparison of Refugee Resettlement of Ugandan Ismaili Muslims and Cambodian Theravada Buddhists in Canada”,
- 2013—Dara Marcus, graduate student, University of Ottawa: “The Hai Hong Incident: One Boat’s Effect on Canada’s Policy towards Indochinese Refugees”, and
- 2014—Geoffrey Cameron, Ph.D. student, University of Toronto: “The Political Origins of Refugee Resettlement Policy: Insights from the Policy Process in Canada (1938-1951)”.

Femmes agentes du service extérieur (1957-1967), Partie I

1957 : Les femmes effectuent leur entrée au sein du service extérieur de l'Immigration

Sheena Trimble

Note de l'éditrice : Sheena Trimble est doctorante en histoire contemporaine à l'Université d'Angers en France. Elle est également une Albertaine transplantée en France depuis 2006 à la suite de son mariage avec un Français. Elle va soutenir sa thèse le 7 octobre 2015 : Femmes et politiques d'immigration canadiennes (1945-1967) : au-delà des assignations du genre ? Une deuxième partie, mettant en lumière les expériences de femmes recrutées pendant les années 1960, sera publiée dans le prochain numéro du bulletin.

Note de l'auteur : Cet article a été réalisé grâce à des entretiens à distance entre septembre 2014 et avril 2015 avec Elsa Amadio, Joe Bissett et James Cross. Je les remercie chaleureusement de leur coopération et je les disculpe de toute interprétation erronée de ma part.

En effectuant des recherches pour le ministère des Finances en été 1943, l'économiste Mabel Timlin remarque la curiosité qu'elle inspire chez les secrétaires. Elle trouve qu'« a number of them if they had been men would have travelled much higher in office than confidential secretaries to Ministers or their deputies »¹. Six ans plus tard, en faisant une étude sur la capacité de l'absorption d'immigrants, elle ne trouve pas davantage de femmes dans des postes plus responsables au sein du ministère des Mines et des Ressources (MMR). Dans ses recherches sur les actions de l'association des loisirs de la fonction publique pendant les années 1950 et 1960, Patrizia Gentile découvre des distinctions très genrées. Les femmes, ou « Government Girls » ont droit à un concours de beauté, « Miss Civil Service » et des conseils, dans la section féminine du bulletin, sur comment trouver un époux². Ainsi, les femmes ne sont pas seulement cantonnées dans des emplois de cols roses, elles sont également vues comme n'ayant pas d'objectifs ou de perspectives de carrière à long terme.

Il n'empêche que certaines secrétaires et adjointes administratives, de par la proximité avec le ministre et par une carrière durable, peuvent avoir de l'influence sur les politiques si elles en ont l'ambition. Marguerite Hoey, gestionnaire du bureau pour Walter Harris, Jack Pickersgill et Ellen Fairclough, voit ses prérogatives effectuer un bond spectaculaire en 1959 lorsque Ellen Fairclough la nomme vice-présidente de la Commission d'appel de l'immigration³. Il faut y voir de la part de la ministre une reconnaissance des compétences développées par Mme Hoey au-delà des prérogatives de sa fonction administrative pendant son temps au ministère de la Citoyenneté et de l'Immigration (MCI). On se demande si un ministre homme aurait fait le même geste.

Outre le besoin ponctuel généré par la guerre, un autre facteur pourrait pousser l'État fédéral à embaucher des femmes et à leur octroyer des responsabilités au-delà d'un simple soutien administratif : le diplôme⁴. Mais à la Direction de l'immigration du MMR, puis du MCI, la culture administrative est de privilégier l'expérience plutôt que les études, mettant ainsi les femmes dans une situation sans issue. Selon un cadre supérieur interviewé par Fred Hawkins, pendant les années 1940 et 1950, les fonctionnaires qui s'occupent des questions de l'immigration sont majoritairement des « self-made men », car ni le MMR ni le MCI n'embauche beaucoup de diplômés des universités ou de personnes ayant une formation professionnelle avant la fin des années 1950. La Direction de l'immigration engage beaucoup d'anciens combattants avec peu de qualifications professionnelles, attend d'eux qu'ils appliquent les règlements sans prendre trop



Ellen Fairclough

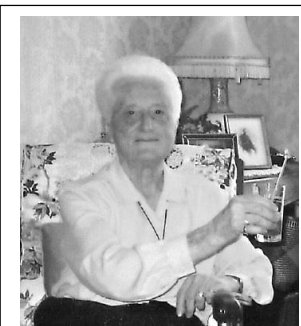
d'initiatives, et les paie au compte-gouttes⁵. Le service reproduit ainsi quelque peu le milieu militaire, y compris dans son manque d'ouverture aux femmes.

Lorsque le MCI est créé en 1950, la Direction de l'immigration, avec sa culture plutôt rigide, fusionne avec la Direction de la citoyenneté qui faisait partie auparavant du ministère du Secrétaire d'État. L'histoire de la Direction de la citoyenneté et de ses liens fondamentaux avec la société civile rendent ce service plus idéaliste et plus inclusif, y compris dans l'embauche de femmes⁶. Les études universitaires et l'expérience avec les immigrantes, ou les groupes ethniques, comptent dans ce service, ce qui permet le recrutement de femmes comme Charity Grant, Constance Hayward, Françoise Marchand, Violet King et Rita Cadieux. Cette ouverture reste cependant limitée. Une liste d'agents de liaison régionaux de décembre 1957 fait état de douze agents dont quatre femmes. À l'exception de Charity Grant, toutes les femmes sont mariées et ne sont nommées qu'à titre intérimaire⁷.

Pour les femmes de la Direction de la citoyenneté la possibilité d'influencer les politiques d'admission d'immigrants est freinée par le fait que ces deux parties du MCI ne sont pas bien intégrées. Selon l'historiographie, pendant leur seize années ensemble, entre 1950 et 1966, les deux directions gardent des cultures et des idéologies différentes. La Direction de l'immigration se préoccupe d'assurer l'intégrité de la nation canadienne, en décidant qui peut entrer ou rester au Canada selon des critères qui peuvent être très discriminatoires. La Direction de la citoyenneté promeut la pleine acceptation des droits et des responsabilités de la citoyenneté par les Canadiens et les immigrants, ainsi que les bonnes relations entre ces deux groupes⁸.

Pendant les années 1940, « Information Officer » est le poste le plus élevé occupé par une femme dans le MMR. Pendant les années 1950, des femmes comme Irene Fogarty, Edith et Leona O'Connor, ainsi que Doris Hutchinson gravissent les échelons de l'administration du MCI pour arriver au niveau de cadre intermédiaire, par exemple, « Assistant Chief, Administrative Division ». En 1957, Germaine Bundock intègre le MCI comme agente d'information. Par ailleurs, pendant les années 1940 et 1950 les services d'immigration régionaux embauchent des femmes pour des besoins ponctuels comme l'interprétation ou la traduction. Vers la fin des années 1950, Phyllis Turnbull est probablement la femme la plus haut placée dans l'administration du MCI, occupant un poste d'agent supérieur du personnel⁹.

