# CIHS Bulletin

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Greetings to all. What a year of change and challenge!

The Covid-19 pandemic greatly influenced the Canadian Immigration Historical Society's activities and how they were conducted. This year, to keep members safe, we held the 2020 Annual General Meeting through videoconferencing instead of the traditional in-person soirée in Ottawa. There was a silver lining, in that it enabled members from across Canada and internationally to participate from their own computers or phones. This issue of the *Bulletin* contains a summary report from the AGM and a couple of related articles. Michael Molloy's farewell address, delivered at the AGM—and his admirers' many tributes to him—are a click away on the CIHS website. Our "president for life and beyond" will stay on the board as "past president" and will continue to be a significant contributor to the Society on several big projects that have engaged him over the past few years.

Our new president, Dawn Edlund, was acclaimed through the voting process in time for the AGM. She is well and truly up and running with her new functions. For more about Dawn, I recommend that you read "Introducing Dawn Edlund" in this issue.

Best wishes of the season and for a happy, healthy 2021. *The Editor* 

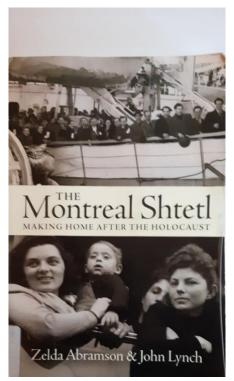
**The Montreal Shtetl: Making Home after the Holocaust** by Zelda Abramson and John Lynch, Between the Lines, Toronto, 2019, 299 pages.

Book review by Gerry Maffre

My Montreal roots draw me to books about the city, its history, and people. Seeing a list of the nominees for the 2020 Vine Award for Jewish Literature<sup>1</sup> that included *The Montreal Shtetl: Making Home after the Holocaust,* I had to read it.

Zelda Abramson is Professor Emerita at Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, and is also the child of Holocaust survivors. John Lynch is her partner. These two authors have produced a very informative and well-written account of the experiences of the Holocaust survivors who settled in Montreal. The book covers the first two waves of post-World War II Jewish migration to the city up to the early 1950s. Author Abramson is a sociologist, and early pages of the book suggest it may read as an academic work. But that impression is quickly dispelled.

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The authors really delve into this migration to Montreal—a topic they describe as little studied. They set the scene by reviewing both Canada's pre- and immediate post-war exclusionary immigration policies and the post-war domestic and international pressure exerted on Ottawa to relax its restrictions on Jewish immigrants. The "relaxation" was basically carried out through targetted labour market programs: tailors, milliners, and domestic workers, as well as programs for orphans and family sponsorships. They then discuss the process of selecting and conducting their 67 interviews with Holocaust survivors and use extracts from 23 to produce a story that is rich in the human drama of challenges, failures, successes and introspection.

As migration restrictions targeting Jewish migrants loosened, Montreal was booming, especially in the garment trade. But the city was also experiencing a housing shortage, particularly at the lower end of the economic scale. The authors make clear that there was a level of social distance between these survivors and the established Jewish population in Montreal, which was starting to feel better established and some sense of acceptance. The authors assert that there was more interaction between French and Jewish Montrealers in commercial circles than between the Anglo and Jewish commercial populations.

Part one of the book, "Uprooting", covers survivors' camp experiences and the serendipitous acts that spared their lives, stories about deportations to far eastern Russia, the instability in their lives despite peace, and their efforts to reconnect with families and hometowns. Then, as Canada relaxed its migration restrictions and targetted specific occupations, we read how some presented themselves as having

such skills or argued a presence of family ties. One man taught himself how to hand-sew buttonholes the night before his immigration interview to pass the sole skill test for the "tailors" program. More fundamentally though was the basic decision—whether to apply to Canada, Palestine, the U.S.A., Sweden or Australia.

