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The Country that Was—Yugoslavia
Part I: The Beginning of the End and the Aftermath

Holly Edwards

Holly Edwards was an immigration foreign service officer from 1981 to her retirement in 2012. Much of her career was spent on refugee policy and processing. In addition to refugees from the former Yugoslavia, she selected refugees from Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Sudan, Guatemala, and El Salvador. She was posted to Belgrade, Cairo, Boston, Damascus, Vienna, and Brussels. While in Ottawa, among other assignments, she was responsible for the annual refugee target and Refugee Resettlement.

Author's Note: Except for foreign service officers and locally engaged staff who have given permission, for privacy reasons I have not provided names or used only the first letter. A lot of people did incredible work on the former-Yugoslav refugee program. They are not all specifically mentioned here. Many colleagues, all of the local staff involved, the sponsoring groups, and all those who assisted the refugees with their settlement in Canada were silent heroes. My apologies to them that I have not retained all the names or all the memories.

Ed. Note: This article on the former Yugoslavia complements one by Brian Casey in Bulletins 81 and 82.

Preface

In 1995, the British Broadcasting Corporation published a book by Laura Silber and Allan Little, based on its broadcasts. It was called *The Death of Yugoslavia*. Unlike those officers actually in Belgrade, Zagreb, Vienna, and Budapest during the Yugoslav Wars, I did not witness the death of Yugoslavia. I went to work in Vienna in 1996, and by then Yugoslavia as I had known it was gone, and in its place were pieces.

Zastava cars, Belgrade street 1982

I have fond memories of the former Yugoslavia. As a 19-year-old, I had hitchhiked through it with a friend on my way from Germany to Greece. It was spectacularly beautiful—a top destination for German and Italian tourists. In 1981, I was sent to Belgrade on my training assignment two months after joining the Department of Foreign Affairs. I arrived on Hallowe'en. I did my training, came home for Christmas, and was back on assignment from January 1982 until summer 1983. I loved the place, my work, and the local staff. It was a magical time. There was, however, a harbinger of the wars to come. Out of curiosity I bought *Wartime,* a book by the dissident Milovan Djilas.[1] It was about World War II, and, along with most of Djilas's books, was then banned in Yugoslavia. I remember telling a local staff member that I had read the book and that it surprised me how the

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Yugoslavs had managed to kill any Germans during the Second World War, since they were so busy killing each other. She gave me a sharp look and said, “You are right”. Also reflected in the film *Underground* by Emir Kustarica, those murderous ethnic tensions were still there under the surface and were to erupt again in the 1990s.

Ottawa Perspective

From 1994 to 1996, I worked in Ottawa, first as director of International Migration at Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and then, following downsizing and reorganization, as director of Refugee Resettlement. A large part of our refugee target was devoted to refugees from the former Yugoslavia. We took them from Belgrade, Vienna, Budapest, and even Bonn, where the Germans had their first experience of mass influxes of refugees since World War II. As desk officer responsible for Europe in Refugee Resettlement, Roswitha Diehl-Maclean did most of the liaison with posts in Europe. I was not personally very involved in actual processing until Canada started the “3/9 program”[2] in response to an appeal by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to take Bosnian refugees. The basic idea of 3/9 was that the government would pay three months’ settlement costs plus the loan to cover transport to Canada (transportation loan), and the sponsors would pay nine months’ settlement costs and provide the ever-so important personal contact during the settlement process. It was one of the first of what are now referred to as “blended programs”, and its success helped pave the way for others.

We began the 3/9 program to take Bosnian refugees, in particular. The posts sent resumés of the refugees and their families, and the matching centre at headquarters tried to find sponsors for them. It was very labour-intensive, but the sponsoring organizations liked it. I found it a little unsettling to be trying to market people, but the sponsors wanted to know about “their families”. In this way, we were able to both increase the number of people sponsored and tap into groups who had never sponsored before. Anne Arnott was on the Europe operations desk at department headquarters; Mike Molloy was director general of Refugees; Brian Beaupré was director of Settlement; and Raph Girard was assistant deputy minister. Linda Holmes and I worked with the major nongovernmental organizations that sponsored refugees to come up with a mutually agreeable sponsorship agreement. In the NGO-Government Committee on the Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program, there were six on the NGO side and six on the government side. “G” of the Mennonite Central Committee was my co-chair. Due to this cooperation, we had a lot of help from the NGOs in making 3/9 and the whole Yugoslav program work.

Another achievement of the NGO Private Sponsorship Agreement holders and of the CIC Refugee Resettlement division at the time was to become very useful for refugee processing in the former Yugoslavia. It was an agreement on new Humanitarian Designated Classes regulations. These Humanitarian Designated Classes regulations were introduced by Order in Council in April 1997 (SOR/97-183). They replaced the Special Measures and former Designated Classes. As of 1997, the Humanitarian Designated Classes consisted of: Convention refugees, country of asylum, and source country. Convention refugees were generally referred by the UNHCR but did not have to be in those days. As is still the case, they did have to be determined by a Canadian visa officer to meet the UN Convention refugee definition. Country-of-asylum cases had to both be outside their country of nationality and habitual residence and be sponsored. This class still exists. Source-country cases had to be nationals of a country that was on the source-country list, but anyone from that country could apply. To be eligible for the source-country class, section 148 of the Regulations stated that applicants must be seriously and personally affected by civil war or armed conflict, “have been detained without charges, or punished for an act that in Canada would be considered a legitimate exercise of civil rights pertaining to dissent or trade union activity” (wording from former Political Prisoners and Oppressed Persons Designated Class), or have a fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group. The only way to cut off applications was to take the country off the source-country list, and, as this was politically sensitive, the number of applications, and eventually the whole category, became impossible to manage. The source-country category was repealed in October 2011.

Vienna Perspective

In 1996, I was posted to Vienna, where I stayed until 2000. During that time, Vienna was responsible for most of the former Yugoslavia. Jacques Beaulne was the officer in charge. Stan Pollin, who was in charge of the refugee program in Vienna before I arrived, was the operations manager in 1996, the year I took over the refugee program. It accounted for two thirds of the immigration workload. In 1997, Vienna had five Canada-based officers and 17 locally engaged staff that included three emergency staff. We were responsible for immigration programs in Austria, Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia.

The new Humanitarian Designated Classes that I and many others, including Sandra Napoli and Karen McClure, had worked on in Ottawa were not available until April 1997, but for most of the time I was in Vienna, we were able to use these three categories for “refugee” processing: Convention refugee, country of asylum, and source country. At the time the UNHCR was not referring many Convention refugee cases. Referrals were not mandatory, and they had their hands full with protection and were woefully understaffed. Referrals came from NGOs and various contacts working in the field

assisting refugees and the displaced. Few applicants qualified under country of asylum. Bosnia and Croatia were both on the source-country list starting in 1997 and, in Vienna, we used the source-country category extensively because its definition was broader than that of Convention refugee. In the beginning, we got source-country applications the way we got Convention refugees, generally by referral. But a few years into the program, when the mail became viable again and the source-country category became known, Vienna had a flood of spontaneous applications.

As background, let me say that the former Yugoslavia was messy in terms of definition of refugee or source country. People from Yugoslavia became Bosnians, Serbs, or Croatians based on their ethnic origin, not necessarily where they lived. None had been citizens of anything other than Yugoslavia because none of the other countries existed. Suddenly Serbs who had lived all their lives in what became Croatia could not live there as they were not ethnically Croat, and vice versa. Do you consider such a person a Croat and a source-country case (residing in their country and seriously and personally affected by civil war or armed conflict), or a Serb and a refugee (residing outside their country and subject to persecution based on their ethnic origin)? It was pretty difficult to figure out, and I don't guarantee we all used the same logic.

In explaining some of the cases below, I sometimes use the expression Bosniak to refer to Bosnian Moslems. There were two Bosnias, and in many ways there still are. *The Guardian* called the current system in Bosnia Herzegovina "the world's most complicated system of government" and said that the "complexity and scars" of the war still remain. The country of Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its independence from Yugoslavia on 1 March 1992. Immediately fighting broke out between the Bosnian Moslems (often called Bosniaks) and the Bosnian Croats, as well as between the Bosniaks and a Serbian secessionist movement. The Bosniak-Croat conflict ended in 1994, but the Bosnian Serbs who had created the Republika Srpska in 1992 continued to fight until the Dayton Accords were signed in late 1995. At present two entities make up the country of Bosnia Herzegovina: the Republika Srpska, and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The population is approximately 48 percent Bosnian, 37 percent Serb, 14 percent Croat, and about .5 percent "other". In 1996, I did most of Vienna's refugee interviews, and I was the first immigration officer to go back and interview in Sarajevo, Zagreb and Ljubljana after the Dayton Accords. I shall talk more about that in the next instalment.

War Crimes Screening

Stan Pollin, a former Scottish policeman, designed the war crimes sheet premiered in Vienna for use in war crimes screening. It became the model for such questionnaires in other areas of the globe. He said that the questionnaire came about because he was not willing to accept the stories of male refugee applicants from the former Yugoslavia without some supporting documentation. They were coming from a literate society and had led reasonably ordered lives in a centralized pseudo-communist government. Stan explained:

> We quickly realized that virtually every male had a military record. They had to be prepared to produce their service record book to all authorities in the former Yugoslavia. They were reluctant to produce them for us, but not doing so meant an *a priori* presumption of something nefarious to hide and a speedy end to the interview. We were able to translate the salient information with the assistance of a Viennese locally engaged staffer, "V".[3]
>
> As an example, when an applicant's military record showed that he had been in a unit which detected mines, according to his explanation, it was almost inevitably true that the unit would have been responsible for laying them in the first place, adding to the horrors of war for women and children. I was personally and unapologetically very negative about that kind of record. Those who had several courses in specialized firearms were likely to have been snipers, and in that war, snipers had a very bad reputation.
>
> However, we did not arbitrarily refuse those with a suspicious record, especially as whole family units had to be considered. One upshot of the introduction of the military record was the instant and constant enmity of the Croatian government, which continually demanded that we stop using the questionnaire.

