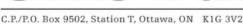
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Issue #93 June 2020







CIHS Annual General Meeting and COVID-19

The 2020 AGM will be especially significant: a proposed change of presidency and a meeting whose "feel" will be set by Canada's response to the corona virus.

For the moment, we plan to respect the date already set, 22 October, but we will hold a virtual meeting instead of our typical gathering. We are working now on identifying and acquiring the tools and skills that would bring us together for this purpose.

We will provide you with adequate notice through this Bulletin or a special newsletter of how we will proceed with the annual general meeting and we will also provide guidance on how to participate in the proceedings. Until then, stay well and "stay negative"!

The Long Wait for Freedom: The Karen Refugee Movement 2006-2007 Susan Burrows

Susan Burrows is a life member of the CIHS and a retired immigration foreign service officer. With her career spanning 1978-2010, she spent 26 of her 32 years overseas: Hong Kong (twice), The Netherlands, Kenya, New York, Trinidad, and Singapore. She had two headquarters assignments, one of which was in the former Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Refugees Branch. The author would like to thank Richard Anderson for assisting with editing and providing clarification on a number of points and Dawape Giwa-Isekeije and her team at the International Network of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada for providing archival material.

In 2006 and 2007 the immigration section of the Canadian embassy in Singapore accepted 2,600 minority group refugees who had fled Myanmar (Burma) for Thailand. This refugee resettlement program received little fanfare and was accomplished with minimal resources. As the regional immigration program manager, based in Singapore during this period, I am telling this story from the point of view of those Canadians who were involved in selecting, processing, and issuing visas to the refugees in camps Mae La Oon and Mae Ra Ma Luang on the western border of Thailand next to Mvanmar.

When I arrived in Singapore in January 2004, our visa office's annual refugee resettlement target was less than a hundred people, and the program was led by an officer on her first posting under the supervision of the program manager. I was one of only four Canada-based officers, the others being the Operations manager and two junior officers on their first postings. As management of a refugee movement is complex and requires experience that junior officers do not have,

Contents			
TITLE	AUTHORS	Page	
CIHS Annual General Meeting and COVID-19		1	
The Long Wait for Freedom: The Karen Refugee Movement 2006-2007	Susan Burrows	1	
Czech Refugees in Cold War Canada Book Review Part Two	Martina Stvan	6	
Displaced Persons, the Beginning of the Cold War, and the Origin of the International Organization for Migration	Dr. Brian Gushulak	10	
Notes of Thanks from CIHS		13	
Letter to the Editor	Bob Brack	14	
Canadian Visa Offices Abroad: Fifty Years of Service Part Three 1970–1979	Gerry Maffre and Raph Girard	15	
In Memoriam		20	

and as the other three officers were fully occupied with processing immigrants from the rest of Singapore's region, I decided to manage the refugee program myself. As well, I was experienced in refugee selection, both in the field and at headquarters.

The Singapore office was a regional processing centre (RPC), responsible for the processing of immigration applications from Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Bangladesh. With the exception of Cambodia, where there was a Canadian head of mission from the Department of Foreign Affairs (now Global Affairs Canada), the other countries in the RPC's area had Canadian missions with even smaller immigration sections, with one officer (two in Bangladesh) handling all non-immigrant processing and reporting to me. In 2004 and 2005, Singapore processed refugee applications from <u>Vietnamese</u> Montagnards living in Cambodia; Aceh refugees from Indonesia living in Malaysia; refugees from the Middle East, Ethiopia, and Somalia living in Indonesia; and Rohingya from Myanmar living in Bangladesh.



Hill of pampas grass near Mae La Oon Refugee Camp, Thailand, February 2006

Although the majority of the refugees from Myanmar in Thailand belonged to the

Karen ethnic group (79.1%), there were also Karenni (10.3%), Burmese, Kachin, Mon, Rakhine, Shan, and Chan. The roughly 140,000 refugees who had arrived over the past two decades, fleeing various government clampdowns on minority groups, lived in camps scattered around Thailand. Until 2005, resettlement was not an option for several reasons. Although the camps were guarded and relatively isolated, they were also porous—especially the ones near the Myanmar border, with refugees travelling frequently back into Myanmar to fight with insurgent groups intent on establishing a separate state for the Karen ethnic group. Like many countries that become countries of first refuge due to geographic proximity, Thailand did not want to lure more refugees from Myanmar with the attraction of resettlement. It had neither the resources nor the political inclination. There was always the hope that things would stabilize in Myanmar, democracy would be established, and ethnic minorities could be repatriated. By 2005, this faint hope was disappearing. Also, refugees were asking for resettlement, as many of the Karen already had relatives and friends resettled in the United States.

In the late summer of 2005, Jeff Savage, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) representative, sent a request to Richard Anderson, the newly arrived immigration program manager in Thailand, for Canada to accept an initial group of 700 to 800 minority group refugees from the remote north-west camp of Mae La Oon. In particular, Canada was asked to resettle primarily Karen refugees, who were recognized by the UNHCR that year as a distinct group with particular protection needs. This paper will refer to the refugees as Karen refugees, as we were told in the camp that Karen refugees did not want to be known as Burmese or residents of Myanmar.

In 2005, the United States sent teams from the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service to camps closer to Bangkok, Mae La and Than Him, to select 4,000 refugees. However, other countries, including Canada, were faced with a more onerous task. The camps from which we would be selecting refugees were located in very remote areas, accessible only in the non-rainy season. They were also fraught with security concerns due to clashes between the Myanmar army and Karen border insurgents. In addition, this group would face particular resettlement challenges: its members had spent years in the refugee camps; they were reliant on donor assistance; and they spoke a language (S'gaw) that was known among only a small number of Karen then in Canada.

Richard, Jeff, and I decided initially to stay in the <u>Mae Ra Ma Luang refugee camp</u> and do our selection trip from 6 to 10 February 2006, as February is the coolest and driest month in northern Thailand. However, following complaints from other resettlement countries that the camps were not secure and the facilities too basic, we decided instead to stay in a hotel in <u>Mae Sariang</u>, the closest town to the camp and a 130-kilometre drive from Chiang Mai. Richard arranged the accommodation, travel, and extra staff along with UNHCR.

UNHCR sent me the files electronically in January. Our immigration registry in Singapore created the 800 or so paper files, and then I flew to Bangkok with some very heavy luggage. The next morning, I met Richard and Doug Corrigan from Toronto, who was working as a migration integrity officer in Bangkok and who would assist us in the refugee selection. We flew to Chiang Mai, where we rented a car and drove three hours to Mae Sariang. That part of Thailand in early February is quite beautiful, full of birch trees with golden leaves, fields of pampas grass, and cattails. It reminded me of northern New York State in October and not the Thailand I had ever experienced. When we settled in the hotel, we were pleased to discover that the bar served Moosehead beer. The hotel's business centre also had fairly good communications connections, which allowed us to stay in touch with our respective offices. In my case, this was crucial, because in addition to managing the region, we were in the middle of relocating the embassy and I was being moved to new staff quarters because the landlord was selling my apartment.



Road near Mae La Oon Refugee Camp, Thailand, February 2006

The next morning at 5:00 a.m., our adventure began. We were up and ready to meet the UNHCR driver and four-wheel-drive vehicle in order to be at the Mae Ra Ma Luang camp two and a half hours later to start the interviews. Alex, a 27-year old Australian UNHCR field officer, joined us in a second vehicle with the UNHCR interpreters and staff. For the first half-hour it was misty, and then we started climbing on a dirt road that clung to the mountains on one side and had a sheer drop to the valley on the other. During the next two hours we were jostled and tossed as the vehicles weaved around the ruts in the mud road created during the rainy seasons. We also had to dodge several other trucks on that narrow route. As we neared the outskirts of the camp, I noticed quite a few people in hill tribe garb walking along the road and nearby paths, proving how porous the camp area really was.

Upon arrival at the camp, our team set up tables in three corners of the large church/school/meeting hall (open walls) that served the camp, and the UNHCR staff set up the photography booth and measuring station (forms required height and weight). I brought a "giraffe" wall measuring strip to make it more fun for the children and, as far as I know, that giraffe is still going strong. We interviewed mostly families, with a half-hour break for lunch of sticky rice bought by Alex in the Mae Seriang market before we left. On the way back, we stopped at Mae Ra Ma Luang camp and discovered that the accommodation in which we would have stayed was occupied by staff of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) doing cultural orientation counselling for refugees selected by Norway.

We were very impressed with the refugee families we interviewed. Most of the children had been born in the camps, and families were relatively large, averaging four children per family. The Karen present a special challenge. They have no designated first or last names, just a single name, and the children do not use either their father's or mother's name. Some of the children had unusual names such as "Elvis" and "Billy Graham". The Karen were <u>Anabaptist Christians</u>, whose Baptist-style religion had strong links with the Karen community in the United States, and that connection probably influenced the names. We found that a lot of names and dates of birth provided in the UNHCR registration information were different from what we determined at interview. As these discrepancies could pose problems when exit permits were requested from the Thai government, we used an "also known as" nomenclature and added the UNHCR-registered name to our documentation.

Trips to and from the camp remained bone-jarring and hair-raising, but by the third day we all managed to doze for part of them, especially on the way back. By that time, we were finding the families to be larger and less educated. I refused one ethnic Burmese family and another single Burmese man who had been a combatant. The Burmese refugees were the most problematic in terms of their ability to meet the refugee definition and their resettlement potential. I also interviewed a family with a handicapped child and a woman who had been shot in the jaw. When interviewing one family, I noticed that their ten-year old boy seemed very unhappy. He admitted that he didn't want to go to Canada because it could mean permanent separation from his father, who had been living in Mae La Oon but went in and out of the camp to fight with insurgents in Myanmar. Although we had the "One-Year Window" program where refugees who could not be selected with their immediate family could come within the year, this man likely would have been refused as a combatant and the family opted to exclude him from its application. In the end, the boy went to Canada with his family without his excluded father. Richard interviewed another family and the husband showed up wearing a long-sleeved shirt, which was odd. When asked to pull up his sleeve, he revealed a tattoo of KNLA with his regiment number. KNLA stands for the Karen National Liberation Army. The family was refused because the father was a combatant.