La situation pendant les années 1960 s'améliore légèrement : on trouve des femmes à des postes de directrice du personnel et de directrice intérimaire de l'information¹⁰. Strictement parlant, ces femmes restent plutôt en marge de l'influence, si on excepte la possibilité que quelqu'un comme Mme Bundock puisse influencer les perceptions publiques des politiques d'immigration. Certains services délicats comme la Deportation Section, demandent la présence de femmes pour s'occuper des immigrantes en particulier¹¹. Elles sont donc dans une position où elles peuvent influencer sur l'application de politiques et peut-être même leur contenu, bien que dans un cadre genré.



Madeleine Karp, 2008.
(photo: Gilles Durocher)

Les services d'immigration à l'étranger sont un des ultimes bastions contre la présence de femmes dans des postes autres que commises et secrétaires. Celles-ci sont habituellement recrutées sur place et sont ainsi souvent dans une position de double subordination, par rapport à leur sexe et leur origine, aux hommes canadiens. Il peut leur arriver d'atteindre des positions plus responsables grâce à leur expérience et leur ancienneté. Madeleine Karp, qui travaille à l'Ambassade du Canada à Paris entre 1948 et 1981, faisant des tâches qui incluent le traitement des visas, n'est qu'un exemple¹². À la fin de la guerre, Helen Davison à Londres est la seule femme agent d'immigration outre-mer. Ses possibilités d'avancement sont limitées. En octobre 1947, le sous-ministre, Hugh Keenleyside, s'alarme de la nomination de Davison comme directrice intérimaire des services d'immigration à Heidelberg : « I take it that Miss Davison is to take charge [...] only for two or three days until the arrival there of Mr. Bird or Mr. McFarlane »¹³. L'expérience de

Davison outre-mer semble s'étendre avant et après l'arrivée des deux hommes en question, mais leur affectation d'une durée indéfinie à Ottawa et leur sexe les rendent plus compétents qu'elle aux yeux du sous-ministre¹⁴.

En 1956, afin de mettre en valeur sa réputation et son pouvoir auprès de l'élitiste ministère des Affaires extérieures (MAE) et aux yeux des États des pays dans lesquels il a des bureaux, le MCI introduit un programme visant à recruter davantage de diplômés d'universités dans ses services à l'étranger. Dès 1957 le recrutement de la majorité des agents du service extérieur (ASE) va de pair avec le recrutement pour le MAE et le ministère du Commerce. Tous les candidats doivent passer le même examen organisé par la Commission de la fonction publique (CFP). Les admissibles passent ensuite devant une commission de sélection présidée par le CFP avec des représentants des trois ministères. Au moment de l'interview, on demande aux candidats de signaler leur préférence entre ces trois services. Pour introduire ce nouveau programme et encourager le candidat à choisir son ministère, le MCI publie [une brochure](#) vantant les avantages à travailler dans ses services¹⁵.

La brochure fournit aux femmes un peu d'encouragement et plusieurs avertissements. Il suffit d'être citoyen canadien, diplômé d'université, et âgé de moins de 31 ans pour rejoindre à « highly trained and devoted group of men and women upon whose understanding and wise counsel depends the happiness of thousands of men, women and children who will become, in time, citizens of Canada ». La version française ne traduit pas exactement le sens de ces responsabilités considérables, notant simplement que « l'avenir heureux » des immigrants potentiels dépend « pour une très large part » des décisions des ASE. Certes, la brochure n'explique pas que l'équipe existante des ASE est en effet surtout composée d'hommes et d'une poignée de femmes, rarement affectées en dehors du Royaume-Uni. Néanmoins, à première vue, ni l'existence de ces quelques femmes, ni la possibilité d'augmenter leurs effectifs, ne sont occultées. [Voir Bulletin 72, p.11.]

La brochure informe les candidats de tous les avantages du travail : une formation approfondie, une rémunération intéressante, des allocations généreuses, de bonnes possibilités d'avancement, des voyages, l'exposition à d'autres cultures, et un rôle dans la construction du Canada à venir. Le MCI demande des candidats en contre-partie une grande capacité de travail, « une faculté d'adaptation peu commune » et la volonté de « servir en n'importe quelle partie du monde ». L'État est prêt à faciliter cette mobilité en se chargeant du déménagement de l'ASE et des « personnes à [sa] charge »¹⁶. À une époque où l'époux n'est jamais considéré comme « une personne à charge » des telles phrases sont annonciateurs de complications à venir.

Parmi les trois groupes de recrues qui commencent leur formation en 1957, une trentaine de personnes en tout, figurent deux femmes : Elsa Amadio et Pierrette Picotte. La campagne de 1958 voit arriver trois autres femmes : Juliette Barcelo, Alice Rendek et Beverly Anderson.

En février 1959, Helen Turcotte écrit un article sur ces cinq recrues citant une autorité de l'Immigration qui soutient que le MCI fait un effort particulier pour recruter des femmes. Selon ce « gallant gentleman », comme Turcotte l'appelle avec un touche d'ironie, le ministère voit les femmes comme particulièrement adaptées à ce travail humain : « We're anxious to have more women on the job. [...] It's a job that demands tact, a natural ability to deal with people, adaptability and hard work. In all of these qualities, [...] women excel »¹⁷. Outre le fait que les femmes sont considérées comme ayant des atouts particulièrement adaptés à ce travail, il est également possible que leur recrutement fasse partie du grand projet du MCI de retoiletter ses effectifs et de se mettre au niveau du MAE. Bien que ce dernier ne recrute pas beaucoup de femmes, il le fait cependant depuis plus longtemps. Par conséquent la présence de femmes dans les ambassades et consulats canadiens n'est pas aussi rare que dans les services d'immigration outre-mer.



Le premier poste au Centre d'Immigration, Aéroport International de Montréal, Dorval; 1^e décembre, 1960 (NHQ, S.H.I.C. Collection McFaul, PH-114)

On peut se demander si un bilan de cinq femmes sur une cinquantaine de recrues en deux ans peut être qualifié d'effort particulier, ou si le MCI ne fait qu'accepter leur candidature. Dix pour cent ne correspond pas au pourcentage de femmes diplômées de l'université en 1956 et qui s'élève à 18,6 pour cent. Cela dit, les femmes sont sur-représentées dans les filières universitaires dites féminines (soins infirmiers, enseignement,

arts ménagers)¹⁸. On s'interroge sur la capacité de la CFP et des ministères concernés de considérer ces filières féminisées comme une bonne préparation pour le service extérieur.

Il est certain que les cinq femmes recrutées pendant les deux premières campagnes sont bien qualifiées. Elsa Amadio est diplômée en histoire et langues modernes de l'University of Toronto. Fille unique d'immigrants italiens qui encouragent les aspirations de leur fille, elle passe un an en Italie faisant des études de master avant de poursuivre son rêve de devenir ASE. Pierrette Picotte a un master en relations industrielles, Alice Rendek et Juliette Barcelo sont juristes, et Beverly Anderson a un licence en histoire et sciences politiques. Comme le remarque Turcotte, toutes les cinq parlent plus d'une langue¹⁹.

Mme Amadio ne se souvient pas d'attention particulière à son genre, négative ou positive, pendant le processus de recrutement, quoiqu'il n'y ait que des hommes dans la commission de sélection. Elle a l'impression que son origine italienne suscite davantage d'inquiétude, ou au moins plus de questions, bien que les membres de la commission remarquent que cette femme née au Canada « had assimilated well ». Dans l'explication qu'elle donne de son choix par le MCI, Mme Amadio relève néanmoins le sexisme inhérent dans le processus. En réalité, les choix des femmes sont limités : « Trade did not hire women, External only a select few, whereas C&I was selecting for their newly introduced F.S. ».