National headquarters allowed Vienna to continue to use the questionnaire, but we were made aware that Canadian ministers were also receiving a lot of pressure, from the Croatian government in particular,. It was ironic that the Croatian Minister of Defence from 1991 to 1998 was a Canadian. Gojko Susak had immigrated to Canada in 1968 and become a successful businessman in the Ottawa area. He returned to Croatia in 1990 and joined Franjo Tudjman's government in 1991. His Canadian connection did not prevent the Croatian forces from shooting at Canadian observer forces, for example, in the Medak Pocket, where they were shelled for 15 hours. The Battle of the Medak Pocket is well documented in Canadian military history.[4]

Observer units were important sources of information about military engagements and locations of units, and, back at HQ when we set up the intelligence unit in CIC, several former military officers trolled through specialized websites adding to

our overall war crimes intelligence. Once the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) was created, we also had access to information at the Department of National Defence and the orders of battle. I used to call the book with the orders of battle *War and Peace* because it was so thick. It gave detailed descriptions of the units of the various armies (Yugoslav, Croat, etc.), where they were, and when. A former military officer with CBSA compiled the information and helped us interpret it. The book enabled one to deduce whether a soldier in a particular unit was involved in a massacre or war crime, because his unit was known to have committed such at a specific time and place.

War crimes screening began in earnest with the wars in former Yugoslavia, and so historically it is very interesting. Canada was among the first in the world to do it. The Europeans and Americans only thought about it much later, and I think the Australians copied our program. The advantage we had in obtaining information on war crimes in the former Yugoslavia was that Canadian soldiers were involved in peace keeping on the ground in Croatia, at Sarajevo airport, and elsewhere in Bosnia.

An illustration of the type of case that we were able to screen out was a Croat, sponsored by his Canadian wife, who had participated in a notorious massacre of Bosniak villagers. The War Crimes Unit in Ottawa asked us to interview him several times, and my recollection is that we refused him before I left Vienna.

After Stan Pollin left, I became operations manager and trained Donna Capper, who arrived in 1997, to be the refugee officer. She took to it like a duck to water. In addition to Jacques Beaulne, the Immigration program manager, Donna and me, Don Cochrane and Don Gauthier also conducted refugee interviews.

Local Staff

The office in Vienna was fascinating, because almost all the local staff were former Yugoslavs. Jacques Beaulne's secretary was Slovenian. We had a sister and brother who were Bosnian refugees; the sister hid in a car to get to Austria, and then arranged to bring her younger brother. We had a Croat from the island of Brac, an Austrian of Croatian background who headed up the registry, another Austrian with a Croatian mother who was a program assistant, and a Bosnian who had a Croat parent and a Serb parent. We also had a Hungarian, a Czech, a Slovak, a Hungarian Slovak, and a Hungarian Romanian—the Austro-Hungarian Empire recreated!

As an aside, the local staff in Vienna were excellent—the best program staff I had the pleasure to serve with. However, it was not easy for them. For example, a Canadian member of Parliament used to call Vienna regularly about cases and would complain if he had to talk to someone who had an accent other than Croatian. He sent a letter complaining that he had spoken to someone with a Serbian accent and wanting to know what we were doing having Serbs deal with Croatian cases. As it happened, the person he talked to was a Bosnian refugee, not a Serb at all. Jacques Beaulne did not tell him that; instead he wrote back a beautiful letter explaining that we assigned our staff based on their competencies and that it was not the Canadian way to assume that they could not be fair based on their ethnic origin. I don't think I have ever been prouder of my officer in charge.

Meeting of local immigration staff from Vienna satellite missions. Author is at head of table; to her right are two staff from Prague, one from Zagreb, one from Sarajevo, and two from Belgrade, Vienna 1999

While I was in Vienna, we gradually developed a network of local staff who handled immigration inquiries in cities where we had an embassy but no immigration section. We had "S" in Zagreb and "I" in Sarajevo. During the Kosovo crisis of 1999 and the movement of Kosovars to Canada in response to a UNHCR urgent appeal, we had a local staff member also in Skopje, Macedonia; "G" was a member of the Albanian minority there. One very good memory of the time following the 1995 Dayton Accords was the annual training session held in Vienna for support staff in the embassies we were responsible for. Staff came from Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). [5] Their respective countries had fought very bitter and savage wars, but the staff got along very well. They had a common language and a common past, as Yugoslavia had been a country until very recently. We would always go out to dinner one night during the training program, and it was a lot of fun with a good deal of laughter and teasing. In Vienna, everyone we met seemed to be also from the former Yugoslavia—taxi

drivers, waiters, even the pharmacist a staff member consulted—and as soon as they heard Serbo-Croatian, they switched and spoke it themselves.

By 1998, Immigration staff at the Viennese embassy had grown to eight Canada-based officers and 24 locally engaged staff, including 10 emergency employees and something like 18 temporary duty officers over the course of the year.

Transferring Files from Belgrade to Vienna

In the period 1998 to 1999, Belgrade work was transferred three times to Vienna. The files were physically transferred twice. The first time was in October 1998, in an embassy truck driven by a local driver and followed by Martin Doucet and his wife, Dragana Popmihajlov, in their car. Martin recalls being nervous at the Serbia-Hungary and Hungary-Austria border crossings, but everything arrived safe and sound. The files went back to Belgrade in December 1998. Until 1999, Belgrade was still a full immigration office. John Maffett was the Immigration program manager and Raph Girard, the ambassador. The final file transfer took place in March 1999, when the Belgrade embassy closed as Canada, part of the coalition during the Kosovo conflict, prepared to bomb strategic targets in Serbia. Just before it closed, the visa section managed to move the physical files to Vienna for the last time. John Maffett also had the pleasure of destroying the computer hard drive. Leo Verboven brought the files to Vienna for this last time in a truck with an embassy driver. As he was going over the Novi Sad bridge to Hungary, he realized that the bridge was likely to be one of the first targets of the imminent NATO bombing. And so it was. Martin Doucet remembers John Maffett insisting on transferring both active and "retired" Immigration files to Vienna. John was worried that if the embassy was broken into after we moved out, applicants' families might be targeted. It was a good idea, as the embassy was indeed broken into. Immigration work was transferred to Vienna, which became permanently responsible for immigration from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in addition to its other country responsibilities.

We installed the files in the hallways of the Vienna embassy, which were conveniently huge. (We even were able to install a few offices in the hallways.) We operated both the Vienna and the Belgrade office out of Vienna. Eventually we merged the data bases. I think it was one of the first times that file merging was done, but not the last by a long shot. The number of open files from Belgrade was almost as large as the number of active files in Vienna. My notes from August 1999 say that there were 2,879 active Belgrade Immigration files and 3,027 active Vienna ones. However, because of the war and the files moving back and forth between offices, many Belgrade applicants had not contacted the mission or been contacted by them for years. Once the Belgrade files were merged, staff in Vienna contacted principal applicants at their last known address and gave them three months to tell us if they were still interested in immigration to Canada. That enabled us to close many of the Belgrade files. My notes also say that after the three months, the Belgrade active files numbered fewer than 1,300. Many applicants had moved (because of ethnic cleansing, not by choice), some had no doubt been killed, and luckier ones had emigrated elsewhere. If applicants had subsequently turned up, we would have reopened their files, but I don't recall that happening. In the fall of 1999, when the embassy in Belgrade reopened after the Kumanovo Accord of 9 June brokered peace in Kosovo, I became responsible for the long-distance supervision of nine support staff in Belgrade. A Canada-based officer was not posted to Belgrade until after I left Vienna in the summer of 2000. Belgrade was then reopened as a reduced office processing visitor visas. It operated as such for a while but the Immigration section in Belgrade was ultimately closed completely and permanently due to downsizing.

In 1999, Jim Versteegh replaced Jacques Beaulne as officer in charge. By then we had about 30,000 Bosnian source-country applications left to do. (As mentioned earlier, we began to get thousands of spontaneous applications from residents of Bosnia and there was no cut-off until you removed the country from the source-country list.) There was no fee, and applicants had access to applications forms via internet. Our lawyers said that we had to make a decision on all the applications received. We were refusing most applicants by then because they did not belong to a minority and were no longer persecuted. People had moved: the Serbs lived in Republika Srpska, the Croats in Croatian-majority towns, and the Bosniaks in Bosniak-majority towns. One immigration consultant sued us, claiming we had conspired to refuse his clients (largely Bosnian source country). There was no conspiracy; it is just that there was no longer any rationale to have a source-country program for Bosnia. There was less refugee processing overall and the number of staff in Belgrade was reduced. *Ed. Note: This is the first of two parts.*

Notes

[11] After being sentenced to a long prison term, Milovan Djilas was eventually granted an amnesty in 1966 and allowed to live a quiet life in Belgrade until his death in 1995. Joe Bissett apparently invited him to the official residence of the Canadian ambassador to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1991 and they had a long chat.

[2] "In 1995 a 3/9 program was launched with the specific goal of responding to an appeal by the UNHCR for the resettlement of refugees from the former Yugoslavia. The Canadian government made a commitment to resettle a minimum of 500. Private sponsors and the government then agreed to use the 3/9 model to increase the number of refugees resettled by adding the private sponsors' contribution. 605 refugees arrived under the program in 1995 and 472 in 1996." (Citizenship and Immigration Canada website)

[3] I am told that V. eventually joined and is still in the immigration foreign service. He is currently serving abroad.

[4] Medak Pocket: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Medak_Pocket

[5] From 1992 to 2003, what was left of Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro—was known as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. From 2003 to 2006, it was called the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. In 2006, Serbia and Montenegro decided to go their separate ways and became two separate countries.

The MS *Anna Salén*

Roy Christensen

The Story of Alfred Wulff

Alfred Wulff came to Canada on the MS *Anna Salén*, sailing from Copenhagen in late July 1951 and arriving at Pier 21 in Halifax in early August. It was an experience he would never forget, and a ship he would never recommend. In Halifax Alfred took the train and headed for Ontario. For the rest of his life he lived in Hamilton, working in the sheet metal industry.

Alfred Wulff was born on the family farm in Southern Jutland in 1927. Upon finishing school, he worked as a farmhand on neighbouring farms. After World War II, he went to Copenhagen, where he found work in a machine shop, work which became his life's passion.

Canada opened its borders to Danish farmers and agricultural workers in 1948, and to Danish tradespeople in 1950. With the Danish economy in the doldrums and the country facing a severe housing shortage, Alfred decided that Canada offered a better future and applied for immigration at the Canadian embassy. He was accepted and bought passage on the MS *Anna Salén*, which was cheaper than passage on a regular immigrant ship.