Each day, we finished our interviews around 2:30 p.m., and had an opportunity to visit camp workshops, where two hand-hewn looms had been set up to weave beautiful tribal cloths and clothes. The refugees always arrived at the interviews in their "Sunday best" of wonderful homemade outfits. I wished that they could have brought their looms with them when they migrated, but perhaps someone was able to recreate them in Canada. We spent our evenings preparing notes on our files (cutting and pasting from Word because the connection to our case-processing database, "remote CAIPS", was too slow) and reading the 100 or so emails a day. On our last night, our new UNHCR representative, Pook, and the Thai interpreters treated us to a delicious Thai meal in the village. On the way back we stopped in Mae Hong, where I bought a fishing basket and the guys bought blankets at the



Loom in Mae La Oon Refugee Camp, Thailand, February 2006

<u>Karen Women's Centre</u>. The trip back to Singapore with the 800 files, my own luggage, and a large fishing basket via a domestic flight from Chiang Mai and a change in terminals at the old Bangkok airport was no picnic—and there were overweight luggage charges to boot!

Over the next few months, I received Richard's and Doug's case notes, coordinated with IOM—the organizers of the counselling sessions and travel to Canada for the refugees—and set up an Excel chart to track cases by family composition, age, destination, etc. We received most of the medical results by June 2006, although there was a higher-than-average number of people whose progress toward resettlement was delayed because they were "furthered" for more tests to check for inactive tuberculosis. One of my objectives was to ensure that not only extended families stayed together, but friends as well. At the interviews I had the officers ask if there was any other refugee the person or family would like to come to the same city, as well as whether they knew anyone in Canada—few did in 2006. I figured that after 10 to 20 years in camps, having a friendly face would go a long way to happy resettlement.

I set up a large chart on the wall in my office to track these cases. Under the names of cities that the Refugee Resettlement Branch told us were willing to take refugees from Myanmar, we put the file numbers with the number of people they had agreed to take. There was also a column for such details as gender or ages of children that the city may have requested. The physical files were scattered in piles around my office. I also relied on an Excel chart that contained the UNHCR file number, our file number, the principal applicant's name (first then last when possible), the number of persons in the household, any special program codes such as AWR (Women at Risk), the languages spoken by one or more family members, comments concerning education, and information about any cross-referenced refugee case file numbers for purposes of coordinating settlement and potential. In addition to the government-sponsored refugees, we also interviewed and selected a number of resettlement applications made under the Joint Assistance Program and the Women at Risk Program who would need extra settlement help. These applications also had to be tracked to ensure that extended families were not separated. By mid-June, I had 500 people ready to match with Canadian destinations. With the excellent help of Nelly Seet, our refugee program assistant, we were able to send out the designated matching requests (DMRs) by the end of June 2006. By mid-August, visas were issued to everyone other than the cases requiring sponsors in Canada. However, in September a combination of flooding that turned the exit roads from the camps into a sea of mud and an outbreak of conjunctivitis meant that flights had to be rescheduled.

Building on the success of the 2006 movement and recognizing that many more Karen refugees in remote camps needed resettlement, the Refugees Branch of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) advised us that we should be prepared to process 2,000 more Karen refugees in 2007. Two new elements assisted us with this much larger movement. First, CIC and the UNHCR had developed a new method for selecting a group of refugees with common protection and durable solution needs: "The Group Processing Initiative"2. Refugee groups that were relatively homogeneous, situated in a restricted area such as a refugee camp, and in urgent need of protection would be identified for "group processing", meaning individual members of the group would not be required to prove that they were refugees as defined under the *UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (the eligibility decision): the group as a whole would be designated as eligible. This allowed interviewers to focus on the admissibility aspects of refugee determination. This initiative had been introduced first with Somali and Sudanese refugees in camps in Kenya in 2006. With the assistance of Richard and the UNHCR, I completed a detailed form from headquarters that resulted in the Karen refugees being the second group designated for the group initiative in the history of the program. The second thing that made a big difference was that we were informed that we would get additional resources, including temporary duty officers, to select and process the refugees in the camps.



Presenter is refugee David Soba who invented energy-saving briquettes. Author's photo of ADM Malcolm Brown's visit to Mae Sot refugee camp, Thailand, April 2007

In October 2006, CIC's Director of Refugee Resettlement Rick Herringer and Assistant Deputy Minister Malcolm Brown came to Thailand to see firsthand the Karen refugee situation. They met with UNHCR and IOM officials as well as with camp committee members at Mae Hong Son camp before touring Mae La camp. Both camps were near Mai Seriang. Because of the impassable mud roads in the rainy season, we were unable to get to Mai La Oon. At Mae La we met a very resourceful man, David Soba3, who had worked in the camp for 10 years. A Karen, he had studied mechanical engineering in Germany, returned to Myanmar, and been resettled in the U.S. He had invented a cooking briquette made from banana leaves and returned to teach self-sufficiency to Myanmar villagers.

By mid-December 2006, we received the electronic files for the 2007 intake from the UNHCR and created the paper files in Singapore. Many of these new applicants were relatives of the 2006 intake, and we had to cross-reference their

files to the old cases and sort out discrepancies in the data on families. As there are no formal date-of-birth system in the Karen culture and no birth records, we guessed applicants' birth details in many cases. We also ran into a complication

with those refugees who had previously been "medically furthered" and were now cleared to fly to Canada in February. Medical Services informed us that the medical clearances were valid only for nine months from the date of the initial examination, but only after flights had been booked. Without valid medical clearances, these refugees could not have been admitted to Canada. Thanks to IOM, we got most of them to Canada before the end of January 2007, when their medical clearances would have expired. At the same time, we were able to issue visas for our "One-Year Window" refugees, family members who were identified at the time of application but could not be processed then as they were not in the camps.

At the end of January 2007, our new refugee selection team arrived in Singapore: Gerald Degenhardt, Shelley Duffin, Omid Maani, and Emina Tudakovic. Over the next few days they were able to prepare their electronic and refugee files



Emina Tudakovic interviewing in Mai La Oon refugee camp, February 2007

for their trip, as well as Richard's files, because he was still in Bangkok. On 4 February, we lugged the files to the Singapore airport, met Richard and two of his local staff from the Canadian embassy in Bangkok, and flew to Chiang Mai, where we again picked up two vehicles and drove to Mae Seriang. Instead of the UNHCR drivers, who were not available, we hired local drivers. Big mistake. This time it took three and a half hours to get to Mae La Oon camp.



Officers, interpreters, and drivers at Mai Lai Refugee Camp, Thailand, February 2007

The refugee cases were more complex, with more security issues, abused women, and several withdrawals. We were able to work on our case notes at the hotel but had to walk into town to an internet café to read emails because the hotel had no internet services. After two days at Mae La Oon camp, we went to Mae Ra Ma Luang camp, leaving our hotel at 5:00 a.m., and arriving at 7:30 a.m., to select another group of UNHCR-referred Karen refugees. This camp had better facilities, and we held our interviews on both floors of a large community centre. One of my interviews was an elderly man in an emerald-coloured hat who spoke very good English and who wanted to talk to all of us. He was so friendly that when destinationmatching time came, I destined him and his extended family to Newfoundland, home of the friendliest people I'd ever met. By the end of the week, we had interviewed 1,850 people and made four trips in and out of the camps, and we all booked massages on our return to Chiang Mai!

The team stayed for another few days in Singapore to complete their file notes. Richard also came to Singapore to assist in the processing of privately sponsored (PSR) and visa-office referred (VOR) cases. Private sponsors, in both cases, would have been responsible for financial and settlement assistance. Of the 1,812 refugees approved from the entire group, 213 were referred for PSR/VOR, but 109 of them were converted back to government-sponsored refugees as we were not able to find enough sponsors.

By April 2007, we had most of the 1,800 government-sponsored refugees matched to destinations and 200 privately, visareferred, and joint-assistance sponsored refugees processed. Again, Nelly Seet did an outstanding job of keeping the cases straight and managing the paperwork, and I nominated her for a CIC Deputy Minister's Award, which she won. This time the physical chart took up three walls of my office because we had destinations across Canada offering places. It became complicated on several occasions, however, when I had to move extended families to other destinations because one member of one family was medically furthered. As before, the objective was to keep extended families and friends together in the same community, but this time we also wanted to ensure that people were reunited with friends and family who went to Canada in 2006.

By the time I left Singapore in July 2007, of the 1,812 Karen refugees we were processing in 2007, we had managed to issue 582 of the 1,999 visas for departure by mid-August.4 Learning from the previous year, our goal was to get the approved refugees out of the camps before the rainy season started. Of the 2,600 Karen selected in 2006 and 2007, 2,221 Karen arrived in Canada by 31 December 2007. In the end, over the two-year period of 2006-2007, Singapore and Bangkok achieved over 10 percent of Canada's global resettlement targets, with no additional permanent staff to handle

the increased workload. However, without the help of Richard Anderson and the temporary duty officers provided for the 2007 movement, we could not have achieved this goal.

Louis Dumas took over the Singapore immigration program manager's job in the summer of 2007, and he and his team finalized the rest of the cases. Under his direction, another 1,300 refugees were selected in 2008, but they were unable to travel to Canada until 2009 because of a coup in Thailand in 2008 and a major typhoon that devastated Myanmar. Canada eventually resettled 3,900 Karen refugees from Thailand between 2006 and 2009, as well as Bhutanese from Nepal in 2008. In total, Canada took more than 7,000 refugees from this area during the four years of 2006-2009.