Deux anciens cadres du MCI, James Cross et Joe Bissett, donnent l'impression que l'intégration de quelques femmes chaque année dès 1957 passent plutôt bien. M. Bissett, titulaire d'un master en Administration publique, est recruté en 1956 dans le cadre d'un programme spécial qui cherche à faire naître les futurs cadres dirigeants. Il est plus ou moins un pair des femmes recrutées. M. Bissett pense que toutes les nouvelles recrues diplômées d'université, hommes et femmes, qui arrivent au MCI dans les années 1950, « were received without problems by the staff of Immigration. [...] The new people blended in without problems of any sort ». Cependant, Freda Hawkins, au cours d'interviews en 1964 et en 1967 du personnel du MCI à l'étranger, rencontre une recrue homme de 1957 qui évoque une certaine réserve chez les anciens agents d'immigration : « There was considerable resentment on the part of older officers to whom the whole thing was not adequately explained. This first Foreign Service Officer Series appeared to put a ceiling on overseas appointments for the average officer and blocked his way overseas »²⁰. Les femmes doivent faire face non seulement aux réserves sur l'introduction de plus de diplômés d'université, mais également aux convictions des uns et des autres qu'elles n'ont pas leur place au sein du service extérieur de l'Immigration.

James Cross ne croit pas non plus que l'arrivée d'un nombre croissant de femmes dès 1957 crée des remous au MCI. Selon lui, la présence de plusieurs femmes au niveau intermédiaire dans la Direction de la citoyenneté et une ministre femme préparent le terrain. Pourtant, l'historiographie remarque souvent le mur invisible qui perdure entre les directions de l'Immigration et de la Citoyenneté après leur fusion dans le même ministère en 1950²¹. Contrairement à la majorité des hommes à la Direction de l'immigration, M. Cross a travaillé pendant trois ans à la Direction de la citoyenneté, entre 1950 et 1953. D'ailleurs, dès 1958, messieurs Bissett et Cross font partie des hommes dans le ministère qui ont un contact régulier avec Ellen Fairclough, femme qui gagne leur respect et leur amitié par son style de gestion et son sens de l'humour. Tous les hommes à la Direction de l'immigration ou dans les services à l'étranger ne sont pas aussi ouverts ou aussi sereins à propos du recrutement régulier de femmes ASE.

Elsa Amadio évoque l'« ambivalence » à propos du recrutement de femmes. Lorsqu'elle rencontre Laval Fortier pendant sa période de formation en 1957, la réaction du sous-ministre à l'invasion redoutée de femmes est « You too ! ». On ne suppose pas qu'il ose le même accueil lorsque Fairclough devient ministre quelques mois plus tard. Mme Amadio décrit les attitudes des autres personnels au ministère avec un sens aigu de l'observation :

« We were in a male-dominated world with the usual jokes and comments—nothing a well brought-up lady could not cope with. I found it best to ignore the comments. My fellow trainees accepted me, even if they wondered why I had selected such a career... after all, I would never get anywhere. Some of the older officers took bets on how long we would last, lamenting the training cost that might not be totally

lost if we married a fellow officer. The few women around were mainly secretaries who wondered about us too ».

Mme Amadio gagne cependant le pari de l'endurance ; elle effectue toute sa carrière dans le service extérieur jusqu'à sa retraite en 1988, décrochant des postes de plus en plus élevés. Elle devient Consul et Immigration Program Manager à Milan en 1967, Head of Training and Development à Ottawa en 1969, Director of Western Europe Bureau en 1977, et Consul General à Milan en 1981, entre autres. Ses réussites rencontrent également de l'ambivalence et des évolutions dans les perspectives sur les opportunités pour les femmes dans la fonction publique. Comme elle le décrit, les prévisions au début de sa carrière que son genre serait un frein – « You will never progress because you are a woman » – deviennent des conclusions : ses réussites ne seraient dues qu'à la discrimination positive : « You have progressed because you are a woman ».

Le recrutement systématique d'un petit nombre de femmes comme ASE dès 1957 introduit la possibilité que leurs carrières peuvent ressembler plus à celles des hommes : des affectations rotationnelles entre Ottawa et postes à l'étranger et une relation directe avec les politiques d'immigration qui ne se limite plus aux questions d'immigrantes. Comme l'explique Elsa Amadio : « The pioneers of the fifties realized that they belonged to a tradition that placed women in a subordinate position to men. They worked hard to be given the opportunity to acquire the different roles to which they aspired ». Grâce au travail et aux contributions de ces premières pionnières, les effectifs des ASE femmes continuent à augmenter modestement mais sûrement pendant la prochaine décennie.

¹ Mabel F. Timlin, Handwritten notes on a news release, « The Honourable Mitchel Sharp », Department of External Affairs, avril 1971, cité dans Shirley Spafford, *No ordinary academics : economics and political science at the University of Saskatchewan, 1910-1960*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2001, p. 182.

² Patrizia Gentile, « "Government girls" and "Ottawa men" : Cold War management of gender relations in the civil service », in Gary William Kinsman, Dieter K. Buse et Mercedes Steedman (dir.), *Whose national security ? : Canadian state surveillance and the creation of enemies*, Toronto, Between the Lines, 2000, p. 130, 141.

³ Bibliothèque et Archives Canada (désormais BAC), fonds Canadian Council of Social Development, MG28 I10, 332/9, « About legislation », Information ... on immigrant welfare, vol. 2, n° 3, novembre 1959, p. 4.

⁴ Lucienne Aubert, « Notes de lectures, ouvrage recensé : Jouer à l'égalité. Les femmes dans la fonction publique fédérale (1908-1987) », *Cahiers québécois de démographie*, 1989, vol. 18, no 1, p. 213.

⁵ Freda Hawkins, *Canada and immigration : public policy and public concern*, 2e éd., Montréal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's Press, 1988, p. 60, 246-247, 337 ; Reg Whitaker, « A secret policy, secretly administered », in Gerald Tulchinsky (dir.), *Immigration in Canada : historical perspectives*, Toronto, Copp Clark Longman, 1994, p. 354.

⁶ Freda Hawkins, *Canada and immigration...*, op. cit., p. 246 247, 334 ; Leslie A. Pal, *Interests of state : the politics of language, multiculturalism, and feminism in Canada*, Montréal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's Press, 1995, p. 12 13, 64, 75 80.

⁷ BAC, fonds Sous-ministre de la Citoyenneté et de l'Immigration (désormais SMCI), RG26, 84/1-24-107, memorandum de R. Alex Sim à James S. Cross, 9 décembre 1957.

⁸ Leslie A. Pal, *Interests of state...*, op. cit., p. 90 94 ; Freda Hawkins, *Canada and immigration...*, op. cit., p. 96-98, 364 ; Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers : reshaping immigrant lives in Cold War Canada*, Toronto, Between the Lines, 2006, p. 81-82.