Prior to leaving Denmark, he had met Edith Nielsen in Copenhagen. In 1954 Alfred sent for Edith, and he made sure she came on a proper immigrant ship, the Swedish MS *Stockholm*. Alfred and Edith were married in Hamilton, and eventually had three children.

Alfred reckoned that of the approximately 1,400 passengers on the MS *Anna Salén*, most were Germans, and the rest were mostly Scandinavians. Alfred said that there were loudspeakers everywhere on board. All day recorded music was played, or information and orders were given in several languages. Alfred slept in a dormitory with 55 other Danes. The dormitory, below deck, had two-storey bunks, and the men spent most of the day sleeping or relaxing in bed. On the third day at sea, the captain came into the dormitory and gave the men a lecture, telling them that they were not allowed to lie and smoke on the bunks with their shoes on. He noted that the dormitory was not clean and tidy, and so as punishment the men were locked out of their dormitory for five hours a day.

MS *Anna Salén* (Courtesy: Allan Green/Gordy, ShipSpotting.com)

The men constantly complained about the food. When they went down to eat, their appetite would disappear. Alfred said that the second they arrived at the top of the stairs, the greasy fumes would hit them, and some of the men would start to gag. Everything was served on a tin tray with four depressions. They would form a long line by the counter, and their food card would be punched before they walked past the eight or ten men who each put something on the food tray. Each meal included tea or coffee in a stained cup. With a full tray, they would try to find a table. The chairs were bolted to the floor but could swivel.

There was also a certain foul smell of paint on board the ship. The deck was painted with red lead paint, and it stuck to everything, including the passengers, especially when it got wet. Alfred recalls that the train from Halifax to Toronto was so dusty that the dust stuck to the red paint, and his clothes turned charcoal grey.

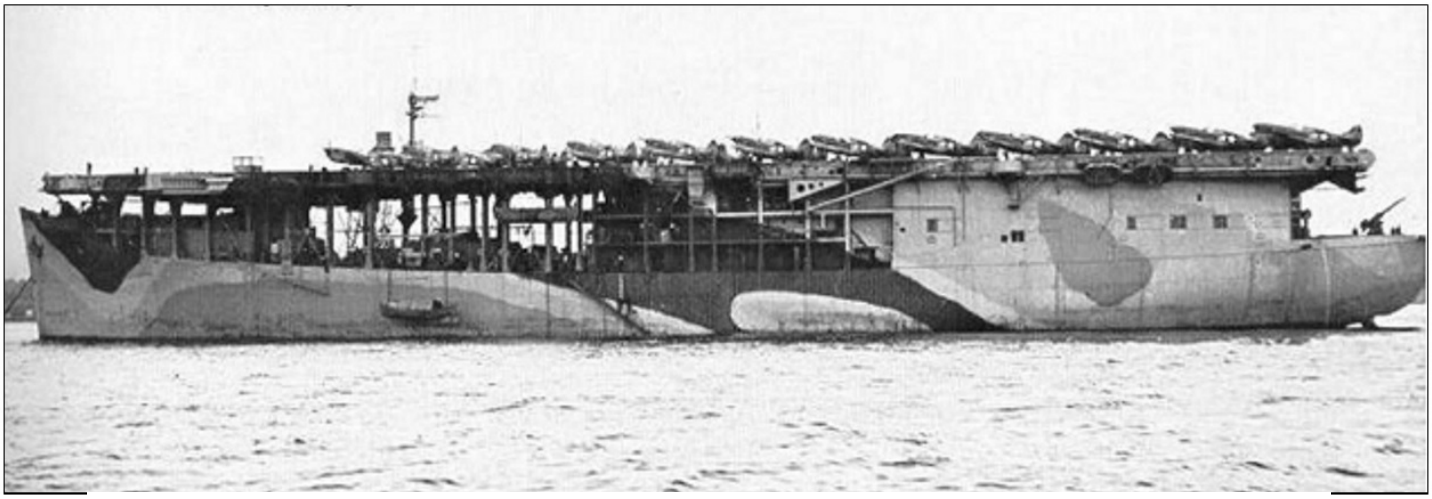
Alfred's bad experiences on board the MS *Anna Salén* are primarily due to the fact that she was not built as a passenger ship, but as a cargo ship. During her life, the MS *Anna Salén* had eight names and served as an aircraft carrier, a cargo ship and then a passenger ship, primarily transporting displaced persons and immigrants to Australia and Canada.

Alfred's experience on MS *Anna Salén*, along with those of three German refugee families, can be found on the Pier 21 website.

The Story of the Ship

The *Anna Salén* was built in 1939 by the Sun Shipping and Drydock Company of Chester, Pennsylvania, for the Moore-McCormack Line of New York. She was laid down as a standard C3-type cargo ship with five holds, as designed and proposed by the United States Maritime Commission, and named *Mormacland*. She weighed 11,672 gross tons and was 150 metres long and 31 metres wide. The power plant consisted of four Busch-Sulzer seven-cylinder diesel engines. She had a single screw and boasted a service speed of up to 17 knots.

In 1940, before completion, she was requisitioned by the United States government and refitted as an auxiliary aircraft carrier (also called pocket-sized aircraft carrier) for the U.S. Navy. This entailed adding a flight deck so that anti-submarine aircraft could land on the ship's runway. Up to 20 aircraft could be accommodated on the ship, which was outfitted with one aircraft elevator, one hydraulic catapult and nine arresting wires. To operate in combat zones, it needed a crew of 555. The role of the airplanes was to protect the ship and Allied convoys, while hunting for enemy U-boats. Due to its new mission, the ship was renamed USS *Archer*. Before the USS *Archer* had been fully converted to an aircraft carrier, the Second World War Lend-Lease Agreement between Britain and the U.S. came into effect, and the ship was handed over to the Royal Navy in November 1941. The British renamed her HMS *Archer*.



HMS *Archer* carrying 35 Warhawks on flight deck, 1942 (Courtesy: Royal Navy Research Archive online)

During robust sea trials, the HMS *Archer* was plagued by engine problems. Then, in January 1942, she collided with the Peruvian steamship *Brazos*, some 320 kilometres off the South Carolina coast. The HMS *Archer* suffered a huge hole in the bow and was seriously flooded. She was towed to port with her single propeller half out of the water. The SS *Brazos*, however, sank to the bottom of the ocean.

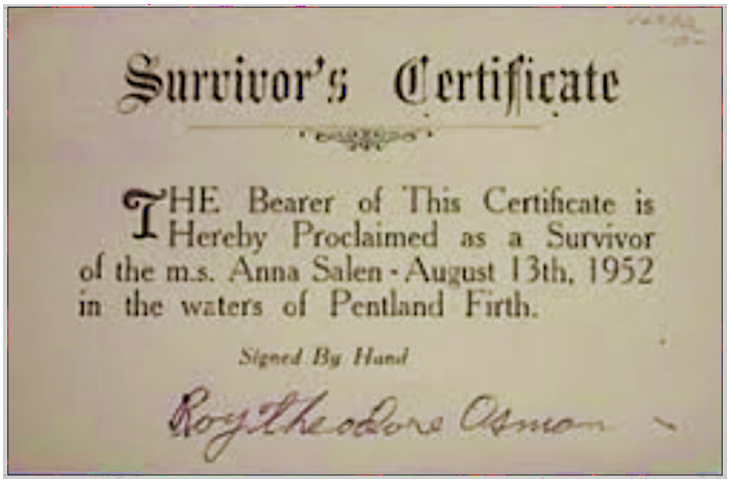
Finally, the HMS *Archer* departed for active duty, being based at Freetown in Sierra Leone on the West African coast. Unfortunately, the *Archer* continued to be troubled by various machinery defects. Moreover, in June 1942, a bomb stored on the flight deck exploded, causing much havoc. In November 1943, the HMS *Archer* was relegated to a store ship, and finally in March 1945, she was decommissioned. She was then transferred to the British Ministry of War Transport. During her time with the ministry she was managed by the Blue Funnel Line of Liverpool, under the name *Empire Lagan*, and used as an aircraft ferry carrier, transporting planes back to America. In January 1946, she was returned to the U.S. Maritime Commission, which, unable to use her, laid her up and looked for a buyer. Such a person was found in 1948, the same year that the International Refugee Organization (IRO) officially came into being. The ship was bought by Sven Salén of Stockholm, a well-known Swedish shipowner, who renamed the ship MS *Anna Salén*.

The refugee camps in the Western zones of post-war Germany were full of displaced persons, mostly from Eastern Europe, who refused to return to their homeland and clamoured to go to the U.S., Canada, Australia, and Israel. The IRO, established under the auspices of the United Nations, was set up to deal with the massive refugee problem created by the Second World War and its aftermath of ethnic cleansing and resettlement within new national borders. The refugees lingering in the camps, often for years, were frustrated by deliberate delays in the receiving countries as well as plain opposition to taking them in. Gradually the circumstances changed, and in 1948 the camps in Europe started to empty. By 1952, well over one million displaced Europeans had been resettled overseas.

When Sven Salén signed the contract with the IRO to transport refugees from Europe for resettlement overseas, he urgently needed a passenger ship. From the U.S. Maritime Commission, he bought a cargo ship that had been laid up for over two years. The flight deck had in the meantime been dismantled. He had the ship sailed to Italy, where she was refitted as a passenger ship, with the superstructure extended to the stern. Rather basic sleeping quarters for over 1,500 people were built into the cargo holds. A space adjacent to the boiler room was turned into a dormitory for 50 men and crammed with bunk beds, two or three bunks high. An array of extra lifeboats, as required, was installed on each side of the ship. In May 1949, the *Anna Salén* departed Naples on its first voyage for the IRO, carrying 1,503 displaced persons to Australia. In December 1949, on her fourth voyage to Australia, the *Anna Salén* encountered problems in the Indian Ocean and limped into Aden, where the passengers were transferred to the MS *Skaugum*, a Norwegian immigrant ship on the Europe-to-Australia run. The *Anna Salén* returned to service in June 1950, taking 1,561 displaced persons from Bremerhaven to Melbourne. On her return voyage to Europe, the MS *Anna Salén* called at Tientsin in China, to take refugees back to Europe, mostly Russian Jews who had fled the Soviet Union and now urgently wanted to leave what had become Red China.