"Unpacking", or part two, draws from survivors' memories of the early going after arrival. Housing, work, and schooling were top priorities; they wanted to get on their own two feet. With Montreal's boom, jobs were often easy to find by knocking on factory doors or relying on social networks. But the work was often seasonal, low-skilled, and poorly paid, especially for workers with no English or whose European training wasn't recognized. In many families, piece work at home on clothing was a necessary income supplement and added to the "motherwork" of managing the household often without the help of sisters, mothers or grandmothers. Housing was often very cramped and moves frequent to escape bad landlords or co-tenants, or to get more and better shelter. There are humorous discussions of the first experience in the new land—grapefruit, white bread, and peanut butter are mentioned.

Some of the memorialists talk about their experiences and reluctance to deal with settlement agencies, prime amongst them the Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS). The authors create a composite JIAS settlement worker using the agency's records to present the challenges these workers faced given the agency's many clients and lack of resources. The "employee", in a moment of reflection, wonders if the agency did enough to understand its clients' Holocaust experiences and how they impeded successful settlement. The authors' conclusion is that successful integration was then defined as getting a house, a good job, fitting in—becoming Canadian and joining the middle class with its roles for mothers and fathers.

This section of the book also deals with two other recurring issues. One was the surprise to some French-speaking survivors that they could not register their children in French schools. In those years in Quebec, most French schools were Catholic and English schools, Protestant. This confessional divide directed all non-Catholics to Protestant schools. Channelling children into the English system contributed to a longer-term attachment to the Montreal English community for these newcomers and their children. This alignment was enhanced by a realization that English was then the language of advancement.

The second issue was the oft-repeated view by survivors that the established Montreal Jewish community wanted little to do with them. Certainly, philanthropic and political support was there through bodies like the Canadian Jewish Congress. Still, many of the memorialists felt they were considered a threat by the older Jewish population, which was finally starting to feel a degree of acceptance in the city. Teenage dances, marriages, and religious services did little to bridge the divide.

Part three, "Making Home", discusses how the area of Montreal on the "lower Main" [Boulevard St. Laurent] became something of a "shtetl"—a place of comfort, clarity about life, and a welcoming culture. It was a village of survivors who

could talk about their war experiences with people whom they trusted and who would understand what they had lived through. They did not feel this level of trust with their established co-religionists or wider community. Further, the survivors' sharing of the Holocaust experience often did not include children born in camps late in the war or just after. Adult survivors didn't think the young ones knew or could comprehend the horror—it would not have touched them, they thought. This was a particularly gripping testimony for me, delivered by people who are my age and whom I might have known in school.

In the final section, the authors take a holistic view of the experiences of these newcomers. "Motherwork" was a significant and challenging reality. They summarize the challenges social workers and newcomer clients faced in their lack of mutual understanding but underline the inability of the social workers and larger community to understand (or the refusal to listen to) the camp and war experiences and draw a comparison to modern-day refugees who often face the same challenges and suspicion. But, the authors put it, these Holocaust survivors were largely successful and they and their children have made innumerable contributions to Canada.

In conclusion, this is an excellent presentation of a people's experience. The extraction of common themes over periods of migration gives this book a strong sense of the individuals and what they went through. Clearly, they came to Canada with a particularly horrendous experience that made settlement more difficult, especially when compared to most other migrant populations. But as with those populations, these survivors faced and overcame challenges around work, education, language, and adaptation—and shared the same experience of success.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> <u>Vine Award</u>: an annual award to honour both the best Canadian Jewish writers and non-Jewish Canadian authors who deal with Jewish subjects in Fiction, History, Non-Fiction, Young Adult/Children's Literature, and Poetry.

# A Life in Three Worlds: Family Letters between Canada and the Netherlands in the 1950s Part Two Marguerite Van Die

This article concludes the piece published in Bulletin 94, September 2020.

Dr. Van Die is a professor emerita at Queen's University, where she taught in the Department of History and the School of Religion. Her research and publications have focused mainly on religion and family life and the public role of religion in nineteenth-century Canada.