⁹ BAC, SMCI, RG26, 104/3-19-2, Conference of Immigration District Superintendents and Regional Settlement Supervisors, 15-16 août 1957 ; 746/5-10-4, Present administrative staff at the Port of Halifax, Appendix A, 1948 ; fonds Ministère de la Citoyenneté et de l'Immigration, RG76, 651/B29200, mémoires de C.E.S. Smith à Irene Baird, Information Officer, 3 juin 1948 ; 87/9309, à E. O'Connor, 5 mars 1949 ; « Remarks by Mr. Jack Manion on his entry to a public service career in immigration », *CIHS Bulletin SHIC*, n° 5, décembre 1988, Supplement A, p. 1 ; Al Troy, « Secrets of 35 years misspent in gov't service », *CIHS Bulletin SHIC*, n° 17, juin 1994, p. 6.

¹⁰ BAC, SMCI, RG26, 75/75-1-1, « 11 a.m. Group », 4 février 1964.

¹¹ C.J. (Charlie Dagg), « Memories », *CIHS Bulletin*, n° 38, octobre 2000, p. 2.

¹² « In memoriam, Madeleine Karp », *CIHS Bulletin*, n° 69, janvier 2014, p. 11-12.

¹³ BAC, SMCI, RG26, 97/3-11-5, memorandum de Keenleyside à A.L. Jolliffe, 30 octobre 1947.

¹⁴ BAC, MCI, RG76, 656/B46936, memorandum de F.B. Cotsworth à l'Acting Director, Immigration, 15 juillet 1947, 2 p ; 116/22787, memorandum de Miss (H.G.) Davison à Mr. Congdon, 25 février 1949, 3 p.

¹⁵ David Bullock, lettre de 29 août dans Backspace, n° 24, octobre 1996, p. 8-9 ; Freda Hawkins, *Canada and immigration...*, op. cit., p. 236 262. *Votre carrière ... comme fonctionnaire au service extérieur de l'Immigration*, Ottawa, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1957, 22 p., « Officer recruitment in the 1950s », *La société historique de l'immigration canadienne*, <http://cihs-shic.ca/2014/10/1350/>, consulté le 15 février 2014.

¹⁶ *Votre carrière ... comme fonctionnaire au service extérieur de l'Immigration*, Ottawa, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1957, 22 p., « Officer recruitment in the 1950s », *La société historique de l'immigration canadienne*, <http://cihs-shic.ca/2014/10/1350/>, consulté le 15 février 2014.

¹⁷ Helen Turcotte, « See the world it promises », *Ottawa Journal*, 21 février 1959, p. 2 ; David Bullock, lettre de 29 août dans Backspace, n° 24, octobre 1996, p. 8-9.

¹⁸ Bureau fédéral de la statistique, Annuaire du Canada, 1959, Ottawa, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1960, p. 362 ; Tableau W504-512, « Grades décernés par les universités et collèges canadiens, selon le sexe, Canada, certaines années, 1831-1973 », Section W : Éducation, Statistique Canada, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectionw/4147445-fra.htm>, consulté le 27 février 2015 ; Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson, et Naomi Black, *Canadian women : a history*, 2e éd., Scarborough, Ont., Nelson Thomson Learning, 2004, p. 307.

¹⁹ Helen Turcotte, « See the world it promises », *Ottawa Journal*, 21 février 1959, p. 2.

²⁰ Freda Hawkins, *Canada and immigration...*, op. cit., p. 259.

²¹ Ibid., p. 96-98 ; Leslie A. Pal, *Interests of state...*, op. cit., p. 94-97.

2015 Annual General Meeting

The Canadian Immigration Historical Society will hold its 2015 Annual General Meeting and dinner:

Thursday, 22 October 2015, 6:00 p.m.
at the Ottawa St. Anthony Italia Soccer Club
523 St. Anthony Street, Ottawa, K1R 0A6

Guest Speaker: The Honourable Ron Atkey, former Minister of Employment and Immigration

St. Anthony Street runs west off Preston Street, just north of the Highway 417 overpass. There is free parking and wheelchair access. The club provides an excellent buffet for \$30.00. Cash bar.

RSVP rgirard09@gmail.com, or call Mike Molloy at 613-241-0166

Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of the Indochinese Refugee Movement

Gerry Maffre

During the past months, CIHS members have participated in a number of activities related to the 40th anniversary of the Indochinese refugee movement to Canada, involving public events, media, and our special website.

Public events

Conference: Things really began in the fall of 2013, with the conference entitled The Indochina Refugee Movement and Launch of the Private Sponsorship Program. Together with the Sponsorship Agreement Holders Association, the CIHS and York University's Centre for Refugee Studies co-hosted this [event](#). Following that conference, York created a [network](#) of Indochinese websites, some short documentaries and curriculum material. There is more to come.

Gala: Fortieth anniversary observances kicked off on 18 April at a gala in Toronto hosted by the Vietnamese community. It was attended by 600 Vietnamese Canadians. Special guests included Senator Thanh Hai Ngo and ministers Jason Kenny, Chris Alexander and Ron Atkey. Veterans of the Indochinese refugee movement were also there, including Doug and Barbara Dunnington, Scott and Elizabeth Heatherington, Scott Mullin, Jim Pasman, Bob Parkes, Albert Lea, Howard Adelman, Nancy Nichols, Rev. Linda Butler, Richard Martin, and Mike and Jo Molloy. Some 40 copies of the commemorative bulletin were distributed, together with a handout listing CIHS contributions to the observance of the 40th anniversary.

Commemorative Plaque: On 30 April, at the [invitation of Senator Ngo](#), CIHS members and more than a hundred Vietnamese Canadians attended a special viewing of the [Nansen Medal](#) on Parliament Hill. The UNHCR Representative to Canada, Furio De Angelis, and CIC Minister Chris Alexander attended and spoke.



President Mike Molloy holding plaque; CIHS members on his right; on his left, Representative De Angelis, Senator Ngo and members of the Vietnamese Canadian community

In their remarks, the Senator, the Minister and Representative De Angelis spoke about Canada's generosity in welcoming not only the Indochinese refugees but others fleeing persecution around the world. Canadians' reception, help and welcome were highlighted, as was the dedicated work of immigration personnel in helping refugees get to and settle in Canada. The speakers called on even more effort by Canada. Fridtjof Nansen was quoted in this regard: "If we can save ten thousand refugees, we can save a million."

CIHS President Molloy spoke about visa officers' experiences processing the refugees and the conditions in which they

worked. He outlined the success factors of the movement as strong political leadership, commitment and innovation by staff abroad and in Canada, and the overwhelming response of Canadian individuals and organizations. But, he said, the common trait of good humour among Vietnamese and Canadians was also a factor. It meant that misunderstandings, communications challenges and cultural adaptations were managed in a positive way. In concluding, Molloy urged the community to record its history. As he said, "When some young Vietnamese-Canadian becomes a hockey star, he or she will need to be able to tell the story of the family's journey to Canada".

As a measure of appreciation for the work of the society and its members in contributing to the telling of the 40th anniversary story, the community presented the CIHS with a commemorative plaque.