In 1951 and 1952 the *Anna Salén* made numerous trips to Canada, mostly with refugees. In 1951, the Government of Canada had introduced the Assisted Passage Loan Scheme, to help immigrants from Europe who were in urgent financial need and could not afford the cost of transportation. The loan had to be paid off within two years of landing in Canada.

On Boxing Day in 1951, the *Anna Salén* encountered the Canadian coaster SS *Mayfall* flying a distress signal. The *Mayfall* had run out of fuel, and the weather was terrible. The captain of the *Anna Salén* instantly knew what to do and hauled the *Mayfall* into St. John's, whereafter he continued to Halifax.


Survivor's Certificate

THE Bearer of This Certificate is Hereby Proclaimed as a Survivor of the m.s. Anna Salen - August 13th, 1952 in the waters of Pentland Firth.

Signed By Hand

Roy Theodore Osmon

In July 1952 the *Anna Salén* was chartered by the XV Olympiad Helsinki 1952 Organizing Committee, to sail athletes from New York, via Halifax, to Helsinki. During the Games that summer, the *Anna Salén* provided a ferry service between Stockholm and Helsinki. After the Games, the *Anna Salén* sailed for New York with 630 passengers, many of them American athletes. Encountering thick fog in the Pentland Firth north of Scotland, the ship collided with the Norwegian whale factory ship *Thorshovdi*. The bow of the *Anna Salén* was severely damaged, and the *Thorshovdi* had damage to her port side. Fires broke out on both ships but were quickly brought under control. The *Thorshovdi* continued her voyage, but the *Anna Salén* had to be piloted into Scapa Flow for repairs. The *Anna Salén* then headed for the U.S., but was soon redirected to Halifax, where all the passengers disembarked.

In 1955, Sven Salén sold the *Anna Salén* to the Hellenic Mediterranean Line of Piraeus, Greece. Apart from repainting and a name change to the MS *Tasmania*, she was not altered. She was immediately put into service on the Piraeus-Melbourne run, this time carrying Greek immigrants to Australia. In 1956, the *Tasmania* was refitted as a cargo ship. In 1961, the Greek owners sold the *Tasmania* to the China Union Line of Taipei, who named her MS *Union Reliance*. The China Union Line used her on its regular cargo service to ports in the U.S. This would be the ship's last service, a run which lasted less than a year.

On the night of 7 November 1961, the *Union Reliance* collided with the Norwegian tanker *Berean* in the narrow and busy Houston Ship Channel. The collision was caused by a steering gear failure aboard the *Union Reliance*, which meant the steering wheel could turn but the rudder did not respond. The *Union Reliance* rammed the tanker, penetrating the *Berean*'s number one cargo hold to a depth of over three metres. The hold contained acrylonitrile, a colourless volatile liquid widely used in industry to produce rubber and plastic. The acrylonitrile sprayed over the forward half of the *Union Reliance*, and flames rapidly engulfed the forward portion of the vessel. The intensity of the fire and smoke caused the

crew to flee. The fire spread to the aft portion of the ship, preventing the launching of all but the aft starboard lifeboats. As a result, 12 Chinese *Union Reliance* crew members lost their lives and two others suffered severe burns. The ferocious fire on the *Union Reliance* raged for three days.

Totally charred and gutted, her sailing days were over. Consequently, the *Union Reliance* was sold as scrap to a shipwrecking firm in New Orleans. While in the early stages of demolition, on 19 February 1962, the *Union Reliance* was swept by yet another vicious fire, which completely disembowelled what was left of the unfortunate wreck.

SAVE THE DATE!

Members are asked to mark Thursday, 18 October 2018 on their calendars for the Society's 32nd Annual General Meeting. Details will follow closer to the event.

Telling the Integration Story, Part III

Andrew Griffith

The conclusion of a three-part series. Part I covered the overall policy framework of Canada's approach to immigration, settlement, citizenship, and multiculturalism along with a detailed look at immigration. Part II provided a detailed look at settlement, citizenship, and multiculturalism.

Andrew Griffith is the author of "Because it's 2015…" Implementing Diversity and Inclusion, Multiculturalism in Canada: Evidence and Anecdote and Policy Arrogance or Innocent Bias: Resetting Citizenship and Multiculturalism and is a regular media commentator and blogger (Multiculturalism Meanderings). He is the former director general for Citizenship and Multiculturalism and has worked for a variety of government departments in Canada and abroad. He is also a fellow of the Canadian Global Affairs Institute and the Environics Institute.

Author's Note: This article was prompted by a presentation I gave at an integration seminar sponsored by Canada's Embassy to Denmark and the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Copenhagen, and at the Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare. Dan Hiebert and Rob Vineberg were particularly helpful in their feedback and suggestions.

What the Data Show

How well, taken together, do our immigration, settlement, citizenship, and multiculturalism policies and programs work? On the whole, the data suggest that Canada has been largely successful at building an inclusive, multicultural society that encourages participation and integration through immigration, settlement, citizenship, and multiculturalism policies and programs. Analysis of data from the 2011 National Household Survey (preliminary analysis of 2016 Census data indicates no major change) confirms this success, but not without raising some issues and risks.

Greater and more varied diversity: Diversity within Canada continues to evolve and is becoming more complex and varied, with over 250 ethnicities, an ever-larger visible minority population, and increased religious diversity. Statistical groups of visible minorities and ethnic origins, while useful for broad comparisons, understate the degree of diversity within these groups, whether in terms of religion, country of origin, time of immigration to Canada, or individual values and perspectives, given the diversity *within* groups, not only between groups.

While there are commonalities across regions, each province has its own particular "flavour" of diversity. Of the larger provinces, British Columbia is more heavily Asian; Ontario has the greatest diversity; Alberta has overtaken Quebec both in numbers and diversity; and Quebec's composition reflects a preference for French-speaking immigrants. These differences lead to more varied requests for accommodation and, consequently, debate and discussion. Projections for 2036 show continuation of these trends and characteristics, with one out of two Canadians being either a first- or a second-generation immigrant.

Quebec's "interculturalism" approach is essentially comparable to Canadian multiculturalism, but with more specific reference to integration with Quebec's francophone society. The two approaches share more commonalities than differences, given that both aim at civic integration. Rather than conceptual discussions, a focus on the practicalities of integration policies and programs would allow both to learn from each other.

Changing urban mix: MTV (Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, where visible minorities account for 22.6, 51.4 and 48.9 percent respectively) has been replaced by TVC (Toronto, Vancouver, and Calgary: Calgary has 33.7 percent visible minorities). Alberta, with 23.5 percent visible minorities is now much more diverse than Quebec, which has 13 percent visible minorities. The Prairie provinces' share of immigration has doubled, from 11 percent in 2006 to 26.3 percent, reflecting greater economic growth than elsewhere in Canada. Moreover, diversity continues to expand outwards from the largest cities and their suburbs in Western Canada and Ontario to medium-sized cities. Quebec is an exception to this trend, with most new Canadians concentrated in the island of Montreal, but an increasing number settling in Montreal suburbs.

With some important exceptions (such as Morden, Steinbach, and Brandon in Manitoba; Yorkton, Moose Jaw, Prince Albert, and Estevan in Saskatchewan; and Red Deer, Lethbridge, and Brooks in Alberta), rural Canada remains relatively untouched by immigration; however, diversity is growing, and more communities are having to come to terms with change and accommodation.

Persisting economic differences: Economic differences between visible minorities and Canadians of European origin persist —whether evaluated by the prevalence of the Low Income Cut-Off (LICO, signifying income levels where families are likely to spend 20 percentage points more of their income on food, shelter and clothing than the average family). This is also the case for most second-generation immigrants who have been schooled in Canada. However, some second-generation visible minority women are doing better than non-visible minority women, and many university-educated second-generation visible minorities aged 25 to 34 are doing as well or better than non-visible minorities. Visible minority seniors, particularly women, have higher levels of poverty than counterparts who are not visible minorities.

This pattern persists across the country, although visible minorities in Quebec fare most poorly. LICO prevalence is generally higher than elsewhere for first- and second-generation immigrants. The gap between unemployed visible minorities and unemployed non-visible minorities is greatest for both men and women, although second-generation median incomes of visible minorities as a percentage of non-visible minority incomes are generally comparable to other provinces. Quebec policy makers need to consider the longer-term implications of this difference and possible responses. Unsurprisingly, at least until the recent collapse in oil prices, Alberta and Saskatchewan have had the strongest economic outcomes for visible minorities and non-visible minorities alike (2016 Census data show the impact of this collapse on these two provinces).

Given the role that economic integration plays in overall integration, the persistence of economic differences for certain groups will likely continue to affect social inclusion and cohesion, requiring more work on policy options to attenuate these integration issues.

Strong educational performance: Education outcomes for most visible minority groups are significantly stronger than for non-visible minority groups in terms of university education. In most groups, there is no major difference between levels of education for men and women. Canada continues to do a good job of integrating young new Canadians in primary and secondary schools. Attention should be paid, however, to lower rates of university education among Black and Latin-American Canadians, particularly males. There remains a disconnection between education (where many new Canadians excel) and economic outcomes (which are poorer for visible minorities). Further work in research and policy is needed to understand and address this.

Lingering discrimination: Police-reported hate crime statistics have remained largely flat over the past eight years, showing that hate crimes are more common in provinces with greater numbers of visible and religious minorities, with the notable exception of Nova Scotia (which has more racially motivated hate crimes) and Quebec (which has relatively few hate crimes despite recent high-profile ones). These statistics, however, probably underestimate the number of hate crimes occurring and do not account for other examples of religious and racial intolerance and discrimination, such as that illustrated by blind curriculum vitae experiments by Oreopoulos among others.[6] Ongoing prejudice and discrimination account in part for the persistent difference in economic outcomes for visible-minority groups. While bias and prejudice are hard to eradicate, organizations need to pay more attention to ensuring that hiring and other workplace processes are as fair as possible. Individuals, both in the workplace and in society in general, also need to become more mindful of their implicit or subconscious biases and prejudices. All policy makers and those in positions of authority should take the Implicit Association Test as a first step in improving mindfulness.

Improved representation in public services: Representation of visible minorities in the public institutions that Canadians interact with the most—health care, social services, and education (particularly higher education)—is fairly close to being representative of the population in the larger provinces. While many visible minorities in these sectors are in more junior positions, a number of communities have strong representation in more highly paid occupations. In other words, clients accessing health care are more often than not served by a mix of visible minorities and non-visible minorities.