As a market gardener, Wim had been accepted under the <u>Netherlands-Canada Settlement Scheme</u> to work for a farmer sponsor for a minimum of one year, at a minimum monthly wage of \$75 for married men and \$45 for single men, with free housing included. His sponsor was a potato farmer originally from Ireland, who had only that day learned that a Dutch family would be arriving. Researchers of immigrant letters have observed that, in order to reassure their family back home, writers were often selective about what to share when describing their new circumstances. Recreating the scene for her family in Zwijndrecht in her first letter after arrival, Lena pictured the reception in the most positive light. While their house had been used for potato storage, was unpainted, and had seen its veranda collapse under the weight of snow, she emphasized instead its spaciousness, the beauty of the surrounding hills, and the fact that other houses could be

seen at a distance. She would recall the event more candidly a year later: how dirty her children were after the train journey and the shabbiness and sparseness of the hastily donated temporary furniture. The house had no electricity, and all water had to be hauled in barrels by tractor, making the traditional Monday washing and ironing an especially onerous task.

Every letter from Canada was read and reread, shared with the de Klerk siblings, the Van Die families, and friends. Once one could fairly accurately predict the arrival of the next letter, anticipation of mail delivery marked the daily events of both families. To Lena the letters were invaluable in reaffirming her family identity. Describing how she enjoyed responding, she wrote "it gives me an opportunity to express my feelings. I always have too much to write for one letter, but this way I do get a chance to share my experiences, and you know how that is something I need". By early May, less than two months after their arrival, she had received and replied to 44 letters from the Netherlands. Eight months later, the collection had risen to 250, with 41 from her mother, 49 from her two married sisters, and 37 from Wim's youngest sister and a brother.

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Wim and Lena's children—Pieter. Hannie and Margriet—collecting the mail from Holland. Near Millbrook Ontario, 1950. (Courtesy of the author)

Material objects were another important way to regain continuity with the world left behind. At mother de Klerk's request upon reading the account of the family's new home, Wim contributed a plan of the main floor, including a drawing of their temporary sleeping arrangement on a grubby day bed: parents each with their head on a chair, the two oldest children arranged horizontally one above the other at the end of the bed, and the youngest next to them on the floor. When their crate with belongings arrived a month later, Lena described in detail how she had placed the furniture and tried to recreate a familiar domestic setting. In her three subsequent moves she would repeat this description, sometimes imagining that she was physically accompanying her mother around their new home. The goal was always to recreate and share in her letters a depiction of a cherished familiar home. This included portrayals of valiant attempts to learn how to play an old house organ their sponsor had retrieved from a nearby abandoned church. Her attachment to the familiar was further fed by rereading the novels that she had brought along and reading aloud to her children the stories that she had enjoyed as a child.



Hannie, Margriet, and Pieter going to school (first day of school for Hannie) September 1953 (Courtesy of the author)

Along with her questions about the children and the family's new circumstances, mother de Klerk's letters contained a potpourri of topics she knew would be of interest to her daughter and family. The letters addressed Lena's lively engagement with what was happening back home: family birthdays, her sibling's comings and goings during summer vacations, and the momentous news in 1951 that her brother Toon (Antonie), his wife, and three infants were emigrating to South Africa. Invariably there was news and gossip about townspeople and church life and information on the local market garden economy. The Netherlands was still recovering from years of war, and emigration was receiving much media attention, which in turn faithfully made it into mother de Klerk's weekly correspondence. Almost every letter mentioned friends or acquaintances contemplating emigration, mainly to Canada. After Lena sent a map of Canada, the de Klerk family carefully assessed the distance between Lena and Wim's home near Millbrook and the destinations of these intended emigrants. Dutch weather reports, always of consuming interest given the variable climate, now also included information about Canada. Until the map helped the family become more familiar with Canadian geography, mother de Klerk worried in her letters about events as distant as flooding in Winnipeg or a devastating wild fire in Alberta.