Czech Refugees in Cold War Canada Book Review Part Two

Martina Stvan

This article continues the book review published in Bulletin 92, March 2020.

Martina Stvan came to Canada as a refugee from Czechoslovakia, arriving with her parents in 1968 after being accepted by officers at our embassy in Vienna. She joined Canada's immigration foreign service in 1989 and spent the early years of her career assessing applications from Hong Kongers applying to Canada following the events of Tian'anmen Square and from Indochinese refugees in camps in Indonesia. She is currently posted to New Delhi.

Czech Refugees in Cold War Canada was written by Jan Raska and published in 2018 by the University of Manitoba Press as part of its Studies in Immigration and Culture.

The First Wave of Czech Refugees: "the 1948ers"

At the end of the Second World War, Czech community organizations in Canada were intent on cultivating their ethnic heritage for future generations, promoting Canadian citizenship to their members, and providing post-war aid to Czechoslovakia. Communism's advent in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 created a new wave of refugees, "the 1948ers". The Canadian Czech community supported the return of democracy in their home country to alleviate the plight of these political refugees.

By the spring of 1948, several thousand Czechs had crossed into American or British zones in occupied Germany. The Canadian government viewed these individuals' resettlement positively. The Canadian Delegation, Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization, Geneva wrote in a telegram to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, (now Global Affairs Canada) that they were "people who share our ideals and who, over the years, would contribute richly to our national life".1

The Canadian Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees was founded at the urging of the Department of External Affairs. This unofficial group of humanitarians included <u>Senator Cairine Wilson</u> and Bernard Keble Sandwell, the editor-in-chief of *Saturday Night* magazine, and was supported by prominent Czech refugees in Canada. Its aim was to assist legally admitted displaced persons and refugees of Czechoslovak origin to obtain employment and housing and facilitate their settlement and integration into Canadian society. The fund also solicited financial contributions to procure food, supplies, and medicine for individuals in Austrian, German, and Italian displaced-persons camps.

No government assistance existed at that time to support refugees on their arrival in Canada. The fund and various Canadian Czechoslovak organizations filled the void, sponsoring hundreds of displaced persons and refugees living in European camps and vouching for their reliability as desirable immigrants. Czech groups in Canada also lobbied parliamentarians to increase the number of family reunification and private sponsorships. They argued that Canada would lose many recent Czechoslovak immigrants if their relatives could not join them, as many were unable to afford the deposit required for sponsorship.

¹ The article from which I took these statistics was an IOM tool for Settlement Workers prepared by the U.K. Country Office in Bangkok Thailand in May 2006, but I cannot find it online anymore. It was provided to me in Word form by CIC.

² Assessment of the Karen Refugee Resettlement Initiative in 2006 and 2007 prepared by Resettlement Division (Refugees Branch) and Refugee Program Delivery Unit (Operations Management and Coordination Branch) CIC March 2009.

³ This information comes from my daily diary at the time.

⁴ Another 296 persons had passed their medical screening and were waiting for responses on their destinations in Canada, with departure from Thailand by the beginning of September. The remaining 891 were in various stages of processing: 148 applicants had received the papers to undergo their medical tests but had not yet seen the doctors; and the others required further medical review (mostly for inactive tuberculosis) or were dependants in applications with family members medically furthered.

Canadian officials were cautious, waiting for confirmation from immigration officers that the new arrivals' health was good and that they were interested in Canada. Tomas Bata visited the camps and asked Canadian officials to resettle between 500 and 700 desirable individuals who had previous agricultural experience. In the end, nearly 5,000 Czechoslovaks arrived in Canada. Many were selected based on their skills and abilities—university education and technical training—and willingness to sign a one-year farm labour agreement. They were also required to take a physical exam that included sit-ups and a distance run. Many were forced to accept unskilled and menial jobs in Canada, their education and skills notwithstanding, and many opted to move to cities at the end of their one-year farm labour contracts.

This group of 1948ers consisted of pro-democracy and anti-communist politicians, diplomats, intellectuals, clergy, professionals, workers, and students whose reasons for leaving their homeland were not homogeneous. Raska writes that some fled the possibility of torture and imprisonment or lack of social mobility, while others chose to leave out of a sense of adventure and opportunity. In Canada they found a space to defend their anti-communist beliefs, anti-Soviet sentiments, and Western democratic values which fit into the Cold War notion of the anti-communist "freedom fighter" struggling to liberate his homeland from communism.

The first refugees for whom the one-year labour contract was waived were university students. Twenty-four arrived in Canada as part of a group of displaced persons classified as Catholic orphans, close relatives, students, and minors, and they were granted International Students' Services Scholarships. Canadian immigration officials considered anti-communist refugee students as desirable immigrants. Canada had not signed the 1951 Refugee Convention, fearing that doing so would lead to the infiltration of communist party agents and would hamper deportation of individuals deemed security threats. Instead, the Convention was used as a framework and the *ad hoc* approach of issuing Orders in Council continued.

Communism in Czechoslovakia and Anti-communism in Canada

Fear of being labelled a communist or Soviet spy influenced how this 1948 group navigated the norms of their new country during the Cold War. Czechoslovakia, suffering a shortage of postwar manpower and skilled labour, began a propaganda campaign to attract compatriots living abroad to return to their home country. As Raska documents, Czechoslovak army security intelligence and Minister of Defence agents were stationed abroad to try to infiltrate Czech communities and blackmail Czechs into returning home. The Czech government announced several amnesties promising a pardon for the criminal offence of leaving Czechoslovakia illegally. It attempted to recruit members of the Canadian Czechoslovak community to spy on each other. An article published in 1955 wrote of an alleged spy ring in Toronto that split the Czech community between ardent anti-communist newcomers, who broke the story and petitioned the Canadian government to expel certain Czech diplomats, and the "old-timers", who were embarrassed by the unnecessary negative attention the story brought to the Czechoslovak community and who feared that relations between Ottawa and Prague would suffer.

By 1952, legal emigration from Czechoslovakia ground to a halt as the communist authorities stopped issuing passports and exit visas to would-be *émigrés*, even those sponsored by relatives in the West, identifying emigration as an act of betrayal of the state. Those who left were considered traitors; their relatives and friends in Czechoslovakia were often denied access to university study, career advancement, and travel abroad. Following the events of 1956 in Hungary, the Czech community in Canada came to realize that communism would not be easily defeated and that their stay in Canada would not be temporary. They began to assimilate more completely.

The Second Wave of Czech Refugees: "the 1968ers"

By the 1960s, some members of the Czech diaspora began to question the *raison d'être* of their ethnic organizations. Were not most of them assimilated into the Canadian way of life, particularly the second generation? Why were they striving so strongly to keep a bit of the Old-World culture alive in this modern New World community? Discussions of multiculturalism at the federal level were only just beginning. Czech community associations found some cohesion and purpose following the events of 1968, but issues of assimilation and dwindling membership continued.

Czech President Novotny's official visit to Canada in 1967 did not sit well with Czechoslovaks in Canada. Despite years of Canadian government lobbying and efforts by diplomats posted to Prague, relations with the communist regime showed little progress in resolving enduring issues: lack of legal emigration, keeping separated family members including spouses and children apart; stonewalling compensation for nationalized property; and refusal to transfer estate inheritances and proceeds of sales of assets to beneficiaries in Canada. Nevertheless, the Czechoslovak National Association decided to "do our duty as loyal citizens of Canada on the occasion of its centenary and so we appeal to all Slovaks and Czechs to be composed and dignified and permit a correct reception...". However, the ensuing press controversy when the President was asked whether political prisoners had built some of the displays at Expo 67 and if he had concluded a secret agreement to suppress defections among Expo 67 personnel put paid to those pragmatic sentiments and highlighted the rift between the "old-timer" Czech community and the anti-communist 1948ers.

An estimated 80,000 Czechs were abroad in August 1968 when the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia took place. With the borders relatively open in the immediate aftermath, many hundreds of others received permission to "vacation" in Yugoslavia or, with an invitation from a relative or friend in Western Europe, were able to secure exit permits for a holiday and never returned. Many crossed into Austria and West Germany, where camps were set up. By late September, the Canadian embassy in Vienna was inundated with applications and requests. Interestingly, the United States did not have a special program, and so Canada, Australia, and New Zealand became the preferred destinations. The UNHCR at first hesitated to label these Czechoslovaks as refugees, for fear of creating an "artificial refugee problem" and hampering their prospects if they decided to return home later.

In contrast, Canada's Department of Manpower and Immigration (now Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada) referred to them as refugees in an effort to expedite their admission to Canada. Canada still did not have an active refugee policy nor was it a signatory to the UN Refugee Convention, so *ad hoc* measures were once again used to facilitate this group's resettlement. Canada drew on experiences with the 1956 Hungarian emergency program and developed a special program for refugees from Czechoslovakia that relaxed immigration criteria, waived the possession of a travel permit, and concluded medical examinations and criminal record checks in Canada. The government sponsored chartered flights to Canada and provided travel loans. Once arrived, newcomers received financial assistance for accommodation and living expenses, medical and dental coverage, and English/French language training as they entered the workforce. Various Czech associations also assisted with accommodation, furniture, and clothing. In smaller communities, other Canadians temporarily hosted newcomers. According to the author, staying with Anglo-Saxon families was promoted as a way for the Czech refugees to quickly learn Canadian culture, customs, and the English language, although it remains unclear how many accepted this arrangement. As one whose family did stay for a few weeks in the home of a Canadian family in Windsor, Ontario, I can vouch that this arrangement was used and has provided amusing anecdotes to this day about our first experiences living in a suburban house with a backyard, a pet dog who escaped the watchful eye of my mother who had no experience with pets, and our introduction to Hallowe'en.

The special program remained in effect until January 1969. After this date, Czechoslovak applications were considered under normal immigration criteria and new arrivals were eligible for limited government assistance for retraining, but not for financial, residential, or language assistance.