This mostly positive picture is tempered by the fact that some immigrant groups are overly represented in support positions. Activists in these groups need to address some cultural factors that may discourage individuals from pursuing highly qualified occupations, in addition to their current focus on structural barriers. More also needs to be done to increase the numbers of visible-minority public school teachers at the primary and secondary levels to improve representation and provide role models for visible-minority youth.

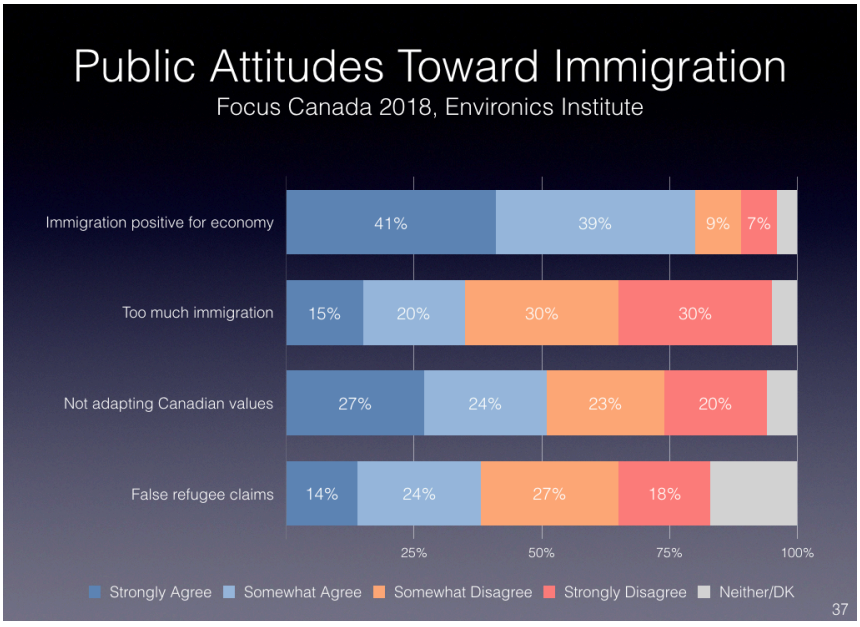
Enclaves at the riding level: While there are areas of ethnic group concentration (41 federal ridings according to the 2016 Census had visible-minority populations above 50 percent), most ridings feature a mix of communities of various sizes. While there are some ridings in British Columbia and Ontario that approach the classic definition of an ethnic enclave (over 70 percent visible minorities), in only four of these—Surrey-Newton and Richmond Centre in B.C., and Brampton East and Markham-Unionville in Ontario—does a single group comprise 50 percent or more of the population. Candidates in these ridings will likely be part of the largest or most dominant ethnic group, which risks making politics in these areas ethnically driven, undermining the "Canadian" identity and marginalizing members of smaller groups. Political parties need to take care in finding the balance between "shopping for votes" and pan-Canadian engagement.

Declining naturalization: The Canadian model of immigration leading to citizenship is at risk given increasing numbers of immigrants—now more than 300,000 annually—and a decline in the number applying to become citizens (from about 200,000 ten years ago to fewer than 150,000 in recent years). This reflects policy and program changes that have made citizenship "harder to get and easier to lose."[7] The previous number of 85.6 percent (National Household Survey 2011) of all immigrants, no matter when they arrived in Canada, has declined to 82.6 percent (2016 Census). The longer-term implications of a declining naturalization rate and an increased percentage of non-citizen permanent residents include less social inclusion and weaker social cohesion. This is particularly true when visible-minority immigrants are disproportionately affected.

Political under-representation: Representation of visible minorities improved dramatically at the federal level in the 2015 election: 13.9 percent compared to the 15 percent who are also citizens, up from 9.4 percent in 2011. Women continue to be severely under-represented (26 percent of all federal MPs). Visible minority MPs, while mainly from ridings with large numbers of visible-minority voters, also won election in ridings with less than 20 percent visible minorities. Canada has no anti-immigration party, and all parties are competing for the ethnic vote (many have argued that with Canada's demographics, it is now impossible to win a majority government without attracting immigrant and visible-minority voters). The current government is making serious efforts to improve representation of visible minorities (and women) in judicial, Governor in Council and other appointments.

Reasonably strong public-sector representation: Core public service employment of visible minorities in the federal government is roughly in line with labour market availability, with the exception of some federal departments and agencies, such as the Canadian Forces and RCMP. Governments of the larger provinces, with the exception of Quebec, are also reasonably representative. While this picture is fairly positive, changing the benchmark for representation from the proportion of visible-minority Canadian citizens (15 percent) to the entire visible-minority population (19.1 percent) would challenge public services to intensify their employment equity efforts.

CHART 12



Overall, Canada's immigration, settlement, citizenship, and multiculturalism programs enjoy public support. Chart 12 highlights findings from the 2018 Focus Canada survey (most other surveys show similar results).

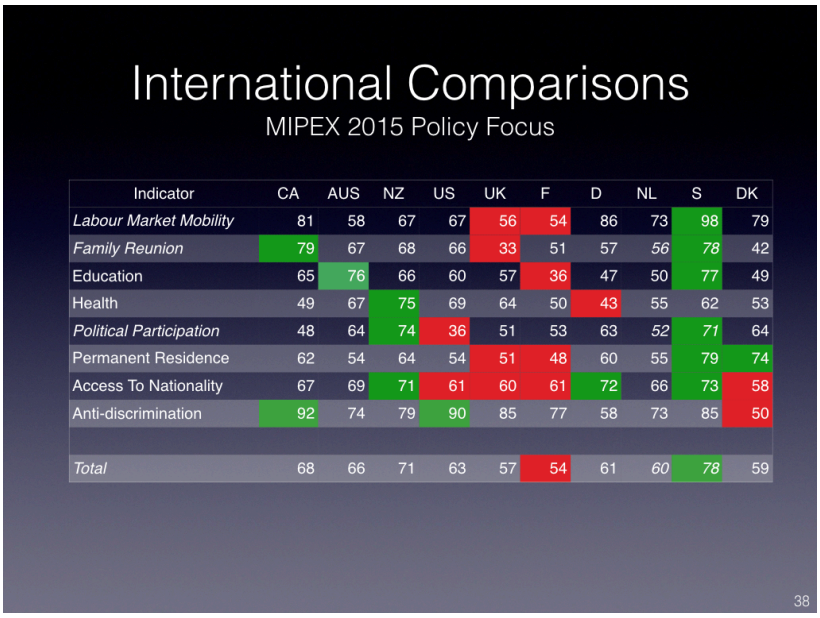
With respect to concerns, a clear majority (51 percent) has concerns about whether immigrants adopt Canadian values, but only a minority, albeit significant, believes that refugees enter under false pretences (38 percent) or that there is too much immigration (35 percent). In terms of confidence, 80 percent believe that immigration is positive for the economy, 65 percent believe the government does a good job in keeping criminals out, and 53 percent believe immigrants work harder.

International Comparisons

Three main sources help assess how well Canada compares to other countries: immigration-based countries (Australia, U.S.), mixed (U.K.), and more-ethnic-based countries (France, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark). Two policy indices are used: the Migrant Integration Index (MIPEX) looks at how well each country's policies foster integration, and the Multiculturalism Policy Index (MPI) looks at policies that favour integration and inclusion of minority groups. The OECD Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015 provides empirical data and analysis of immigrant economic and social outcomes, and thus how well these policies make a difference on the ground.

Overall, and not surprisingly, immigration-based countries do much better in terms of outcomes and policies compared to European, more-ethnic-based countries, with the noticeable exception of Sweden, which compares favourably to Canada and Australia with respect to policies.

CHART 13



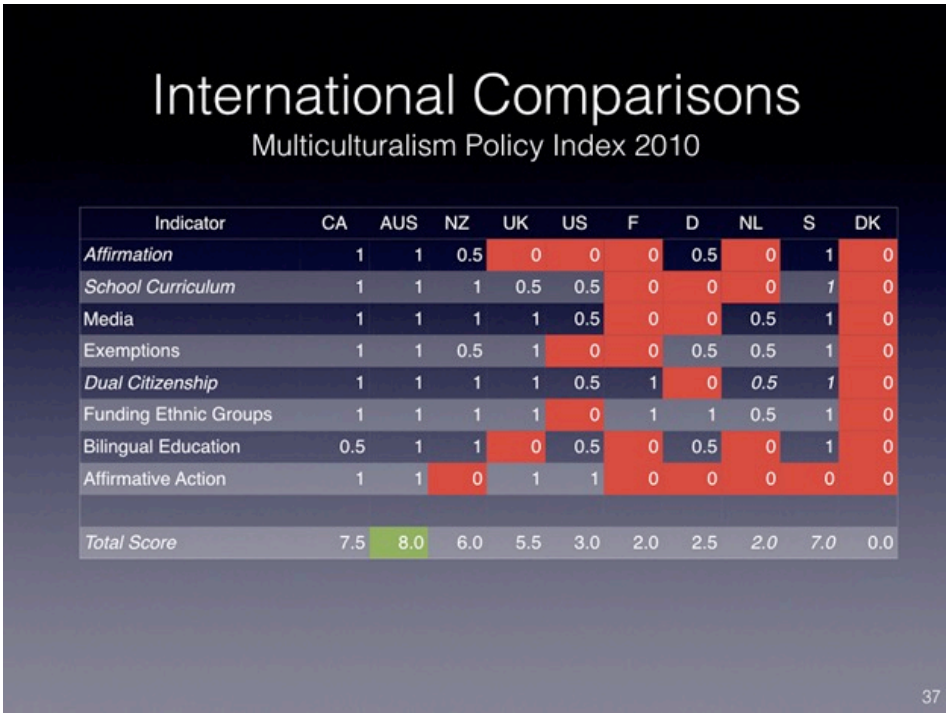
Indicator	CA	AUS	NZ	US	UK	F	D	NL	S	DK
Labour Market Mobility	81	58	67	67	56	54	86	73	98	79
Family Reunion	79	67	68	66	33	51	57	*56*	*78*	42
Education	65	76	66	60	57	36	47	50	77	49
Health	49	67	75	69	64	50	43	55	62	53
Political Participation	48	64	74	36	51	53	63	*52*	*71*	64
Permanent Residence	62	54	64	54	51	48	60	55	79	74
Access To Nationality	67	69	71	61	60	61	72	66	73	58
Anti-discrimination	92	74	79	90	85	77	58	73	85	50
Total	68	66	71	63	57	54	61	*60*	*78*	59

Chart 13 highlights the comparative ratings of the eight policy areas in MIPEX, which cover 167 indicators.