Along with the regular exchange of letters came parcels of rolled-up local church newspapers and magazines of Reformed content and perspective: the well-illustrated *Spiegel*, the *Elizabethbode*, and *Moeder*, the latter with advice on such women's concerns as child raising and household economy. Smuggled in the centre of the parcels of printed matter were small items, especially candies for the children—orange to mark the Dutch royal House of Orange's national holidays—and annually a calendar featuring the royal family. Urgent requests for items unavailable in Canada led to more items tucked into the parcels: clamps for Lena's large Dutch canning jars and tablets for a stomach ulcer that forever plagued her. The first 5 December St. Nicholas celebration in Canada was made unforgettable by a huge parcel filled with carefully selected gifts from their grandmother and aunts. Every year, mother de Klerk described how the family continued to celebrate Lena's birthday with flowers, special food, and visits from her siblings and several of Wim's sisters.

There were times, Lena admitted, when the desire to see her family became overwhelming. At the same time, she wrote reassuringly that this was never to the point of being homesick. She was rather proud of her own self-discipline: "Not to praise myself, I've done quite well when I compare myself to others," she wrote six months after arrival.

Even though she and Wim would have liked a less isolated location and a more thriving farm, descriptions of how they were coping economically tended to be positive. The sponsorship had been for one year, but considerable time was spent weighing and checking into better options, all faithfully recorded in her letters. Mother de Klerk, always concerned about the reputation of the Dutch overseas, applauded their decision not to break their contract, and in the end, they stayed eight months beyond the year. In November 1951, after Wim had found employment in a small construction company in the nearby village of Bailieboro, they relocated. A few weeks later, their fourth child, Adrian William, was born, an event described and celebrated in great detail as telegrams were fast followed by mail. The challenge of giving birth in a hospital rather than at home and comparisons of baby nutrition and dress all received mother de Klerk's attentive commentary. So did the family's ongoing efforts to find a sound economic footing when the following year they moved again, now to the outskirts of Peterborough, where Wim began to work for the large Quaker Oats Company, or as Lena described it, "a flour factory". Her accounts of these transitions remained upbeat, pointing out that theirs was a slower path than those who came with large families and children ready to enter the workforce. By late 1953, after a season of layoffs and a strike at Wim's new company, along with a spate of car repairs, they were finally starting to save nicely for their goal of buying "a small farm." In comparison, her brother who had emigrated to South Africa to work as an engineer, was doing much better

materially. Mother de Klerk, aware of his advantages, was careful to underscore that each experience had to be understood on its own terms.

In contrast to her brother, who had immediately been taken up by the Afrikaner community, Lena often spoke of loneliness in her letters. Gregarious and talkative, she confessed how difficult it was to find herself in gatherings where English was the only language. Compared to Wim, who had taken some English lessons while still in the Netherlands and whose daily encounters with men at work gave him a distinct advantage, she found learning the new language an insurmountable challenge. Describing his admonitions that she read more English, she confessed that after the domestic challenges of a long day, she much preferred to spend her few evening moments of relaxation reading the Dutch parcel post. She spent Sundays and many evenings answering numerous letters, and there remained little energy for learning English. Always supportive, mother de Klerk would gently suggest that her granddaughter speak at home in English to Lena.

Although her thoughts were often with life back home, Lena did not turn down any of the regular invitations that helped her enter into her new environment. She described for her family such novel events as a bridal shower, a soap demonstration at a "very dirty" home, and the sumptuous "teas" which concluded the monthly United Church Women's Society meetings she attended with her sponsor's wife. She also commented on the worship services at the United Church in Millbrook that the family initially attended with their sponsor. The procession of a robed choir at the beginning and end of the service struck her as "rather Roman Catholic". She was equally bemused by the practice of christening all infants at the Mother's Day service rather than immediately after birth as was the *Gereformeerd* habit back home.