In contrast to the 1948ers who had fled communism as an ideology, the 1968ers were fleeing communism as a lived reality. Canada resettled 12,000. Scholars remain divided over Canada's reasons. Was it for economic benefit and self-interest, as these were young, well-educated professionals? Was it an attempt by Ottawa to embarrass the Soviet Union for ideological reasons? Advocates for the rights of refugees criticized the federal government for playing into Cold War politics and ignoring individuals fleeing right-wing regimes. According to Raska, more recent scholarship suggests that Ottawa believed it had to intervene on humanitarian grounds, bringing well-educated refugees to Canada who did not pose a security threat to Canadian society.

Raska's book further observes that in the West, the rise of counterculture and radical political agitation was occurring at a time when anti-communist hysteria was widespread and when espionage by Western and European intelligence agencies was extensive. It was thought that this group of Czech refugees could bolster the conservative Cold War consensus against the "left" in Canada, which opposed Western imperialism and American-led efforts in the Vietnam War. Indeed, Raska shows that the Czech community was suspicious of anti-war protesters and remained supportive of American-led attempts to defend democratic values. The international community's promotion of *détente* also troubled many anti-communist Czechs. The community was deeply concerned about Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's visit to the U.S.S.R. in 1971, fearing that Canada's rapprochement with the Soviets would be interpreted as tolerance for Moscow's occupation of Czechoslovakia and the continued suppression of individual freedoms and human rights.

Raska writes that in the mid-1970s, the Department of Manpower and Immigration conducted a study of the economic and social adaptation of refugees from Czechoslovakia. It found that Prague Spring refugees worked longer and earned more than did other immigrants who arrived in Canada during the same period. Many adapted successfully to Canada's culture and economy, perceived of Canada as their new home, and identified themselves as Canadian—more than the average immigrant of that period.

The Third Wave of Czech Refugees: The Self-exiled Class

The third wave of Czech refugees came in the 1970s and 1980s, usually via Yugoslavia and Austria or West Germany. With the creation in 1979 of the designated class of immigrants, Czechoslovaks who did not meet the UN refugee convention definition could be admitted to Canada under the Eastern European self-exiled class and be assisted through a sponsorship agreement with the Czechoslovak National Association of Canada. By the mid-1980s, many defections were occurring during routine flight stopovers at Mirabel and Gander. The numbers quoted by Raska show that in the first

six months of 1989, 251 people requested refugee status in Canada. To curb the number of defections and to prevent public or political controversy from what appeared to be an uncontrolled immigration system, immigration officials imposed stricter procedures and financial penalties on carriers, but this did not prevent Czech refugees from hiding in airport bathrooms or rushing to the nearest federal official or RCMP officer to claim asylum. The Immigration and Refugee Board granted refugee status to approximately two thirds of these claimants. During the 1980s, just under 10,000 Czech newcomers arrived in Canada, over 80 percent in a refugee class. In 1990 the Eastern European self-exiled refugee class was eliminated.

Raska notes that this last wave of Cold War Czechoslovak refugees continued the anti-communist and democratic agenda that began with the 1948ers and 1968ers. As abuses of human rights and repression of civil liberties continued to be exposed by Western media outlets and by recently arrived refugees, Canadian Czechoslovak community institutions and their elites used these issues to pressure the Canadian government into promoting democratic values with Soviet and Czechoslovak officials. These actions fully supported Canada's democratic culture during the Cold War. But as members of these sociocultural groups aged, many of them turned their attention to preserving their ancestral language, history, and culture for future generations.

Multicultural Integration in Canada

There is a study in Raska's book that I found most interesting; it is by sociologist Jarmila Horna, who surveyed immigrants from Czechoslovakia in Alberta in 1983. The majority of respondents considered themselves to have a distinct dual Canadian and Czech or Slovak ethnicity. They compartmentalized their identities so that in the private sphere they emphasised the culture and language of their former country, but outside the home these same individuals espoused a Canadian identity in which they participated in Canadian arts and purchased Canadian literature and music. In the public sphere they considered themselves to be Canadian with a strong preference for the upper-middle-class culture of English Canada and a diminished interest in providing an education in the Czech or Slovak languages to successive generations. This emphasis on participating within a broader multicultural Canada came at the detriment of participating in community organizations that depended on their support to continue cultivating a Czechoslovak heritage in Canada.

These findings lead me to a contradiction in Raska's conclusions that I have been unable to resolve. On the one hand, he states that many of the 1968ers who supported a Czechoslovak identity joined Canadian Czechoslovak institutions, strengthening the anti-communist identity of many 1948ers. The virulent anti-communist and anti-Soviet sentiment displayed by many Czech refugees not only influenced their post-immigration culture in Canada but also shaped the lobbying efforts of Czechoslovak institutions as they continued to oppose the communist regime in their old homeland.

On the other hand, Raska also describes this same group of 1968ers and those who arrived in the 1970s and 1980s as more likely to be "apolitical". With their strong anti-communist spirit, Canadian Czechoslovak institutions found it increasingly difficult to attract these recently arrived Czech refugees even though many of them would read Canadian Czech- and Slovak-language newspapers and magazine for news about their community.

Notwithstanding the work of the notable novelist Josef Skvoretsky and his wife Zdena Salivarová, who founded the Czech dissident publishing house Sixty-Eight Publishers in Toronto, my own sense is that the majority of Czech refugees in Canada belong to the apolitical description. Had I grown up in Toronto or Montreal, perhaps I would have been aware of the existence and activities of the Czech community organizations described in the book. Or perhaps, as Raska notes among his conclusions, following the introduction of official multiculturalism in 1971, newcomers were less involved in the anti-communist agenda and preferred to support the creation of Czechoslovak heritage in Canada for successive generations, even as they worked at becoming Canadian themselves. Ultimately, adherence to democratic values, opposition to communism in Czechoslovakia, cultivation of Czechoslovak ethnocultural heritage, and facility with the English and French languages accelerated Czech refugees' socioeconomic and political assimilation into Canadian society during the Cold War.

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¹ The International Refugee Organization (the precursor to the UNHCR) determined that individuals who fled Czechoslovakia between 1 February 1948 and 1 October 1950 were defined as political refugees. It was not until 1951 and the *UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* for the refugee definition to be expanded to include individuals who fled as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951.

Displaced Persons, the Beginning of the Cold War, and the Origin of the International Organization for Migration

Dr. Brian Gushulak

Brian Gushulak spent most of his professional life working in the field of health and population mobility. He was an immigration medical officer for Health Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), Director of Medical Services for the International Organization for Migration, and Director General of Medical Services Branch at CIC. His research interests have focused on the relationships between health and migration.

Even before I began to work for the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in the 1990s, I wondered why the world had two separate international organizations dealing with refugees and migrants. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the progenitor of the IOM originated within months of each other in response to the same events. Both were initially focused on populations in Europe, and their initial memberships were superficially similar. Both were created to assist displaced populations in post-World War II Europe, but each took a different approach, heavily influenced by the increasingly fractious relationship between the communist and non-communist worlds that led to the Cold War.

The International Refugee Organization

The story of how the international community of the 1930s and 1940s attempted to deal with refugees in Europe is too long for this article, but those who are interested can research the history of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees₁ (created in 1938) and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration₂ (formed in 1943) for more details.

In December 1946 the newly created United Nations founded the International Refugee Organization (IRO) to facilitate the administration and management of post-war refugees in Europe. The IRO was intended to replace the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration that the Allied nations had established in 1943. The new organization was intended to function for only a few years. Reflecting the immediate post-war politics of the time, the IRO's constitution specifically excluded from its mandate "persons of German ethnic origin" who had been forced from other parts of Europe into Germany. As explained below, this population was larger than all of the other displaced Europeans.

Displaced Populations in Europe

There is a general belief that the millions of displaced persons and refugees in Europe at the end of World War II were simply the result of that conflict; however, many of the demographic forces that created them go back much further.

Changes in the national borders of Europe related to conflicts in the 19th and 20th centuries were often accompanied by population movements intended to make newly acquired territory more ethnically or linguistically homogeneous with the ruling nation. The redrawing of many borders in central and eastern Europe after World War I augmented the flow and displacement of millions of people because of ethnicity or national affiliation. The Russian Revolution and civil war resulting from the creation of the Soviet Union pushed many more people from their homes. The number of ethnic Germans residing outside Germany and Austria ("Volksdeutsche") prior to World War II has been estimated to be in the range of 30 million people, many of whom lived in Eastern and Central Europe.

Subsequent Nazi German expansion in Europe—first through political and then military means—provided additional pressure for population redistribution. Nazi plans included the expropriation of additional "living space" for Germans in crowded cities and others who had previously emigrated from the homeland. Families and communities were to be resettled into occupied territories, particularly in Poland and areas seized in the western Soviet Union,6 once the residents had been expelled or killed. In addition to ethnic Germans, citizens and residents of several nations served in the Nazi military.7 Furthermore, Nazi occupation encouraged those opposed to the previous governments to express their views and collaborate openly.

In turn, those who had displayed anti-Soviet sentiments during the period of Nazi occupation risked retaliation as Soviet forces advanced. As the tide of war turned, these people flowed back into Germany with the retreating Nazi forces.8 They were joined by others who feared or were unwilling to live under the auspices of the Soviet Union and other eastern European communist governments.

By 1950, hundreds of thousands of these displaced people—who had moved or been displaced through the actions of Nazi Germany or by the extension of influence of the Soviet Union—remained in Germany and other western European nations.