The index's European emphasis is reflected in the choice of indicators and the terminology of "migrant" or "third-country national" rather than "immigrant". With the notable exception of Sweden, which has the highest overall MIPEX score, and the U.S., which has the lowest immigration-based country score, the general pattern shows that immigration-based countries have more immigrant-friendly policies, as one would naturally expect.

Canada loses points most notably on not providing municipal voting rights and changes to citizenship policy that have reduced the naturalization rate. [8]

CHART 14



Indicator	CA	AUS	NZ	UK	US	F	D	NL	S	DK
Affirmation	1	1	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	0	1	0
School Curriculum	1	1	1	0.5	0.5	0	0	0	*1*	0
Media	1	1	1	1	0.5	0	0	0.5	1	0
Exemptions	1	1	0.5	1	0	0	0.5	0.5	1	0
Dual Citizenship	1	1	1	1	0.5	1	0	*0.5*	*1*	0
Funding Ethnic Groups	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0.5	1	0
Bilingual Education	0.5	1	1	0	0.5	0	0.5	0	1	0
Affirmative Action	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total Score	7.5	8.0	6.0	5.5	3.0	2.0	2.5	*2.0*	*7.0*	0.0

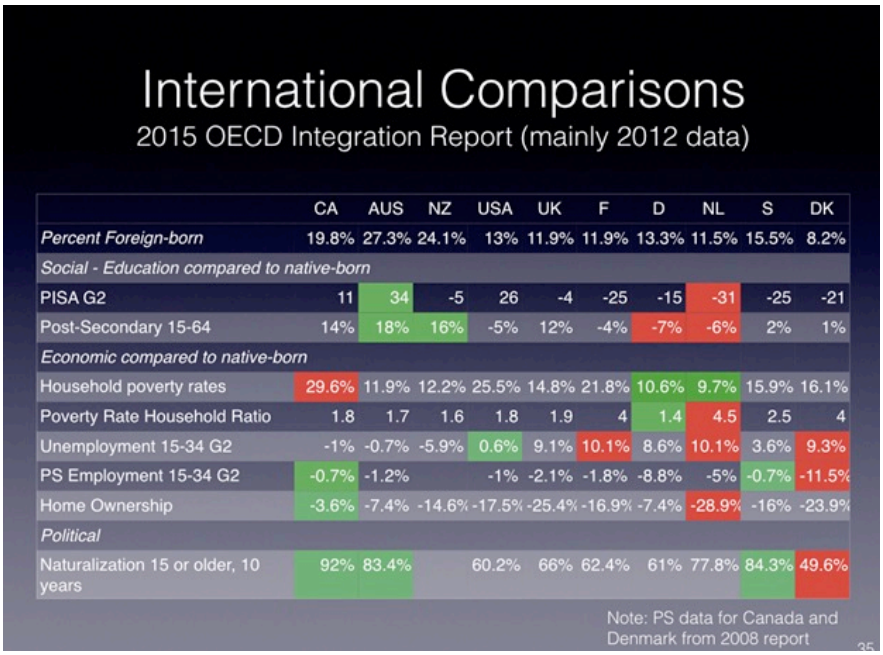
Chart 14 similarly highlights the comparative results of the simpler MPI, which rates policies in eight areas. The contrast between immigration-based countries and other countries is striking, again with the notable exception of the U.S., whose score resembles lower-ranked European countries, and Sweden, whose score is comparable to Canada's and Australia's.

Policies are one element; the reality on the ground in terms of economic and social outcomes is a better indicator of how well integration is working.

The most comprehensive and extensive data come from the OECD Report. [9] Chart 15 highlights selected data from the report, with an emphasis on second generation outcomes. The data include:

- Demographic data on the percentage of foreign-born;
- A comparison of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) scores of second-generation immigrants to the "native" population. A positive score means that second-generation immigrants have better educational outcomes;
- A comparison of university graduation rates for second-generation immigrants to the "native" population;
- A comparison of household poverty rates for immigrant families and native-born families;
- Poverty Rate Household Ratio, referring to the relative number of immigrant households living in poverty compared to native households;
- Unemployment, referring to the unemployment rate gap between second-generation immigrants aged 15-34 and the native-born cohort;
- Public Service employment, referring to public sector employment for second-generation immigrants aged 15-34 compared to the native-born cohort;
- Home ownership, showing the gap in home ownership rates between immigrants and native-born; and,
- Naturalization rate, showing the number of immigrants who have become citizens after ten years of residence (the high Canadian number does not capture recent trends).

CHART 15



	CA	AUS	NZ	USA	UK	F	D	NL	S	DK
Percent Foreign-born	19.8%	27.3%	24.1%	13%	11.9%	11.9%	13.3%	11.5%	15.5%	8.2%
Social - Education compared to native-born										
PISA G2	11	34	-5	26	-4	-25	-15	-31	-25	-21
Post-Secondary 15-64	14%	18%	16%	-5%	12%	-4%	-7%	-6%	2%	1%
Economic compared to native-born										
Household poverty rates	29.6%	11.9%	12.2%	25.5%	14.8%	21.8%	10.6%	9.7%	15.9%	16.1%
Poverty Rate Household Ratio	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.9	4	1.4	4.5	2.5	4
Unemployment 15-34 G2	-1%	-0.7%	-5.9%	0.6%	9.1%	10.1%	8.6%	10.1%	3.6%	9.3%
PS Employment 15-34 G2	-0.7%	-1.2%		-1%	-2.1%	-1.8%	-8.8%	-5%	-0.7%	-11.5%
Home Ownership	-3.6%	-7.4%	-14.6%	-17.5%	-25.4%	-16.9%	-7.4%	-28.9%	-16%	-23.9%
Political										
Naturalization 15 or older, 10 years	92%	83.4%		60.2%	66%	62.4%	61%	77.8%	84.3%	49.6%

The same general pattern repeats itself with respect to immigration-based and non-immigration-based countries, but some notable exceptions emerge.

Among immigration-based countries, the U.S. has lower university graduation rates, lower unemployment, and lower home ownership, likely reflecting the larger relative proportion of lower-skilled immigrants. Canada has particularly high household poverty rates, with the U.S. a close second. Among European countries, U.K. immigrant-origin residents do relatively better on most indicators compared to other European countries. There is a question as to whether this reflects the U.K.'s longer immigration history and multiculturalism policies, or whether most U.K. permanent residents attain that status only after living there for several years. The Netherlands, despite its earlier integration policies (largely reversed) has some of the poorest outcomes. The well-known integration challenges in France are apparent from these data. While Sweden and Denmark present an interesting contrast in terms of MIPEX and MPI, actual outcomes are closer than their inclusive policies would suggest, with the important exceptions of youth unemployment, public sector employment, and naturalization.

Concluding Observations

The Canadian model of integration, based on generally coherent immigration, settlement, citizenship, and multiculturalism policies, has been comparatively successful, both in terms of integrating newcomers to Canada and maintaining "host society" support for continued high levels of immigration. But its success is as dependent on luck (geography) and history (the early need for accommodation) as on conscious policy decisions favouring integration rather than assimilation. Today's demographic diversity reflects both elements: a diversity that contributes to the ongoing development of these policies in a more inclusive approach than most other countries.

There are real limits to "exporting" and promoting the Canadian model, since each country's geography, history, culture, and demographics are different. While other countries can learn from Canada in terms of specific policies and programs, any sharing of our approach needs to be framed in an understanding of the circumstances of that particular country. Similarly, we need to be open to the experience of other countries, learning where we can and guarding against blindness regarding issues and challenges.

At the same time, we need to assert, clearly and often, what multiculturalism in Canada means and is, to avoid foreign discourse contaminating our discourse. Multiculturalism in Canada has always been about integration, not separation or assimilation. While multiculturalism may be a dirty word elsewhere, it is in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and embedded in numerous laws and policies. Efforts to muddy the waters with alternative terms are unhelpful at best.

Given the international environment, one has to ask whether the Canadian approach is sufficiently resilient to withstand what appears to be a trend towards xenophobia and at least rhetorical retreat from more inclusive policies. The most thoughtful analysis on the risks of a populist backlash in Canada to date is by Keith Banting, who framed the question through three aspects[10]:

> *Economic insecurity*: The impact of the world-wide trend of increased inequality and precariousness of work that is also seen in Canada, albeit to a lesser extent than other countries, with some regional exceptions, such as Southwest Ontario.
>
> *Cultural insecurity*: The degree to which immigration is perceived as an economic, cultural or security threat. Overall high levels of support for immigration and belief that it supports economic growth provide some measure of resilience to populism. However, many of the same culture/values concerns exist as in other countries, as do security concerns. Should a major terrorist attack occur on Canadian soil, our ability to debate and discuss constructively the nature and type of policy and program responses will be tested.
>
> *Political opportunity*: The 2015 election, the 2017 Conservative leadership campaign, and the debate over M-103 (the motion on Islamophobia) provide examples of political opportunism and identity politics, stoked by some media channels. However, the Canadian political system, the large number of new Canadian voters (first and second generation), and their concentration in the suburban ridings in the Greater Toronto Area and B.C.'s lower mainland, make it impossible to win a majority government running on an anti-immigration platform (and extremely difficult for a minority). Visible minorities are a majority in 33 ridings and represent between 20 to 50 percent in another 77 ridings.

A similar analysis can be seen in Michael Adams's book, *Could It Happen Here? Canada in the Age of Trump and Brexit*, which presents a range of data demonstrating the unlikelihood.[11]

Thus, while Canada and Canadians should continue to remain vigilant and attentive to signs of populism and xenophobia, Canada is likely to remain more resilient to these threats to social cohesion and inclusion. *Ed. Note: This is the last of three parts.*

Notes

[6] Oreopoulos, Phil. Quoted in What's in a name? Your shot at a job according to study. CBC. 25 January 2017.
[7] Both figures are six years after landing.
[8] MIPEX
[9] Indicators of Immigrant Integration 2015: Settling In
[10] Banting, Keith. 2017. "Immigration, Multiculturalism and Populist Backlash: Is Canada Exceptional?" Presentation given in Ottawa, March 21, 2017.
[11] Adams, Michael. *Could It Happen Here? Canada in the Age of Trump and Brexit*. Toronto: Simon & Schuster Canada, 2017.