Public Service Week: On 16 June, during Public Service Week, President Mike Molloy represented CIHS at CIC HQ, where he joined Senator Ngo and Dau-Thi Huynh of the Vietnamese-Canadian Federation to discuss the Indochinese movement before an audience of some 60 CIC staff and members of the Vietnamese Canadian community. The Senator spoke of the work of past and present immigration personnel in helping



L to R: Dau-Thi Huynh, Mike Molloy, Senator Ngo, Mrs. Lan Ton, Hung Vu

people get to Canada. Mrs. Huynh spoke about her personal experiences in coming as a refugee, and our president reviewed some of the operational challenges and results. The session included a video on the Indochinese movement produced by CIC and concluded with the performance of a song called "[Thank you, Canada/Merci, Canada](#)", composed by Mrs. Lan Ton and Mr. Hung Vu.

Molloy returned to CIC at the end of the week to give a well-attended talk on how the Indochinese refugee movement was delivered. He spoke about such innovations as the Indochinese Refugee Designated Class, the sponsorship program, the special Processing Record and Visa (Imm1314), the staging areas in Edmonton and Montreal, and the role of the community-based Refugee Liaison officers.

Media

Book: The CIHS writing team continues work on the book tentatively called *Running on Empty*. Many retired immigration staff have contributed their reminiscences. Significant archival research has helped the team detail decisions and procedures in Ottawa, across Canada, and abroad. The team hopes to see the book published by 2016.

Commemorative Bulletin: If you are reading this bulletin, you likely also read our special [Indochinese edition](#) (Bulletin 73), with its chronology of key moments in the early years of the movement and personal reflections of staff. A version of this bulletin also appeared in the foreign service magazine *Bout de papier* (v 28, #4—no on-line version).

Canada's History magazine has released an on-line item about the Indochina anniversary in which they make use of CIHS materials. A print version is planned for the August/September issue. You will find the society's photos and chronology in "[Rescuing Refugees](#)".

Media Interviews: We alerted Canadian [media](#) to the importance of the 30 April anniversary and offered interviews with several of our members. *The Globe and Mail* spoke with Joyce Cavanaugh-Wood; the reporter himself had been an applicant in Guam, where Joyce worked. Mike Molloy contributed to a *Windsor Star* article and participated in a discussion on CBC radio's *The Current*. We have been working with *Canada's History Magazine* on a photo essay. [See box, previous page.] We also promoted our anniversary activities through the Partnership to Prosperity and New Canadian Media organizations.

Website

In April 2015, the CIHS launched a special and eclectic [website](#) of informational and historical items on the refugees. These included Martha Nixon's summary of relevant CEIC newsletters and photos taken by society members when they were on duty in Indochina and surrounding regions in the early years of the movement. We were pleased to add photos by Murray Mosher, who was hired by the immigration department in August 1979 to record life at the reception centre at Griesbach DND Base in Edmonton. Through David Ritchie, we were able to add drawings of Galang refugee camp that had been used by the UNHCR in its [1981 calendar](#). We have also used the site to help [Rene Pappone](#) promote his re-issued book about the Hai Hong incident, which recounts how this was such a turning point in Canada's response to the refugees. [See book review, p.12.]

This special site has generated more than 6,000 views (15 April – 10 June), with the top five viewed pages being the main page, photo album, historical documents, "other links", and statistics. The Hai Hong is one of the top search phrases leading people to our general site. Visitors are spending almost two minutes per visit to the Indochina section.

With this issue of the bulletin, we bid farewell to Dawn Xavier-Franklin, who has managed our website these past two years and made many changes so that it is a more useful tool for people interested in immigration history. She advised and supported us in developing the new site—its look and architecture—and was intimately involved in the design of the special Indochina website. She has also provided training so that we have some internal capacity to manage the site and has done all this with cheerfulness and a clarity of web objectives. Her interest in the society and support will be missed, and the executive thanks her most sincerely for her contributions.

The EXIST Network

John Waddell

Ed.note: CIHS received a request from a retired British immigration officer, John Waddell, looking to reconnect with a former Canadian colleague [unfortunately discovered to be deceased]. In the ensuing exchanges, we learned that Waddell, Bill Grove, Iain MacKichan and John (A.J.) Smith were at the centre of a group called EXIST, described in the following article wherein one can see commonalities with the CIHS.

In 2008, four retired U.K. immigration inspectors pooled their contacts lists and created EXIST. The EXIST Team now provides a service to more than 850 members. The majority is retired from the Immigration branch/Immigration service, but a significant number is still serving in its later incarnations. Membership is open to anyone, working or retired, who has served as an Immigration officer/Border Force officer.

Project IBIS

A desire to preserve items, documents, and personal accounts of the history of the Immigration branch /Immigration service (IB/IS) for posterity, in view of limited official interest, and the recognition that a wealth of knowledge and experience lay untapped in the ranks of retired colleagues, led to Project IBIS. In the broadest terms, the aim was to collect, collate, and preserve in an accessible form as much material relevant to IB/IS as possible. The pool of sources was wide and deep; the passage of time, advancing years and fading memories added to the urgency to begin. One of our members offered to take the lead. He had publications about the IB/IS and Sir William Haldane Porter (the first Chief Inspector) to his credit, had undertaken an inventory of IS

holdings in 2006, and had worked on archiving material with the National Archives at Kew and the Home Office Library, and so had the ideal background for a professional approach to this task, whose potential scope is considerable.

We have also formed a useful relationship with the Border Agency Museum in Liverpool and have closely liaised with it on the preservation and display of historical documents. A research project in which we participated about the work and role of the Immigration officer is reaching completion and will culminate in an audiovisual display. It is the first of its kind and we expect it to boost our overall objective.

Digital Library

A growing library of digital flipbooks has been established on the free YuDu website. The books are designed and produced in house before being uploaded for conversion and password protection.

In addition to domestic content such as a Directory of Current Membership, "In Memoriam", and photo albums that record retirement and other social events, the e-library contains such historical studies as:

- a brief history of the U.K. Immigration service;
- a short biography of the first chief inspector;
- the Immigration Officer At War (an account of immigration activities in Scotland and Northern Ireland during WWII);
- an account of the lorry bomb that devastated the visa section in Istanbul in 2003;
- a miscellany of Immigration branch records from 1921 to 1932; and
- a facsimile of a ledger from Edinburgh, containing photographic records of the expulsions through the port of Leith, of persons removed in accordance with the Aliens Act 1905 as undesirable aliens between 1908 and 1914. An example of the way in which detainees were photographed, against an angled mirror to provide a front and side image in the one photograph, was sent in 2013 to the Correctional Service of Canada Museum (also known as Canada's Penitentiary Museum) in Kingston, Ontario, as an illustration of the different procedures in use at the time.

There is a separate archive containing more than 60 editions of *Bulletin*, the magazine published by the Immigration branch of the Society of Public Servants Union between 1952 and 1987.

Privacy

To preserve individuals' privacy we do not publish email addresses, but provide a forwarding service when required. EXIST is a completely voluntary operation. People are welcome to get in touch with us at the.exist.team@btinternet.com

Invisible Immigrants: The English in Canada since 1945 by Marilyn Barber and Murray Watson
University of Manitoba Press, 2015; \$27.95 in print, \$20.00 for e-book, either PDF or EPUB format
Book Review by Charlene Elgee

This lovely little book from two respected historians is as much a welcome addition to the academic literature of immigration studies in Canada as it is a fascinating work of popular history. Marilyn Barber has a long and rich career with Carleton University in Ottawa, and her *Immigrant Domestic Servants in Canada* (Canadian Historical Association Booklet, Canada's Ethnic Groups Series, 1991) remains the definitive work on this topic. Her co-author, Dr. Murray Watson of the University of Dundee, specializes in oral history and is the author of *Being English in Scotland* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2003).