The Cold War

For those of us living in the 1950s, the "Cold War"—the dialectic interface between the communist "East" and democratic "West" that dominated global geopolitics—was a fact of life. The world was clearly divided into two camps of opposing economic and political philosophies, though only a decade earlier, those camps had been allied against a common foe. There is no specific date for the declaration of the Cold War; it developed through a series of events. The tone was set on 5 March 1946 in Fulton, Missouri. Winston Churchill, Britain's war-time leader and then the Leader of the Opposition in the United Kingdom, delivered a speech to Westminster College (a private, at the time male only, liberal arts college). Reflecting Churchill's persistent concerns with communist expansion, the speech contained phrases which became hallmarks of the next decades, in particular "the special relationship" between the United Kingdom and the United States, and the term "iron curtain".

The Berlin Blockade

In June 1948, the Soviet Union blocked all surface access to west Berlin in response to the Marshall Plan's impact in western Europe and the introduction of a single currency in occupied Germany including Berlin. Incapable of forcing a military ground access to the western part of the city, the U.S. and U.K. began to supply it by air in what became known as the Berlin Airlift. The airlift continued for nearly a year. In May 1949, as it became apparent the airlift could continue indefinitely, the Soviet Union lifted the blockade. 10 The blockade is considered one of first major events of the Cold War. It was during the blockade that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was created.

The "Loss" of China

By the end of World War II, Manchuria—annexed earlier by Japan during the Sino-Japanese conflict—was occupied by the Soviet Union. Soviet forces withdrew by the early summer of 1946, and acquiring that area became an important goal of both the Nationalist and Communist Chinese factions. American plans to mediate peace between the two factions under the direction of General George Marshall (of Marshall Plan fame) failed, and the U.S. basically left the Chinese to settle their differences militarily.11

In autumn 1948, Nationalist Chinese forces were decisively defeated in a series of campaigns in Manchuria. These losses led to the ultimate collapse of the Nationalists' military capacity and their withdrawal to Taiwan. On 1 October 1949, the People's Republic of China was proclaimed. The "loss" of one of World War II's allied nations to communism increased anti-communist sentiment.

As the 1940s ended, the powerful alliance that had developed to defeat fascism was itself separating on ideological, political, and military levels. One of the "Big Five" allies, the Soviet Union, effectively occupied a swath of Baltic, Balkan, and eastern European countries. Another, China, now had a communist government. The Korean conflict, which exploded with the invasion of the southern part of that partitioned nation in June of 1950, further deepened the divide between the communist East and the "free world" West and affected all of their interactions. Determining how the world would deal with large numbers of displaced people would reflect those differences.

The End of the International Refugee Organization

It was clear that the work of dealing with displaced populations would not be finished by the date of the scheduled demise of the IRO in 1950. Consequently, at the end of 1949, the United Nations undertook to replace the IRO with another organization to address the needs of refugee populations that was, again, expected to finish its work in three years. That new organization, the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) began operations on 1 January 1951.13 It was given a mandate to define and protect the legal rights of refugees, coordination, and provision of protection, repatriation and if necessary, resettlement.14 The UNHCR's mandate did not address the broader demographic problem of post-war Europe, which included many more displaced individuals than those who would be assisted by the new UN refugee agency. Some in Europe thought that this "surplus labour" could impede the economic development of western Europe by burdening host nations, while some politicians worried that large numbers of those out of work might be susceptible to communist influence and destabilize recovering states.

Competing Strategies for Dealing with Non-refugee Populations in Europe

In 1951, diplomatic options were developed for dealing with the remaining displaced population in Europe. The International Labour Organization (ILO) prepared an ambitious and long-range plan to manage migration (both the displaced and labour components) through a centralized unit to be created within that organization. An international governing body resting in the ILO would be supported with a Migration Aid Fund to assist the movement of people.

While integrated and forward-looking, this strategy presented concerns to nations with large immigration programs and policies, namely the U.S., U.K., Canada, Australia, and South American countries. While supporting an international approach to dealing with refugees, through the UNHCR, they preferred to manage their immigration activities directly

through bilateral or regional channels. Additionally, they were concerned that an international immigration bureaucracy would be both expensive and a possible challenge to their sovereignty over immigrant selection.

Naples Conference

In October 1951, the ILO organized a conference to plan for the establishment of an administration to deal with migration. 15 The intent of the meeting was to accept the plan and create the Migration Administration and the Migration Aid Fund in a manner that would allow the ILO to host "an operating migration programme on the scale deemed necessary to effect solution of current European migration problems and to meet immigration needs in other parts of the world".

Conference attendees learned that Europe held a "surplus" of nearly 5,000,000 people. The ILO's proposed administration would develop policies and processes to assist in the movement of these people. This work would be supported by the above-mentioned aid fund, again internationally supported. The ILO administrative unit would be facilitated through the offices and vessels of the soon-to-be-disbanded IRO, which, according to the proposal, would be rolled into the ILO's new unit.

Conference participants took issue with the scope and cost of a new permanent bureaucracy for what was then only a post-war surplus labour issue. Canada, the U.S., Australia, and Sweden abstained from the vote supporting the resolution. Argentina was opposed, and several South American nations reserved their positions on some aspects of the resolution. The Naples conference ended without adopting the ILO's resolution. Behind the scenes, however, domestic political actions in the U.S. had a major effect on the outcome.

The U.S. Mutual Security Act

During this time, the increasing ideological divide between East and West coupled with the conflict in Korea was having a profound impact on U.S. foreign policy. In October 1951, a new law, the *Mutual Security Act*, replaced the Marshall Plan. It provided funding and support, "authorizing military, economic, and technical assistance to friendly countries to strengthen the mutual security and individual and collective defenses of the free world".17 One of the new law's pillars was to counter and contain the spread of communism by prohibiting the use of any funds in or by communist nations. It allowed for the disbursement of some ten million dollars to support European migration, but the funds could not be used by organizations that included communist nations. 18 This restriction effectively torpedoed any U.S. involvement in multinational undertakings like the ILO proposal where communist states would be part of the administrative or operative processes. Given Europe's weak economic state, U.S. economic involvement was needed to support any new initiatives.

With the end of the IRO approaching and the continued presence of "surplus" populations in Western Europe, the "free world" needed another option.

Brussels Conference

Almost immediately following the Naples Conference, another conference with most of the same players took place, at the request of the U.S. government and convened by the Belgian government. Three days prior to the meeting, representatives from nine nations held an informal, preparative conference. 19 The aim of the "Conference on Migration", held in Brussels from 26 November to 5 December, was to resolve three issues: (1) the ethnic Germans expelled from other European nations (Volksdeutsche); (2) the "pressures of surplus population" in certain critical areas, especially in Italy and Germany; and (3) the flow of new refugees from behind the Iron Curtain to the West.

The initial U.S. presentation proposed the creation of a provisional, intergovernmental (as opposed to international) committee on migration to "facilitate the movement of migrants from Europe".20. Committee membership was open to all non-communist governments.

In the American proposal, IRO vessels would be taken over when that organization wound up. The "migrants" would be moved from Germany, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands, and Greece. The U.S. would contribute the ten million dollars authorized by the *Mutual Security Act* to the new committee's operating budget. Administrative costs would be shared by committee members as an obligatory requirement, but payments to the operating costs would be voluntary.

Discussions during the conference addressed the relationship between the new committee and other international organizations, the inclusion of refugees, and various administrative aspects. The resolution to create the committee was adopted on 5 December. The very next day, the newly created Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME) held its first meeting in Brussels. One year and four sessions later, continuing pressure to deal with "Europe's chronic surplus population problem"21 led PICMME to change its name to the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) and to continue activities to increase selection and transport services.

Such was the birth of the ICEM, the intergovernmental organization that eventually became the IOM. In 2016, the IOM joined the UN as a related organization.

The evolution of World War II allies into adversaries and political and military rivals had a profound influence on the diplomacy, structure, and nature of international activities designed to deal with the post-conflict demography of the times. The results can still be seen in global and international approaches to dealing with migrants, refugees, and mobile populations.

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Notes of Thanks from CIHS

In their continuing collaboration with CIHS, the Knowledge Management division of IRCC's Research and Evaluation group recently updated the on-line Bulletin research tool at http://cihs-shic.ca/research-past-issues/. This now allows editions right up to #92 (March 2020) to be searched. CIHS appreciates this contribution from the department!

Our Treasurer recently received a lovely surprise upon opening an envelope from the United Way. Instead of it being the expected solicitation, the envelope contained a cheque. Someone donated via the United Way's channels and specified that the donation (or a part thereof) be directed to the Canadian Immigration Historical Society. Accordingly, the United Way cut a cheque in our favour. A sincere thank you goes to the generous and anonymous individual.

¹ Estorick, E. The Evian Conference and the Intergovernmental Committee. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 1939; 203:136-141.

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⁹ The Sinews of Peace ("Iron Curtain Speech") Available from: URL: https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1946-1963-elder-statesman/the-sinews-of-peace/ Accessed May 12, 2020.

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Letter to the Editor

Bob Brack

Bob Brack was a visa officer from 1982 to 2012. His postings include New York, Guatemala City, San Jose, New Delhi, and Islamabad, as well as short-term assignments in Belgrade, Buffalo, London, Tel Aviv, and Caracas. At NHQ, his responsibilities included being Departmental Assistant to the Minister of Immigration and Director of Operations in Health Branch. After leaving the government, he was President and Chief Executive Officer of the Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council from 2012 to 2015. Prior to his foreign service career, he worked as a legislative assistant to the Hon. Jim Peterson, PC, MP, and was a researcher, motel front desk clerk, and taxi driver.

The story in the last Bulletin of former colleagues in New York City on 11 September 2001 reminded me of a similar experience I had on 7 July 2005, during six weeks of temporary duty at the Canadian High Commission's visa office in London. I was staying at a hotel near Holborn Station of the London Underground (also known as the Tube), by which I commuted to work.