Another *Running on Empty* promotion in the Greater Toronto Area

On 7 April, Mike Molloy and Peter Duschinsky attended a banquet held by the Vietnamese community to raise funds for the Boat People Memorial to be erected in Mississauga. Here is some of what happened in their own words….

We received a royal welcome and found ourselves in the middle of a formal program that included a presentation of *Running on Empty* to Bonnie Crombie, Mayor of Mississauga. The fun began as the entertainment started and we returned to our table. We had 50 copies of *Running on Empty* as well as 12 belonging to the Vietnamese community. Within an hour we sold all 62 books. Given that we sold 100 volumes during the previous trip to Toronto and Winnipeg, plus a few other odd sales, we have sold 167 books since the New Year.

We were moved by the fact that many people wanted the books dedicated to their children. Among those who approached us was a couple who had ended up on Wake Island, and we subsequently connected them to Joyce Cavanagh-Wood, our very own Wake Island star.

Refuge Canada Exhibition Opening at the Canadian Museum of Immigration
Ernest Allen

Refuge Canada, a new exhibition at the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, in Halifax, was officially opened on 19 April by the museum's Chief Executive Officer, Marie Chapman, and Robert Vineberg, Chair of the Board of Trustees. The exhibition covers every major refugee resettlement program undertaken by Canada in the post-war era. In the words of the museum, it is "designed to provide the context of Canada's place in the global refugee crisis and to bring light on refugees' stories of loss, fear and hope as they voyage to life in a foreign land".

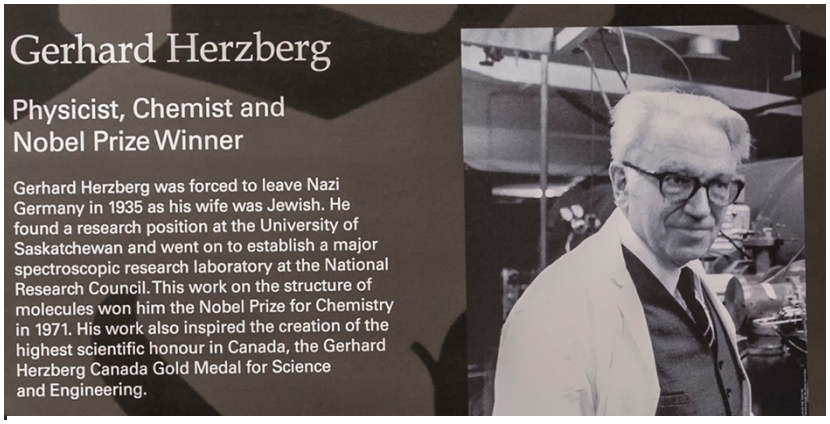


Photo courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21

Addressing a large group of invited guests, including many former refugees and immigrants, Marie Chapman emphasized the exhibition's goals of promoting a better understanding of who is a refugee, the depths of despair experienced by those forced to flee their countries of origin, and Canada's role, both historical and current, in responding to refugee situations. She pointed out that many refugees make valuable contributions in various spheres of endeavour following their arrival in Canada. A number are featured in the exhibition's displays, such as: physicist and Nobel Prize winner, Gerhard Herzberg, who was forced to flee Nazi Germany in 1935, and peace activist and UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador Phan Thi Kim Phuc, subject of the famous photograph of a running naked child badly burned in a napalm attack during the Vietnam war. When mentioning notable refugee success stories, Chapman specifically paid tribute to Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Ahmed Hussen, Canada's first Somali-Canadian cabinet minister.

The concept of Refuge Canada, as described by Curator Dan Conlin, originated some two and a half years ago, coincident with the government's initiation of the Syrian refugee resettlement program. The exhibition has a poignant account of Nhung Tran-Davies, who gave the doll she had received on landing in Canada at age 5 as a refugee from Vietnam some 39 years earlier, to the daughter of a Syrian family she co-sponsored. That doll is one of numerous artefacts, several of which have been provided to the museum by the CIHS.

The exhibition is situated in the Ralph and Rose Chiodo Gallery. Museum sponsor Ralph Chiodo is an entrepreneur, philanthropist, and member of the museum's board of trustees. He emigrated to Canada from Italy as a youth, arriving at Pier 21 with his widowed mother and siblings. The Chiodo family has never forgotten the assistance and generosity of a Pier 21 volunteer at that time, which has spurred its fundraising support for the museum.

Although Canada has evolved as a world leader in refugee protection since becoming a party to the Convention on Refugees, its historically mixed response to those fleeing persecution is not ignored. Thus, an exhibit about the "People of Canada" being honoured in 1986 with the UNHCR Nansen Refugee Award for the resettlement of Southeast Asian refugees is juxtaposed with Canada's reaction to Jewish immigration from Nazi Germany on the eve of World War II.

Photo courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21

In sum, the Refuge Canada exhibition provides an informative and thought-provoking glimpse into the dark and light of the refugee experience. It is recommended for viewing by anyone concerned with the plight of those numbered in the current global refugee crisis. The exhibition continues at the museum until 11 November 2018 and will afterwards travel across Canada.

Spring Cleaning Uncovers Small Treasures

Gerry Maffre

This year's spring cleaning turned up a box full of lapel pins amassed during my public service career. Most were from Canadian municipalities and my dealings with municipal officials while at Infrastructure Canada. But many were from my days in the Immigration department.

One in particular, a plastic "Junior Immigration Officer" pin, struck me as having been produced by B.C. Region for community outreach work. I contacted several retired RHQ colleagues to confirm my memory.

While the origins of the pin remain unclear, I did hear back from Dan Grant, Paula Bennett, and Grant Donaldson (badge #169), who had also collected departmental pins. Then I was on to Rob Vineberg to confirm the identity of another pin, which he did (PanAm Games, 1999) and provided another.

Together our pins cover general program identifiers and specific functions, regions, events, and one corporate activity. There are also a couple of pins from partner organizations, including one from U.S. Customs.

Members are invited to comment or add to this virtual collection. I can be reached at info@cihs-shic.ca

A Word from the Editor about Controlling Society Expenses

The CIHS Bulletin has always reflected the Society's concerns to be careful with members' money, and to do so, in 2014, we appealed to readers to make the switch from paper to electronic distribution. The response was heartening. In the four years since, costs have risen even higher. An average paper copy costs about $1.40 to print and almost $2 to mail, bringing the quarterly cost of producing and distributing the Bulletin to about $140. Electronic transmission costs only the sweat and tears of writers and editorial staff.

Seriously, electronic transmission saves your Society money. As much as we understand the appeal of the printed word, we are hoping that more of our members will make the electronic choice. Those who do will gain the benefits of colour photographs, the ability to enlarge the print size according to need, and instant access to other websites hyperlinked to articles. If you are ready to make the switch from paper to email delivery, please contact the Society at info@cihs-shic.ca.

In Memoriam

Cram, George

Mike Molloy

George Holtby Cram, former secretary of the Primate's World Relief and Development Fund (PWRDF), died in Toronto on 16 March. Born in Montreal on 20 April 1938, George earned degrees in science and divinity at McGill University. He worked and travelled throughout South America, developing a fondness for the region. He worked for a time with the Latin American Working Group, advocating for social justice in Latin America. During the rule of Augusto Pinochet in Chile, the group was instrumental in persuading the Canadian government to admit 100 Chilean political prisoners. It is no exaggeration to credit George with creating the network of refugee advocates that endures in Canada today. He also helped establish the Canadian Council for Refugees and served on the Immigration and Refugee Board.

I met George after becoming director of Refugee Policy in 1976, and we enjoyed many a disagreement in the years that followed. His fierce advocacy on behalf of oppressed Latin Americans irritated the establishment, but I came to appreciate his passion, his knowledge, and his sharp, analytical mind. I credit him for making the case for exempting refugees from the point system as we rolled out the 1976 Immigration Act.

Years later, when I was posted to Nairobi, he would drop in for a chat while there on PWRDF business. He had never seen a game park, and I offered to take him camping. In due course George, his son Douglas, and I found ourselves alone in Amboseli Park. We pitched the tent between a tree and a thorn bush, parked the vehicle behind the tent, and lit a fire to keep animals away. Around 3:00 a.m., we awoke to strange sounds. It was so dark we couldn't see the stars...until the elephant moved. Salama safari, George.

Cuerrier, Guy

Guy Cuerrier, born in January 1951, died on 4 May 2018. He leaves Sharon, his wife of 32 years, a large family and many friends. Guy was born in Montreal, grew up in Alberta, and graduated from Concordia University with a B. Comm. He completed the Management Assignment Program in Manpower and Immigration in 1977, and in 1978 he was assigned the task of coordinating the arrival and reception of Indochinese refugees destined to western Canada at CFB Griesbach in Edmonton. In 1999, while working in the Refugees branch at NHQ, he coordinated the seven sites used for housing the Kosovar refugees.

Remembered by Bill Sheppit
He dealt with the numerous scourges that afflicted him with a wondrous dignity and rationality. He was a most honourable colleague and will be sorely missed by all who knew him.

Remembered by Mike Molloy
His colleagues believed that Guy was a major contributor to the success of the Kosovo program, both internally and with the public. We were fortunate that Guy cared, not only about the challenge of the day but also about preserving our immigration history. Thanks to him and his colleague Elizabeth Marshall we have an account of the magnificent accomplishment of welcoming over 21,000 Indochinese refugees at the Griesbach staging area [*Running on Empty*, Chapter 21]. The passion, sensitivity and wisdom Guy demonstrated at that time was reprised decades later when he played a central role in delivering Canada's response to the Kosovo refugee crisis.

Remembered by Martha Nixon
He was such a lovely man. I saw him last years ago but was aware that he was dealing with many health issues. He always gave so much of himself to others, and I am sorry that he had so much to contend with. But all who met him and had the pleasure of knowing him and working with him will remember how dedicated he was, how he always got the job done, and that he never complained about impossible deadlines and workloads. I am glad he got to choose when it was time to say goodbye. I know he would have been surrounded by those who loved him.