With the impeccable credentials of the authors, one might expect a much less readable work. This is an engaging portrait of a group which the authors chose to study and represent through oral history. Make no mistake, the statistics and sociological analysis are part of the backdrop, but it is the stories of the individuals that make this book so compelling.



Photo courtesy of *The Winnipeg Free Press*

Canadians are endlessly fascinated by the stories that our immigrant population have to tell: why they came, how they got here, why they chose Canada, how they adapted to life here. Surprisingly the English (that is, immigrants from England) have been neglected in the academic literature, probably, Barber and Watson argue, because the expectation was one of instant integration into Canada's supposedly very British society. The reality was quite different: their speech gave them away, set them apart, and made them and their children the targets of prejudice and resentment, especially in the immediate postwar period. And then there is the tide of history.

The story of these immigrants is also the story of a country's coming of age, maturing to nationhood through the postwar economic boom, creating its own Citizenship Act and flag, celebrating its centennial, and suffering through the trauma of the FLQ crisis, not to mention the institutionalizing of bilingualism and multiculturalism. The stories of the immigrants are as intimately tied to those events as they are to the events of the world they left behind in England: postwar rationing, economic hardship, labour union turmoil, and lack of opportunity.

The authors provide the context of history, sociology and demography while allowing the immigrants to tell their own story. It makes for fascinating reading!

The Hai Hong: Profit, Tears and Joy by Rene Pappone

Published by Employment and Immigration Canada in 1982; revised and republished by the author in 2015.

Book Review by Gerry Maffre

In this timely revision of his book about the 1978 crisis surrounding the ship, the Hai Hong, Rene Pappone lays out clearly and concisely Canada's response to the 2,500 Vietnamese refugees on the ill-fated tramp steamer. The reprint appears as Canada marks the 40th anniversary of the start of the Indochinese refugee movement and at a time when, again, large numbers of refugees are fleeing their countries in unseaworthy boats.

With the boat at its coast, the Malaysian government refused shelter to the refugees and threatened to tow the ship back out to sea. This sparked a rapid response by the Canadian government, which was already processing significant numbers of Indochinese refugees. Senior Canadian immigration officials and ministers concluded that a meaningful response to the Hai Hong refugees could persuade other countries to act and to convince Malaysia to allow time for rescue efforts to proceed.

The Canadian response—not only to interview applicants, but also to process 600 people, fly them to Canada, provide initial reception services (clothing, food, medical attention, counselling), and move them to welcoming communities across Canada—came together in remarkably short order. The book also describes how federal agencies engaged provincial governments and non-governmental organizations, drawing on the expertise and capacity of each.

Perhaps “remarkably” is not quite the right word to characterize the response Rene Pappone details through his interviews with officials directly involved in Malaysia and Ottawa. Canadian immigration officials had already demonstrated a professional capacity to respond to these humanitarian crises in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Uganda, and Latin America. And that capacity came to the fore in responding to the refugees on the Hai Hong. As in those past movements, this response was enhanced by the contributions of officials, particularly in Foreign Affairs, National Defence, Health Canada, and the RCMP—and for the first time, the Quebec Immigration Service.



Rene Pappone

Copies of *The Hai Hong: Profit, Tears and Joy* can be purchased through the society, with a \$20 cheque mailed to:

The Canadian Immigration Historical
Society
P.O. Box 9502, Station T
Ottawa, Ontario K1G 3V2
Canada

Individual staff responded quickly and humanely, often working in very difficult circumstances on Malaysian warships and with very tight timelines to fill Canadian air force planes and organize a reception centre in Montreal. The challenges were compounded by primitive arrangements for processing the Canada-bound refugees, lack of knowledge about the refugees' medical conditions, and rumbles of discontent among some Canadians about the overall movement until the story erupted in Canadian media.

This book is a clear account of the professional and personal response of federal officials, an aspect not often considered in commentary about Canada's many special refugee and humanitarian programs. Pappone witnessed the unfolding Hai Hong crisis as a communications officer in the immigration department and saw the unselfish efforts of colleagues in the department and elsewhere in the federal public service. He then, until April 1980, headed the communications team on Ottawa's task force that managed the growing Indochinese movement. The book contains pictures by Ian Hamilton.

Many Avatars; One Life—Challenges, Achievements and the Future by John Samuel

Friesen Press, Victoria, B.C., 2013, \$25

Also available from johntsamuel@rogers.com for \$20; all profits go to an educational institution.

Taken from a review by Ashwin Shingadia in *The Glebe Report*

John Samuel, who rose from humble beginnings as a farm boy in Kerala, India, to become a respected public servant in Canada, has written *Many Avatars; One Life*, which chronicles his personal journey and explores immigration and race relations in Canada.

Samuel had a hard early life in rural Kerala during the Depression years. He had to walk seven miles to attend school and nearly died of typhoid. After high school, he was admitted to college, but the family was too poor to pay for board and tuition. With the scarcity of jobs and high unemployment, he decided to take on labouring work. Cobras, elephants and wild boars were a danger as well as malaria, he writes.

However, through determination and hard work, he managed to complete high school and an honours degree in economics from the University of Kerala. In reply to a newspaper advertisement, Samuel was awarded a Commonwealth Scholarship to the University of Toronto—one of 16 chosen from 3,000 applicants. After completing his PhD in population control in 1965, Samuel first worked for the Ontario government and then joined the federal government as an economist, rising to the position of chief in the Department of Employment and Immigration, where he undertook immigration and settlement studies. He saw the role of the federal civil service first as providing research and policy advice to ministers and second, as a model employer incorporating the best and fair practices. Samuel felt strongly that the higher echelons of the civil service, dominated by the "Brits," were prejudiced against South Asians. "They used to rule India," he says, "and regarded Indians as only good to be clerks, not managers".

He started his own consulting firm, John Samuel and Associates and obtained contracts to work on an engagement strategy for a racism-free workplace. Other contracts included implementation and evaluation of employment equity systems and diversity training.

CIHS thanks all its members, and especially its corporate members—CIC, P2P and Pier 21—for their significant support. All these contributions allow us to pursue our objectives and activities.