My ride that morning was uneventful, foreshadowing nothing of what was to come less than an hour later. I worked in the non-immigrant section with a couple of locally engaged officers, sitting in a row of interview booths like those in most other visa offices. I don't recall the first sign that something was wrong, but I do recall that it was a relatively long time after the actual events. The first real clue was when someone came to say that my wife was on the phone, calling from Ottawa to see if I was okay. She told me that there were reports of bombings on the Tube and she knew that I rode it into the office. At that point, it was unclear that this incident was as big as it was. We had a waiting room full of applicants to interview, so we carried on doing that.

We didn't know exactly what had happened, but then we heard that the Tube and bus lines in central London and some train stations had been shut down. It was then very clear that this was a significant incident. We were told to wrap up our interviews as quickly as possible, which was easy, as most of the applicants had already left. The mission was then closed and staff was sent home.

I stayed behind in the mission for an hour or so to call home to family on the Canadian government's phone system, as by then the local phone systems were overwhelmed. I assured my wife that I was fine but was shocked of course when she told me what she was seeing and hearing on the news, as by then it was known that there were at least four suicide bombers. One of the Tube bombings was just one station away from Holborn and the later bus bombing was a 15-minute walk from my hotel.

I left the largely deserted mission about mid-afternoon and began to walk back to my hotel, about two and half kilometres away. Within a block or two, it was apparent that central London had become a ghost town. Everything was closed for fear of more terrorist attacks and because the Tube and buses had stopped running in central London. Most people who worked there lived in the suburbs, and almost all the businesses had closed early so that their staff could walk to the outer stations and catch transport to get home.

Not one of the shops on Oxford Street and Regent Street was open. Where usually there would be a few hundred people, there were maybe a dozen within sight when I entered Leicester Square. Even the McDonalds there was closed. Luckily for me, The Cork and Bottle, one of my favourite eating places, just off Leicester Square, was open, and that was where I had supper—alone except for the cook and one other person who entered just as I was leaving.

In the following days, services began to return to normal, aside from some Tube lines that remained closed for weeks. Notably, the level of security spiked in and around public places. During the remainder of my time there, it seemed to me that feelings of sadness and dread about what threats might come next hovered over the city.



Canadian Visa Offices Abroad: Fifty Years of Service Part Three 1970–1979

Gerry Maffre and Raph Girard

This is the third in a series about the locations of Canadian immigration or visa offices located outside our country. The accompanying chart shows where Canada provided immigration and visa services in particular countries, or to specific regions in that country, as well as additional services in neighbouring countries. The chart draws on the <u>Global Affairs Digital Library's</u> holdings of *Canadian Representatives Abroad* and assistance from the department's librarians. In years of multiple editions of *Representatives*, we used the first edition of the year.



Interview space, Pulau Bidong refugee camp, Malaysia (Credit: Margaret Tebbutt)

There were 69 visa offices, of which 28 delivered immigration services in almost 90 neighbouring countries. Visa offices were identified through several means. In some cases, the officers are known to the authors. In other cases, it was a listing of an immigration doctor, a separate visa office's street, or different Telex address at the mission's location that confirmed a visa office's existence.

This decade's compilation covers a time when many of the current CIHS board members were working in visa offices. Several questioned some of the dates in *Representatives*, over and above the differences in Professor Freda Hawkins's book *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern.* While *Representatives* remains the baseline source, the authors have corrected information where necessary to conform with board members' memories of visa offices in which they served and information on old assignment documents for the period 1973-1978. We have also noted the

variances with Hawkins, who had access to departmental records. Special thanks are extended to Charlene Elgee and Robert Shalka for their help in identifying visa offices, especially those in Germany.

In the late fall of 1972, Ottawa decided to standardize diplomatic titles of staff abroad. As a consequence, visa officers recruited as foreign service officers (FSOs) were granted diplomatic or consular titles commensurate with their occupational grade and years of service abroad or in grade. This same approach was used for officers in the departments of foreign affairs and trade and commerce. At the same time, it was decided that the functional title of FSO visa officers abroad should be "Manpower and Immigration", a label which disappeared from *Representatives* by 1976. This same year sees, for the first time, a married immigration officer, Shirley Lavoie, identified in *Representatives* by the civil title of "Mrs.".

Lest readers think that visa officers were always quartered in the comfort of embassies or consulates, the accompanying pictures of "offices" in the 1970s refugee camps of Southeast Asia tell a different story. In crisis situations or in the aftermath of natural disasters, very basic temporary offices were set up with minimal support services. More routinely, visa officers conducting interviews outside the office could meet applicants in neighbouring Canadian missions, hotels, other nations' diplomatic offices, or offices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (<u>UNHCR</u>) or the International Organization for Migration (<u>IOM</u>).

In the early 1970s, there was a second stage of visa office network adjustments, following that of the 1960s that led the immigration service to pare down the larger overseas area offices. They were replaced by smaller offices in more host countries, with a significant number of offices providing immigration services in adjacent countries. The examples of Nairobi and Abidjan stand out with their large territories. At the same time, regulatory changes were made so that applicants from the United States were no longer able to apply for immigration to Canada at the land border. Offices opened in several U.S. centres in this period to process and issue visas to American applicants before they could be admitted to Canada (as had been required of everyone else in the world for decades).

There was a lot going on in immigration in the 1970s. Deputy Minister Tom Kent's regulatory reforms of 1967 leveled the playing field for all would-be immigrants wherever they lived and also enabled foreign visitors in Canada to apply to remain as immigrants if they could meet the norms of selection. This opportunity, coupled with appeal rights available to anyone facing deportation from Canada, unintentionally opened a loophole which was exploited by thousands of applicants who flocked to Canada knowing that the growing size of the backlog of appeals at the Immigration Appeal



L-R: Office manager Roger St. Vincent, the first Ugandan to receive an immigrant visa, secretary Jolène Carrière, and Michael Molloy (Credit: St. Vincent's A Very Fortunate Life)

A more significant migration event for Canada in the 1970s arose from the collapse of nations in Southeast Asia and the consequent outflow of tens of thousands of refugees. The early years of Canada's resettlement of some 60,000 of these refugees is thoroughly documented in the Society's book Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1975-1980 (McGill Queen's University Press, 2017). Much on-line information about this movement exists on the CIHS website. Canadian efforts to resettle refugees from Southeast Asian refugee camps contributed to the many shifts in processing responsibilities in the region's visa offices. The resulting resettlement effort also led to many temporary office locations in refugee camps and the use of unusual means of transport to get to the offices—as the final photo illustrates.

Board would provide an indefinite stay whether they qualified or not. The government ended the ability to make in-Canada immigration applications but offered an adjustment-of-status program for those applicants whose appeals could not be heard (39,000 were accepted). The release of the "Green Paper" on immigration in 1975 led to national consultations, and a new *Immigration Act* in 1976, which was enacted in 1978. This new law enunciated the principal objectives of the program and obliged the minister to consult provinces each year and then announce immigration targets for the upcoming year. It also set the main categories of immigrants to be selected, including refugees.

Through the decade, Canada accepted about 1.4 million new arrivals, more of them being sponsored immigrants than skilled immigrants. This figure also included refugees from Tibet, Chile, and Central America, and Americans avoiding the draft. The decade also saw immigration agreements finalized between Canada and provinces of Nova Scotia and Quebec, which formalized their respective immigration selection mandates.

Between 1972 and 1974, Canada resettled some 8,000 Ugandans of Asian origin after they were expelled from Uganda. The photograph on the left shows the first of those 8,000 visas being issued by two immigration officers and a secretary dispatched to Kampala to help. An intimate look at Canada's immigration response to Idi Amin's 1972 expulsion of Ugandan Asians can be found in Roger St. Vincent's book *A Very Fortunate Life* starting on page 195.



Visa officials and others en route to Pulau Bidong camp by boat (Credit: Margaret Tebbutt)

¹ Starting in the 1970s, the online index often has one year listed but a few succeeding years contained thereunder.

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
AFRICA		
Cairo*, Egypt	1970-1979	Libya 1976-1978; Sudan 1974-1979
Abidjan*, Ivory Coast	1976-1979	1976-1979: Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mauritania, Senegal
Nairobi*, Kenya	1974-1979	Officers first deployed to this new office put its opening as late 1972 or early 1973. Burundi 1979; Comoros 1977-1979; Ethiopia 1974-1979; Madagascar 1974-1979; Malawi 1975-1979; Mauritius 1975-1979; Mozambique 1977-1979; Rwanda 1979; Seychelles 1976-1979; Somalia 1975-1979; Tanzania 1974-1979; Uganda 1974-1979 (temporary office Kampala 5 September-11 November/response to 1972 expulsion of Ugandan Asians); Zaire 1979; Zambia 1974-1979
South Africa Pretoria*	1977-1979	Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Namibia, Zimbabwe
Cape Town	1978	
AMERICAS		
United States of America Atlanta	1979	
Boston	1976-1979	
Buffalo	1973-1979	
Chicago	1970-1979	
Dallas	1974-1979	
Detroit	1973-1979	
Denver	1970 (only Hawkins)	
Los Angeles	1973-1979 (Hawkins: closed 1970)	
Minneapolis	1970, 1972-1979	
New Orleans	1973-1975	
New York City	1971-1979	
San Francisco	1974-1979	
Seattle	1974-1979	
San Francisco	1974-1979	