Remembered by Gerry Van Kessel
Guy worked with me on two occasions. He was always a very hard worker, totally focussed on the issue at hand, calm, considerate and very effective. His health problems were already affecting him the first time we worked together, but that didn't stop him from arriving early, leaving late and being a joy to work with.

Remembered by Ross Nichol
One of my favourite recollections of Guy is when I invited him out to my "ranch" to give me a hand to move an 800-pound rock out of the ground and on to a pioneer-type track down a 45-metre slope and across a rill to make a bridge. Inviting someone with advanced Parkinson's to join one in such folly is close to madness, but he appreciated the invitation. We survived with great laughter. Last week on his deathbed in palliative care, he noted that massive opioids seemed to quell the quakes of Parkinson, but he did not think it was a useful cure! I will spread some of his ashes near that rill.

Gordon, Randy
Ian Taylor and Roger White, in collaboration with "The Usual Suspects"

On Wednesday 28 March, our dear friend and CIC colleague, Randy Gordon, passed away at Elizabeth Bruyère Hospital. He leaves his wife Nancy, son Paul (Ann) and daughter Karen (Shane), grandchildren Ellis and Fay, sister Sue and brother Eric.

Randy was one of a kind both in his personal life and at the office. He joined CIC at Toronto Airport as an examining officer, moving to 480 University Avenue in Toronto in September 1972 as an Immigration counsellor, working under Walter Maxwell and Terry Delaney. In 1973, he was off to NHQ in Ottawa, where he worked in Admissions under Bob McIntosh, Dalt Collins, and Terry Sheehan in support of missions abroad. It was during this time that he earned the nickname "Flash Gordon". Yes, he was fast, but it was his use of Flash telexes to overseas missions seeking case updates due on representations that earned him the animosity of overseas communicators and visa officers who had to rise from their beds to respond.

In 1977, Randy, Nancy, and Paul headed off to Birmingham, England, for a three-year posting at the Canadian consulate, Randy working as a senior vice-consul Immigration under Brian Danby. Here the Gordons made lifelong friends. The Brits found Randy's name particularly interesting, given its meaning there. The Gordons returned to Canada in 1980 as a family of four with the addition of baby Karen.

Randy then worked at NHQ in Case Management and later in the Enforcement branch with Dave Hall, heading Detention and Removals until 1986. In the late 1980s, Randy participated in the overseas interdiction project, Operation Shortstop, travelling to Rome with Richard St. Louis. While at NHQ, Randy worked under three executive directors: Cal Best, Joe Bissett, and Terry Sheehan.

In 1987, Randy was asked to be the departmental assistant in the minister's office under Chief of Staff Ruth Archibald. He served three ministers while he was there: Hon. Barbara McDougall, Hon. Bernard Valcourt, and Hon. Doug Lewis. Officially he was non-political, at least when he started. Randy was known for speaking "truth to power". He was dramatic, open, and frank without filters. Ministers and political staff loved him for it. Randy often ended up in the media with off-the-cuff comments, such as on the sedation of deportees. He supported then minister Valcourt in significant legislative changes (Bill C86 in 1992), enhancing the inadmissible classes and facilitating the removal of "bad guys".

When the Liberals returned to power, Randy decided he needed a change and became manager of the Entrepreneur unit in Business Immigration under Jim Henschel and Neil Maxwell. This experience incidentally prepared him for several years of post-retirement consulting in China, Jordan, and Pakistan with immigrant entrepreneurs and investors.

Randy's final stop at CIC was managing the Modern War Crimes Unit (1994/1997) in Case Management, under Rob Vineberg and Ian Taylor. Léon Mugesera, a Rwandan perpetrator of genocide, was a prime example of Randy's determination to identify and eventually remove the "bad guys". In his role, Randy was asked to brief the then minister's press secretary on the Mugesera case. At the briefing, the press secretary observed, probably due to Randy's eye-rolling, "I guess you think these are pretty stupid questions, Mr. Gordon." "Well, as a matter of fact, I do," Randy responded. Enraged, the press secretary marched off to demand that Randy be fired. Instead, Randy wrote a note of apology and lived to fight another day. Randy was one of the original whistleblowers, as his list of war criminals somehow ended up in the media. He wanted to be sure he had done all he could to facilitate the investigation and removal of these high-profile cases.

Through much of his time at the department, Randy played our very own special Santa Claus at the annual Christmas party, along with his elves, Ralphie (Ralph Moussaw) and Frenchie (Guy Bélisle), who tried in both official languages to sanitize Santa's verbal assaults. Who can forget Santa's arrival to Tina Turner's "Simply the Best" and his lists of those senior managers who were to be skewered?

With government downsizing, Randy took an early retirement package in September 1997 to celebrate his 50th birthday. We are all thankful for Randy's contributions to CIC. We may not always have agreed with his methods, but his heart was usually in the right place. Besides there was the entertainment factor. He will be missed by his family, and also by his friends and former colleagues, especially "The Usual Suspects"—his Barley Mow lunch crew.

McKay, Del
Susan Burrows

Del McKay joined the Immigration foreign service in 1966. His first posting was to London, where he met his wife, Caryl. Then he was posted to Athens for four years. After that, he came back to Ottawa to work in the Management and Planning division and Operations for two years. From 1974 to 1978, he was consul in Milan, and from 1978 to 1982, Operations manager in Hong Kong.

That is where I met Del. I was on my first posting. Del was an excellent mentor to junior staff. Following a posting to Chile, which Del and Caryl enjoyed very much, Del went to New Delhi from 1986 to 1989. He returned to NHQ to work in the Asia and Pacific Programs division just in time for the Tiananmen Square events. Following his NHQ stint, Del was sent to Jamaica as program manager.

Del McKay (front row, second from left), wife Caryl (standing, third from left), and Susan Burrows (front row, centre) with members of the Hong Kong Commission Immigration staff at a farewell lunch for Del and Caryl, July 1982

Del and I met again in New York, where he was program manager from 1996 to 1998. Caryl was able to pursue her acting training, and they both enjoyed all that the city had to offer. Del retired in 1999 after a 33-year career. In "retirement", Del did data-base analysis for the Ottawa Police and got into acting with Caryl at the Ottawa Little Theatre. After losing his beloved Caryl in 2009, he continued to tread the boards. Del was also active during the early days of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society, editing the newsletter and serving on committees. I was lucky to be able to continue my friendship with Del after he retired. We met for coffee and went to a play at the Gladstone Theatre. In our conversations, he talked about the accomplishments of his two sons, Colin and Andrew, of whom he was very proud. Del was extremely knowledgeable and well-read about world and local politics. He will be missed by his many friends and colleagues.

Remembered by Donald Cameron
Del arrived from a foreign posting to be director of the Asia and Pacific Programs division at External Affairs in the summer of 1989, shortly after the Tienanmen Square events in Beijing. The programs for which he had been responsible abroad were immigration and public affairs.

A keen observer of the absurdities of life in a large bureaucracy, he found himself in a classic example of one. Officials elsewhere in the Asia and Pacific branch had taken it upon themselves to formulate and have the External Affairs Minister announce the Immigration measures which Canada would take in response to Tienanmen Square—without consulting the Department of Employment and Immigration! Officials at that department did not visit their wrath on the External Affairs officials responsible for this usurpation, but they had "a full and frank exchange of views" with Del, which, given the circumstances, he found wryly funny.

Del was a voracious reader on a wide variety of subjects and gave a great deal of thought to the effective management of immigration programs. Working for him was both an education and a pleasure. I consider myself fortunate to have had the opportunity.

Remembered by Diane Burrows
Del McKay was my boss for three assignments during my first five years as a foreign service officer in the old Social Affairs stream. One was my very first training assignment as an FS-1D in the East Asia division in External Affairs and International Trade Canada's (EAITC) LB Pearson Building; Del McKay was the director. The second was my first posting to Delhi's visa section, where Del was the Immigration program manager. The third was my first real NHQ desk job in the newly formed EAITC "O-branch", where Del was the director of Operational Program Delivery and where we were integrating immigration and consular services.

Del led through quiet direction: his interest in coaching and in listening to his staff particularly helped me to put some of the less-palatable parts of my junior officer duties into perspective. He was a fierce supporter of his wife Caryl's interests and pursuits and was infinitely proud of his two sons, Colin and Andrew. An approachable manager, in Delhi he was a good sounding board for his staff (although he professed to hate being told what to do by them). I noticed, in the daily adrenalin of NHQ crisis management, his enduring concern to instill an ethos of quality of service in our program delivery practices, which were continually challenged by the quantity of demand. I learned a lot in those years from Del, both directly and indirectly. While I couldn't call him a mentor, he offered encouragement at critical times. I hope that through these words I acknowledge his impact.

Remembered by Raph Girard
I would be remiss if I did not add my own recollections and tribute to Del's memory from the point of view of senior management whom Del served so well for more than 30 years. I met Del on his first posting to London. He was part of a tightly knit group who would become life-long career officers living the program on the job and off. Together with his wife Caryl, Del considered both younger and more senior colleagues family, and he fostered that feeling among others in every post to which he was assigned.

Del never achieved high office, but he succeeded in every job to which he was assigned—always showing dedication and sensitivity. Del could always be depended upon, not only to do things right but also to do the right things. Integrity, dependability, common sense, and openness to all were hallmarks of his commitment. As much as his wife and sons were the centre of his universe, he accepted without complaint a number of difficult postings, at least one of which did not permit his family to accompany him. His legacy consists not only of his own contribution to public service, but also of the contributions of many younger officers whom he trained and mentored to achieve the same high standard of performance that he showed by example day in and day out. Del was proud to be an Immigration officer, and so it is only right that Immigration should take pride in the example he set for others.

Tasho San
Mike Molloy

Veterans of Canada's visa office in Tokyo in the 1960s and 1970s will be saddened to learn that Kozo Tasho, the visa section's original locally engaged program officer, passed away at the age of 90 in December 2017. Born on 13 February 1927, Tasho San was recruited by Manpower and Immigration Tokyo's founding manger, Vic Meilis, and had an extraordinarily long career with the Government of Canada.

He is remembered for his dedication, the pride he took in his work, and an irrepressible sense of humour.

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.