I Wait and I Arrive

Prepared by Louise Chong for in Ottawa as part of the 40th a poignant and emotional more than 50,000 Vietnamese

It starts with a photograph of a to board an Air Canada flight we see are the station stops in centres, airports and airplanes. My True Names” by Thich Nhat rebuilding, and compassion. metaphors for home, family and

The CIHS is pleased to have of photographs from its archive.



the Vietnamese Canadian Federation office anniversary activities, “I Wait and I Arrive” is remembrance of Canada’s welcoming of refugees.

long line of Vietnamese boat people waiting from Kuala Lumpur to Canada. The settings their journey: refugee camps, processing Excerpts from the poem “Please Call Me By Hanh speak about waiting, arriving, The house shape and window frames are looking back in time.

helped by providing the artist with a number

World Refugee Day

For World Refugee Day, 26 June 2015, the Ismaili community in Ottawa hosted an event on the Ugandan-Asian refugee movement of 1972. Presentations were made by Ugandan High Commissioner H.E. John Chrysoston Nsambu, Carleton University Chief Librarian Wayne Jones, and CIHS President Mike Molloy. The High Commissioner stressed the reconciliation that had taken place between the Asians expelled in 1972 and the current Ugandan government. Wayne Jones described the online archive of documents relating to the Ugandan Asian exodus assembled and donated by the CIHS. Our president spoke about the societal and regulatory changes that occurred in Canada to permit the first significant program for non-European refugees, the role played by Prime Minister Trudeau’s friendship with the Aga Khan, the criteria used by the team that Canada sent to Kampala, and the interesting question of whether there was special “deal” for Ismaili Ugandans.

Errata

Bulletin 72, p.10. Identification of persons in the photo accompanying “Istrians in Canada” should have read: L to R: Gian Lorenzo Cornado, Antonio Perini, Cristina Perini.

Bulletin 73, p.9 and Bulletin 68, p.12. The name of Don Milburn’s wife should have read “Dot”.

In Memoriam

Margaret Cheeseman

Taken from *The Ottawa Citizen*



Margaret “Marg” Cheeseman died on 7 August 2015, at the age of 78. Marg is survived by her brother George, nephews, great-nephews and great-nieces, as well as many close family and long-time friends. Margaret was an energetic woman who enjoyed aquatic sports, softball and aboriginal art and was an ardent fan of the Ottawa Rough Riders of old.

Marg graduated from Ottawa Business College. Her sense of adventure led her to Vancouver, where she spent time with Trans Mountain Pipelines before settling back in Ottawa in executive administrative positions with the federal civil service until her retirement.

Raph Girard remembers that “she was in the Deputy's office and kept things moving with a tinge of humour that really helped ease the stress”. And Gerry Maffre recollects “time in her Portage IV office discussing overdue briefing notes, ministerial trips and the daily grind of immigration press—always an irrepressible colleague with a trunk-full of stories”.

Georgia Margaret Gass

Remembered by Karen McClure

Margaret Gass was born in Parrsboro, Nova Scotia and attended Mount Allison University and Dalhousie Law School. She practised law in Nova Scotia before joining the foreign service in 1981. She spent most of her career abroad, with postings in Singapore, New Delhi, Abidjan and Tel Aviv. Margaret left the foreign service in 1996 and worked as a designated immigration officer in Bonn and London. Rejoining several years later, she was posted to London and New York. In 2010, she returned to Ottawa and worked at CIC NHQ. In 2013, Margaret was on her way to a posting in Bogota when she was diagnosed with ovarian cancer.

In Singapore at the height of the Indochinese refugee movement, Margaret discovered the rewards of refugee processing. In India, she worked with refugees from Afghanistan and Iran, and in Bonn, with those fleeing the war in former Yugoslavia.

In addition to her career, Margaret had a very active private life: she painted, hooked rugs, and was an avid reader. She loved the theatre, music and a good party. She hosted many memorable events, including, in 2014, a fundraiser for ovarian cancer research that raised more than \$100,000.

Nova Scotia was always home to Margaret, no matter where in the world she and her family were living. They built a house on the South Shore, which became their anchor and the place they returned to every summer and Christmas. That is where she died on 11 May 2015. Margaret is survived by her husband, Rob, and their three children, Daniel, Thomas and Susannah.

Flora MacDonald

Taken from a letter to *The Ottawa Citizen* from CIHS President Michael Molloy



The Vietnamese Boat People: A 40-year Journey Comes to Life, May 2015, was MacDonald's last public event. Given a heartfelt standing ovation, she is shown accepting the Vietnamese Canadian Federation Humanity Award. (Photo courtesy of the VCF)

The Honourable Flora MacDonald passed away in Ottawa on 25 July 2015. Ms. MacDonald served as Canada's Minister of Employment and Immigration from 1984 to 1986, but arguably her biggest contribution to immigration was made from 1979 to 1980, when she was Secretary of State for External Affairs. Immediately after being sworn in on 4 June 1979, Ms. MacDonald and Immigration Minister Ron Atkey tackled the growing refugee crisis in Southeast Asia [See Bulletin 73]. Vietnamese boat people were arriving in neighbouring countries at the rate of 50,000 a month and thousands more were perishing at sea. Less than two weeks after taking office, the two ministers increased the previous government's commitment to accept 5,000 refugees to 8,000 and challenged Canadians to sponsor another 4,000.

Still more needed to be done. On 18 July, they announced that Canada would resettle an unprecedented 50,000 Indochinese

refugees. This time they challenged ordinary Canadians to sponsor 21,000 towards the total. By December 1980, 60,049 Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian refugees had arrived in Canada—32,000 sponsored by not-so-ordinary Canadians.

Canada's contribution garnered global attention and was recognized in 1986 when the UN High Commissioner for Refugees honoured “the People of Canada” with the Nansen Medal. The success of the Canadian effort

rested on the sympathetic support of the media, the generosity of thousands of Canadian sponsors, the hard work of the immigration department, and the good reputation quickly established by the refugees themselves.

But the indispensable ingredient was the bold, determined, inspiring leadership of Flora MacDonald and Ron Atkey. The refugees and their descendants now constitute a productive community of more than 300,000 proud Canadians. They are Flora MacDonald's living legacy.

Nora Judith Murphy

Remembered by Raphael Girard

Norah Judith "Judy" Murphy, born on 5 November 1940, died peacefully at the age of 74 in Ottawa on 28 March 2015. Judy was the dearly beloved wife of D'Arcy Murphy for 51 years. As the wife of one of, if not the, longest-serving immigration officers of all time, Judy was an important part of the immigration foreign service, accompanying D'Arcy and supporting him on many of his overseas assignments. She served with distinction in the consular office in London, bringing long-needed organization and leadership to that important post in the network of Canada's services to the travelling public. She will be remembered fondly by work colleagues and her many friends around the world.

Albert Joseph Opatovsky

Albert Joseph Opatovsky died peacefully in his sleep at his residence on 13 December 2014, in his 61st year. He is missed by his wife Margaret and sons Albert and Keith. All who knew Albert were favoured with his big-hearted, generous spirit. He was a tireless supporter and fearless advocate for family, friends, children and all whom he loved; and he loved many.

Remembered by Mike Finnerty

Not sure if Albert's tendency to wear flip-flops even in winter will be recorded—or the fact that he was the only person ever to accept Irene Bader's invitation at each of her regional management dinners for someone to jump in the pool at her home. Albert did so....and he was wearing flip-flops. I also remember his retirement dinner where much was quite properly made of his ongoing support of his siblings, as death at an early age seemed to run in the family.

William Ernest Sinclair

William Ernest "Bill" Sinclair, born on 23 March 1928, died in Halifax on 27 June 2015. His immigration colleagues will remember him more fully in the next bulletin.

Edgar Ziegler

Edgar "Ed" Ziegler was born in Bratislava in 1920 and died in Ottawa on 23 January 2015. He is survived by his beloved wife of 71 years, Elise, and children Anette, Marianne, Ulla, Mark and Tina, nine grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren.