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
Buenos Aires*, Argentina	1972-1979	Brazil 1974-1979; Paraguay 1974-1979; Peru 1975; Uruguay 1974-1979; Venezuela 1976-1979
Bridgetown*, Barbados	1971-1979	Grenada 1976-1979
Santiago*, Chile	1974-1979	Officers assigned from other non-specified mission Bolivia 1976-1979; Peru 1976-1979
Bogota*, Colombia	1975-1979	Ecuador 1975-1979
Kingston*, Jamaica	1970-1979	Barbados 1974-1979
Port au Prince*, Haiti	1974-1979	
Mexico City*, Mexico	1979	El Salvador; Honduras; Nicaragua
Port of Spain*, Trinidad and Tobago	1970-1979	Barbados 1970; Guyana 1976-1979
ASIA – PACIFIC		
Sydney*, Australia	1970-1979	Fiji 1971-1979, New Guinea 1976-1979
Hong Kong*	1970-1979	Bangladesh 1973; China 1975-1979; Indonesia 1970-1974; Malaysia 1970-1974; Myanmar 1970-1972, 1975; Singapore 1970-1972; Thailand 1970-1972; Vietnam 1976-1979
New Delhi*, India	1970-1979	Bangladesh 1975-1979; Nepal 1970-1979; Sri Lanka 1970- 1979
Tokyo*, Japan	1970-1979	South Korea 1970-1974
Islamabad*, Pakistan	1970-1979	Afghanistan
Manila*, Philippines	1974-1979	
Singapore*	1974-1979	Bangladesh 1974; Indonesia 1975-1979; Laos 1976-1978; Malaysia 1975-1979; Myanmar 1974, 1976-1978; Thailand 1974-1979
Seoul*, South Korea	1973	Laos 1979; Myanmar 1979
Bangkok*, Thailand	1978	
EUROPE		
Vienna*, Austria	1970-1979	Poland 1975-1979; Lebanon 1970-1975. In 1976 Vienna was responsible for the temporary "Beirut" office in Limassol
Brussels*, Belgium	1970-1979	Luxembourg 1970-1979

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
Copenhagen*, Denmark	1970-1975	Iceland 1970-1976; Norway 1970-1975
Germany Berlin	1973-1976	Served from Cologne 1970-1973
Bonn*	1970-1979	
Hamburg	1970-1973 (Hawkins: closed 1970)	
Stuttgart	1974-1978	
France		
Paris*	1970-1979	Tunisia 1974-1979
Bordeaux*	1970-1979	
Marseille*	1970-1979	Monaco 1977-1979
Strasbourg	1975-1979	
Athens*, Greece	1970-1979	
Budapest*, Hungary	1970-1979	
Dublin*, Ireland	1970-1979	
Italy Rome*	1970-1979	Malta 1970-1979
Milan*	1970-1979	
The Hague*, Netherlands	1970-1979	
Warsaw*, Poland	1974-1979	German Democratic Republic 1977-1979
Portugal Lisbon*	1970-1979	
Porta Delgado	1970	
Belgrade*, Serbia	1970-1979	Romania 1970-1979; Turkey 1976-1979
Madrid*, Spain	1970-1979	
Stockholm*, Sweden	1970-1979	Iceland 1977-1979; Norway 1976-1979; Finland 1970-1979
Switzerland Berne*	1970-1979	
Geneva	1971-1972	Permanent Mission to UN Office, Geneva

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
United Kingdom London*	1970-1979	
Belfast	1970-1978	
Birmingham*	1970-1979	
Glasgow*	1970-1979	
Manchester	1970-1978	
MIDDLE EAST		
Tehran*, Iran	1976-1979	Kuwait 1976-1979; Saudi Arabia 1976-1979
Baghdad*, Iraq	1976-1979	
Tel Aviv*, Israel	1970-1979	Cyprus 1970-1979
Beirut*, Lebanon	1970-1979	Moved to Limassol 1976 Iran 1970-1975; Iraq 1970-1975; Jordan 1970-1979 (except 1976 Limassol); Kuwait 1970-1975; Saudi Arabia 1974-1975; Syria 1971-1979 (except 1976 Limassol); Turkey 1970-1975.

^{*}An asterisk after a city name in the chart indicates that the visa office was still open in 1980. Readers are invited to signal any errors or omissions in this chart to info@cihs-shic.ca.

In Memoriam

Allison, Helen

Edwina Wood and Wayne Hammond in consultation with Helen's "brother" Phil Jackman, and with a contribution from Susan Burrows



Helen was born in Grimsby, Lincolnshire in March 1940 and died in Nairobi in February 2020. In 1958 she joined the Women's Royal Naval Service. Offered a commission in 1962, she declined, quit the service, and went to work as a dental nurse in Blackpool. In 1963, she joined British United Airways as a stewardess. She moved to East African Airways in 1967 and remained with them until she was made redundant in 1970 as a result of EAA's program of Africanization. Helen remained in Nairobi, where she joined the British High Commission as an immigration clerk in 1972. She was recruited by the newly opened Canadian visa office in 1973 as the office receptionist. In 1975, she became an immigration program officer and remained in that position until her retirement in 1999.

When she was young, Helen enjoyed sailing, gliding, and scuba diving, and later became enthusiastic about cooking and gemology. She had a great sense of humour, naming her cat after

Sid Vicious of the Sex Pistols. In the 1980s, Helen bought a house in Winchester, thinking that she would ultimately retire there. Unfortunately, she suffered very badly from rheumatoid arthritis during her later years and never moved back to England, finding the climate and lifestyle in Nairobi more accommodating. Retirement in the U.K., moreover, would have meant no more trips to the Muthaiga Club for lunch or dinner!

Remembered by Michael Molloy

When I managed the Nairobi office in the late 1980s, we were blessed with outstanding local staff, but Helen was the backbone of the office. Our clients were mainly Kenyan Asians, and what she didn't know about the confusing array of

legal statuses left behind by the British was not worth knowing. She handled most of the family class applications, including applications from spouses of Somali men who had gone to Canada as asylum seekers. Tracking the spouses down and obtaining documentation of any sort was a real challenge. One afternoon a very frustrated Helen burst into my office and demanded I see what she had to contend with. In her office were three beautifully dressed Somali women, relaxed in their chairs, feet on Helen's desk, minds clearly very far away. Helen muttered about the daily qat shipment at 11:00. After that, interviews for spouses were scheduled for first thing in the morning.

Devlin, Gail Kirkpatrick, CIHS Secretary and Board Member



Gail Kirkpatrick Devlin (Credit: Caitlin Devlin)

Gail passed away on 5 April 2020 in Ottawa. She was the Canadian Immigration Historical Society's long-standing secretary and the primary editor of *Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1975-1980*, a book authored by four CIHS members. A profile article about Gail appears on the Montfort Hospital website.

Gail was born in Saskatchewan, where she did her undergraduate work. She earned an MA in Canadian Studies from Carleton University. At the start of her career, she worked at the Department of External Affairs. She married Terry Devlin, a foreign service officer, and they were posted to Malaysia, Germany, the former Soviet Union, Barbados, and the Czech Republic. They had two children. Gail was employed by the Immigration and Refugee Board's Documentation Centre (DIRB). More recently she worked in the former Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Immigration Branch, where she helped to develop what became the English language testing standards for intending immigrants.

Gail also contributed to several issues of the Bulletin, notably in <u>Issue 72</u>, she wrote about her experiences in editing *Running on Empty*, and in <u>Issue 82</u>, she described living in

Berlin during the events surrounding the tearing down of the Berlin Wall.

A capable and long-serving board member for CIHS, Gail had been too unwell to join us at meetings for most of the last year. She returned in triumph to our March 2020 meeting, with her assurances that she was strong enough to be up and about. All present welcomed her return and noted her delight at reconnecting with everyone in person. Sadly, Gail's recovery had setbacks and she passed away before she could be with us again.

Remembered by Jacques Beaulne and Maria Beaulne

In the late 1960s, halfway through his first tour abroad, Jacques decided to spend Christmas back home in Canada. While there, he looked up one of his university friends, Terry Devlin, a foreign service officer in External Affairs, who had married while Jacques was abroad and whose wife he had not met. That is when he first met Gail, whom Terry had courted while doing postgraduate work at Carleton University and married prior to their posting to Kuala Lumpur.

In the early 1970s, the Devlins were posted to Bonn, from where they asked Jacques to be godfather to their first child, Tony. The timing was good, as Maria and Jacques were travelling to Milan on posting and thus were able to attend the christening en route to Italy. The Devlins in Germany and the Beaulnes in Italy were able to get together once or twice a year. In subsequent years, the families shared a posting to Moscow, were later posted "nearby" in Vienna and Prague, or simply visited each other in places they wished to discover. Sharing major holidays abroad with friends whom you've known for a considerable time is almost like being with family instead of being alone and isolated.

Gail was a very intelligent person, knew more about things literary and political than most of us, and was a voracious reader. She was able to comment about authors, history, and current events with very reasoned thoughts. She was also a proud foreign service spouse, interested in the culture and language of the countries where she and her family lived, devoted to her family, and always busy with personal projects, such as writing a novel, researching historical data for External Affairs, or editing reports and documents.

In more recent years we followed each other's retirement activities, and as Gail's health unfortunately declined, Maria checked in regularly as she spent months in hospital with very painful conditions, hoping to encourage her and bring a slight change of scenery. Gail was always very positive, accepting her long hospital sojourn without complaint and praising her care-givers and medical team. We are sincerely sorry the outcome wasn't in her favour.

Remembered by Michael J. Molloy

We were looking for someone to take on the role of secretary on the CIHS Board when Joe Bissett called to say that someone called Gail Devlin had contacted him about joining CIHS. I asked about her background: years as a foreign

service spouse, refugee experience with the IRB and Immigration, and substantial experience as a professional editor—skills and experience that exceeded my hopes.

Gail joined a board consisting mainly of immigration lifers and quickly won our respect and affection. My first impression of her was of a confident, elegant, and warm person who could hold her own in conversation. She fit into our little organization and our lives effortlessly. I recall thinking at one point how wonderful it would have been to be on posting with this curious, knowledgeable, adventurous woman.

It was fun to work with her on the agenda and minutes of the board meetings. I appreciated the fact that if she didn't know or understand something she was forthright in asking for clarification. She took charge of the membership list and worked closely with our editor and treasurer, both of whom relied on the list.

When Peter Duschinsky, Kurt Jenson, Bob Shalka, and I decided to embark on CIHS's most ambitious project, the writing of *Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1975-1980*, Gail joined the team as editor, a job she described as similar to herding four grumpy old cats. She devised a style sheet and bullied us into being more consistent and thoughtful about the language we were using in the book. She stressed the need for it to be correct and above all highly readable given the diverse intended audience that included academics, graduate students, and former Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian refugees. We all thought of ourselves as competent writers, and we were, but I retain happy memories of this petite, fearless woman arguing correct usage with four bulky, grizzled immigration veterans and pounding us into line. When our publisher's copy editor contacted us in the middle of her work on *Running on Empty* she began by stating that she had never worked on such a tightly written book.

Gail holds a unique place in our memories, with her quirky wit, her sophisticated knowledge of the world, her wide-ranging curiosity, her odd blend of fragility and toughness, and the way she quietly bullied Peter, Kurt, Bob, and me into writing a better book. She made a substantial contribution to the Society and enriched our lives. We will miss her.

Gotlieb, Allan Remembered by Raphael Girard and J.B. ("Joe") Bissett

Much has been <u>written</u> about Allan Gotlieb—his outstanding achievements and exceptionally distinguished <u>contribution</u> to Canadian diplomacy in very difficult times. Less has been written of his early career, particularly the four years he served as deputy minister of Employment and Immigration from 1973 to 1978.

Although his breadth of vision and expertise in international law had been recognized when he was working on national unity under Marcel Cadieux at External Affairs, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau's decision to appoint him to the Employment and Immigration portfolio was initially motivated by the need for damage control. A succession of ministers had failed to curtail the flagrant abuse of appeal rights codified in the 1966-1967 Kent/Marchand immigration reforms, which unintentionally prevented the removal of almost anyone from Canada whether they qualified as immigrants or not. After being elected with a minority in 1972, which many attributed to a weakening economy and the loss of control of immigration, Prime Minister Trudeau cleaned house at Employment and Immigration by appointing a proven trouble shooter, Robert Andras, as minister and Allan Gotlieb as deputy. This pairing of a down-to-earth former car dealer from the Lakehead with a Rhodes Scholar and professor of law seemed curious at the time, but the two were surprisingly effective in bringing about change.

Gotlieb was not immediately comfortable in the portfolio. The immigration side was highly transactional and operational in nature, and his natural leanings were to the employment side, as it offered broader and more policy-oriented material. On more than one occasion he was reproved by Andras for not spending enough time on immigration, which was often in the headlines and required close day-to-day management. He also found the relationship with the minister more constraining than he was used to. During one working group meeting with officials called by Gotlieb in response to embarrassing news coverage, Andras flatly refused to consider one-off amendments to some of the more anachronistic elements in the *Immigration Act* that among other things, banned "idiots, imbeciles, morons, and homosexuals" from entering Canada for any reason. Incensed by the minister's refusal to even consider such action, Gotlieb threw his briefing books on the floor with a bang and stormed out, leaving a bemused minister with the officials whom Gotlieb had summoned to begin drafting Cabinet documents. Andras would have been the first to acknowledge the strength of his deputy's ability, but he would not be manipulated or bullied however more able and articulate the latter might have been.

The collaboration of Andras and Gotlieb was not solely based on cleaning up the imbroglio precipitated by overly generous appeal rights for would-be immigrants. While there had been remarkable progress following the Kent/Marchand reforms in 1967 in implementing a non-discriminatory immigration policy and gearing the annual intake to labour market

needs, the immigration system was still anchored in a statute that dated from 1952. The Act did not keep up with the evolution of Canadian values, essentially delegated the power to choose who should come to Canada to the minister, and barred people on vague grounds such as moral turpitude, strange methods of land holding, and an inability to adapt to conditions in Canada. What was needed to complement the work of Kent and Marchand was an overhaul of the *Immigration Act* itself.

Andras believed that prior to bringing new legislation to parliament, the public should be asked how much immigration would serve the national interest and what Canadians at large would want in an immigration program. He and Gotlieb understood that the link to the labour market established by Kent and Marchand provided the rationale for an immigration policy. They were looking for an objective factor that would indicate the size of the annual immigration program. Because the birth rate in Canada was declining, immigration would become the main determinant of population growth and powerfully affect the demography of the country within a generation. They were of the view that population policy should drive immigration rather than vice versa. To provoke such a discussion, they decided to launch a Green Paper process which would address both immigration and population options and engage the Canadian public in broad consultations. Gotlieb recruited a trusted colleague from External Affairs, Richard Tait, who was given a mandate to produce the discussion documents and to lead the consultations. The consultations' findings would eventually be put before a special committee of the House and Senate whose recommendations would be considered in the formulation of new legislation.

Early drafts of Tait's green paper made timid references to "novel characteristics" that would likely be found in Canada's future immigration intake due the fact that the major sources of immigration were shifting from Europe to Asia. Many critics read this as an invitation to ask Canadians how much diversity should be permitted. In his determination to prevent any discussion of race-based criteria or quotas, Gotlieb personally edited the final draft to make it clear that, while a broad discussion should take place, there would be no backtracking on Canada's commitment to non-discrimination and universal access to the program.

Despite best efforts, the provinces never responded to invitations for dialogue on population policy, but progress was achieved on the subject of immigration. The end product, the *Immigration Act* of 1976, was a sea change from what had gone before. In his charge to the drafters, Gotlieb had insisted that he wanted a statute that the layman could read and understand. Later, in commenting on the first draft, he complained with his usual candor that they had failed totally and miserably. Nevertheless, it was a ground-breaking statute. For the first time, it contained a preamble that outlined the objectives of immigration policy. Prohibitions listing who could not come to Canada were lifted out of the dark ages and seated in the context of criminal code, security, and public health concerns. Refugees were identified as an admissible group, and selection criteria for immigrants were made subject to parliamentary scrutiny in place of the administrative fiat that had guided the program since 1952. The annual intake level would be set by Cabinet in advance after consultation with the provinces.

Jean Marchand and Tom Kent had developed the principles for a modern immigration program in 1966 and in their application made Canadian immigrant-selection practices a model of non-discrimination and outreach to the oppressed and dispossessed. A decade later and after a full public airing of these principles managed by Richard Tait, Andras and Gotlieb codified them in a durable modern statute that dealt not only with selection but with every aspect of the interface between immigration and the travelling public, including such thorny issues as detention and removal of those who have run afoul of the law. Since then, there have been amendments, most importantly to adapt immigration practices to the evolving judicial universe in Canada following the adoption of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Nevertheless, the underlying philosophy of the *Immigration Act* of 1976 continues to be the most important influence on how Canada treats people seeking to visit or settle in this country.

MacLachlan, John

We recently learned about John MacLachlan's passing. John, who was born in 1928, was an immigration manager in some of Canada's larger visa offices, high commissioner to Guyana, and ambassador to Suriname. The <u>obituary</u> below is based on one originally published in the Victoria *Times Colonist*. John's former colleagues are invited to share their reminiscences in the next issue of the Bulletin.

From the Victoria Times Colonist, 15 May 2020

"Big John" was captain of football and varsity sports at Walkerville Collegiate in Windsor and later at the Royal Military College in Kingston. Upon graduation from RMC as an officer in the Canadian Army, he married Kingston-born Mary Hawley, who blessed him with three wonderful children.

Following one year of service in Korea, he attended Queen's University and graduated in 1955. His military career postings included Gagetown, Whitehorse, Canadian Army Staff College in Kingston, Royal Canadian Ordnance Corps School in Montreal, and Defence headquarters in Ottawa. He resigned with the rank of Major in 1966 to join the Canadian foreign service. Diplomatic assignments included the Philippines, Trinidad, New York, Hong Kong, and England. He finished his career as high commissioner to Guyana with dual accreditation as ambassador to Suriname, and finally as minister-counsellor in London, England.

John and Mary retired to Victoria where they established a network of tremendous friends with whom they enjoyed years of entertaining and wonderful times. John loved nature and the outdoors, capturing many beautiful scenes through water colour paintings and photography of birds and flowers. He was predeceased by his beloved wife Mary in 2001 and their 33-year-old daughter Karen in 1992. Former president of the Victoria Lawn Bowling Club, John played for many years with Betty Walker, who later became his companion. He is survived by his two sons Ross (Darcy) and Robert (Heather) and five grandchildren.



(Courtesy of Ross MacLachlan)

Remembered by Ron Button

I visited John a few months ago but was not able to see him more recently because of quarantining. Unfortunately, he suffered from cancer, which had spread over the past six months. He was unable to speak to me, but I did reminisce about our foreign service experiences for about a half an hour, and he indicated that he had understood me. His final days were spent in a room looking over Victoria Harbour. Three walls of his room were covered in hundreds of bird photos that he had taken.

Remembered by Brian Casey

John was my first officer-in-charge when I was assigned to Port of Spain in 1973 for my overseas training. He was very much the commander-in-chief, though Pearl, a senior LES staff member, mostly ran the office and Bob Romano made sure immigration matters were taken care of properly. He made sure I had a good exposure to all aspects of the work and sent me on my first area trip, to Georgetown, Guyana, with another officer. When that went well, he suggested that I organize my own area trip—to the island of Tobago—a real adventure and a good learning experience. What I remember most was our snorkeling trips on the coast to the south of Port of Spain—still possible in those days. Ever the athlete, he was happy to discover that I was always eager for a good hard swim after a day of work in the office. We could leave the office at close of business in the afternoon, get in an hour or so of swimming, and be back in town for the evening. A great introduction to life in the foreign service. Many happy memories of Big John. May he RIP.

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.

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 - Robert Orr; Editor - Diane Burrows;

Members at large - Brian Casey, Roy Christensen, Valerie de Montigny, Peter Duschinsky, Dawn Edlund, Charlene Elgee, Kurt Jensen, Gerry Maffre (Communications), Ian Rankin, and Robert Shalka Member emeritus - J.B. "Joe" Bissett

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