A founding member of the CIHS in 1986, Dr. Ziegler continued to serve the society actively until 1990. The bulletin is pleased to republish below his informal autobiography.

Friends and acquaintances have told me several times to write a biography of my life. These notes are the first attempt to do so. Yet I realize as a person close to age 88 that my notes will have to be a rough outline rather than a detailed description, limited to major turning points in my life.

In 1939 I lived in Bratislava, Slovakia, which had become a vassal state of Nazi Germany. The 12,000 Jews in a city of 150,000 felt very threatened. Only 2,000 to 3,000 Jews returned to the city after WW II; the majority had perished in KZs (concentration camps). My father died in KZ Buchenwald in December 1944. Only one of my cousins survived Auschwitz.

In April 1939, I was selected by the Zionist Youth Organization for agricultural training in Denmark. The World Zionist Organization had an agreement with the Danish government to accept about 100 young Jews each year for agricultural training. The Danish government was willing to do so as the British administration of Palestine had promised to accept the trainees afterwards.

On 6 August 1939, I arrived in Denmark. I got a place on a small farm North of Silkeborg. The elderly farm couple treated me quite well. I learned to milk cows, plough and do other farm work. The Danish police were quite severe in controlling the Jewish agricultural trainees spread among different farms. We were not allowed to take pay and had to get permission to change residence.

In the first three years of the German occupation we continued a rather normal life. I had got my senior matriculation in Bratislava in June 1939, and my original intention was to study law at the university in Prague. While in Denmark I still harboured the hope of studying at a university. After two and a half years at different farms, I succeeded in finding employment on a large farm north of Birkerød. The inspector allowed me to take one day off each week to attend the University of Copenhagen, where I had been accepted as a student in 1943.

In August 1943 there were strong rumours about German intentions of deporting the 7,000 Jews in Denmark. A few of the Jewish agricultural trainees succeeded through contacts with fishermen to flee to safety in Sweden. In July 1943, two Jewish friends and I heard about a Danish girl, Lise Jensen in Holte, who already had helped several young Jews to escape to Sweden. A friend of her family brought refugees over the "Sund".

In the two months up to August 1943, Lise Jensen and I fell in love. Lise was already suspected for her underground work. She decided to flee with me and my two friends. We had to swim a few hundred metres to the boat from Nivå brickyard. After four hours we came close to the coast of the Swedish island Hven. We had to swim the last few hundred metres. We were well received by the Swedish coast guard and other authorities.

In the first months, I worked on a large estate owned by Hoganas Bolaget. I got a job digging 15 tons of sand daily for construction, while Lise worked in a factory. In January 1944, we got married in Odakra, Skåne.

Later I got a scholarship to the University in Uppsala, to study national economy and economic geography. Following contact with the Office of Free Czechoslovakia in Stockholm, I went to England at the beginning of 1945, where I joined the Free Czechoslovak Forces, which were part of the British Army.

After demobilization at the end of 1945, I returned to Denmark. My wife had already come back with the Free Danish Forces from Sweden. Lise then worked for Søllerød Kommune and became leader of the local Folkeregister. I again attended the University of Copenhagen as a student of political economy, studying economics, statistics, civil and international law.

I would have been unable to study without the help of my wife and the very generous help of my parents-in-law during the six years of study. In the last three years, I worked part time in the Economic Secretariat of the Danish Ministry of Finance.

I finished my studies in 1951, obtaining the degree of Cand. Polit., which is equivalent to the degree of Doctor of Political Economy in most European countries. Later I supplemented my degree with studies at the London School of Economics and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston when working in the Canadian civil service.

In 1956 we emigrated to Canada because I could not obtain employment in the Danish civil service since I did not have Danish citizenship. The first four years in Canada, I worked as an economist for a large chemical concern in Montreal, and in 1960 my family and I moved to Ottawa, where I worked as an economist with Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Later I became a senior economist responsible for the work of four regional economists. Our task was to study the need for low-rental housing, old-age homes and military

housing. We also had to review grants to one-industry towns in assessing the outlook in demand for metals and forest products. The job required a lot of travelling in all parts of Canada.

In 1967 I accepted an offer to work for the newly formed Department of Immigration and Manpower. My first major assignment was to design a follow-up study of newly arrived immigrants—that is, their economic and social adaptation during their first three years in Canada. We selected three cohorts, each of 2,000 immigrants, destined to the labour force in 1969, 1970 and 1971. The so-called Longitudinal Study influenced policy decisions. The final report of the Longitudinal Study became part of the Green Paper on Immigration, contributing to the 1976 changes in immigration legislation.

The study engendered considerable interest in major immigration countries such as Australia, the U.S., and Israel. I was invited to give seminars on the methodology and interpretation of results. Likewise I attended special meetings in Geneva and Hong Kong.

With the sharp increase of claimants for refugee status under the UN Convention, the Department of Manpower and Immigration established the Refugee Status Advisory Committee. I became chairman of the committee in the second part of the 1970s. The committee consisted largely of former senior civil servants, diplomats and church people who were knowledgeable about economic and social developments in the source countries of refugees. There were several subcommittees, which met once a week to discuss claims for refugee status. A recommendation was then forwarded to the Minister of Immigration. It must be added that immigration lawyers attended the hearings in most of the cases.

In 1980, after three years as chairman, the department agreed to send me on an executive exchange program to Australia, where I worked as director of research with the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in Canberra. In 1982, I was given the major assignment of organizing a conference on immigration at the University of Sydney. The conference was attended by representatives from universities, states, businesses and others interested in the economic, social and cultural impact of immigration; its findings were published by the University of Sydney.

After our return to Canada, I became the Minister's Delegate in refugee matters. Nearly all decisions on refugee claims went to my office for final review.

In October 1985, I reached age 65 and decided to retire. At retirement I received letters of commendation from the last four ministers of Immigration. In the first three years of retirement, I did contract work for Canada's Demographic Review. I prepared reports dealing with immigration and population growth. The subject has become very topical, with the decline in the Canadian-born labour force and the increasing number of baby-boomers retiring. Immigrants are needed to fill the voids and support the increasing number of retirees.

My wife worked part time as a translator of Scandinavian and English languages for the Canadian government. Our children became very integrated, got university degrees and achieved good positions in the civil service and private business. We had an interesting life, filled with frequent travels to Denmark and other European countries. We gained many good friends. In assessing our decision to emigrate to Canada 51 years ago, my wife and I came to the conclusion that we made the right choice.

The Canadian Immigration Historical Society (www.CIHS-SHIC.ca) is a non-profit corporation registered as a charitable organization under the Income Tax Act.	The society's goals are: - to support, encourage and promote research into the history of Canadian immigration and to foster the collection and dissemination of that history, and - to stimulate interest in and further the appreciation and understanding of the influence of immigration on Canada's development and position in the world.	President - Michael J. Molloy; Vice-President - Anne Arnott; Treasurer - Raph Girard; Secretary - Gail Devlin; Editor - Valerie de Montigny; Board members: J.B. "Joe" Bissett, Brian Casey, Roy Christensen, Hector Cowan, Peter Duschinsky, Charlene Elgee, Kurt Jensen, Gerry Maffre (Communications), Ian Rankin and Gerry Van Kessel CIC Representative – Diane Burrows
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