Such cultural and linguistic challenges underscore the immigrant's need of a bridge to connect the world left behind with the unfamiliar host society. During Wim and Lena's first few months this gap was filled by two war brides in Millbrook. Their help in negotiating new ways had been indispensable, and mother de Klerk wrote a grateful letter for the hospitality shown to her daughter and family. What was missing, however, was a shared religious culture. For Lena and to a lesser extent Wim, this meant attending a church with people of similar religious background who sought to replicate in Canada the values and associational life of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (GKN).

This culture was provided by the Christian Reformed Church in the United States and Canada (CRC). With a shared history of Calvinist reform, from 1947 onwards it helped recruit Dutch immigrants of GKN affiliation. Organizing newcomers into existing congregations, the CRC Immigration Committee worked through home missionaries, largely of American background, and local immigration representatives known as field men. The closest CRC to Lena and Wim was the recently organized congregation in Bowmanville, some 45 kilometres away. In late May 1950, when a second family settled in the Millbrook area, its home missionary arranged for a taxi to take the two families to the Sunday service. For Lena especially, reconnecting with people of her own language and background made all the difference. Every letter now referred to the growing Dutch community that met weekly at the Bowmanville CRC: the flood of new memberships as boatloads of immigrants arrived; the overfull church



Lena's social circle in Canada: members of the Peterborough Christian Reformed Church, 1951. Wim and Lena are at the far left. (Courtesy of the author)

at the quarterly Lord's Supper; the huge Sunday School; the overabundance of single young men; the prevalence of large families; a youth choir directed by the minister; and importantly in a country without public medicare, a denominational medical insurance which they had immediately joined. This was an immigrant world in which a woman who thus far had felt very isolated, felt at home. And so she confided to her parents "if in time we end up moving there that would be very nice".

This did not happen. Overpopulation, a dire shortage of housing, and a weak economy led the Dutch government to begin subsidizing the emigration of those workers considered most expendable. By late 1951, enough immigrants had arrived to form a congregation in Peterborough. Despite their former Dutch regional differences and idiosyncrasies, the congregation quickly gelled into a community. In the round robin letter to her siblings, she explained: "We now attend church in Peterborough, the service is over at 11 and so we still have an entire free Sunday, and everyone, the entire group of 50 spend the rest of the day visiting one another". The many references in her letters reveal how in the next few years this congregation in Peterborough became the centre of her Canadian identity. Where once she had complained of loneliness, now Sundays especially were crammed with company from her congregation, guest ministers, and best of all, a few rare visitors from her hometown of Zwijndrecht.

As with many immigrants hers was a hyphenated identity. Even though her congregation quickly began to conduct its services in English and she became very fond of the CRC hymnal, the church was a liminal world, neither entirely Dutch

nor entirely Canadian, one that touched on but was also separate from the world she had left. There were occasions when these three worlds—the country left behind, the new country, and the Dutch-Canadian church community—briefly came together in a public way, as when the Dutch Queen Juliana and her husband visited Canada in 1952. To mother de Klerk's disappointment the visit appeared to have had a greater impact back home than on the life of her daughter. The latter explained how she had misunderstood a call from the local newspaper as a sign that her home might be on the royal itinerary to visit selected immigrants. There was no ambiguity, however, about their tie to the homeland when, on the night of 31 January 1953, a devastating flood engulfed much of the southern Netherlands, including sections of Lena's hometown. Mother de Klerk, to quell her daughter's anxiety, immediately wrote a detailed account and continued to provide information until the last dike breach was closed. Devouring the printed and pictorial accounts in the Dutch periodical literature and describing the generous response of her congregation, Lena reminded herself and her family "[a]t times like these you become so aware of what it means to be a Hollander".

Times of disaster and trauma in the homeland are always a stark reminder of the physical distance that leaves an immigrant watching helplessly from afar. Many immigrants left behind elderly parents knowing that in all likelihood they would never again see them, making the regular exchange of letters all the more important. In late December 1953, Lena's father died after a short illness; her mother's health had been deteriorating for several years and she was then suffering from cognitive decline because of arteriosclerosis. Immediately following Lena's father's death, the ancestral house was sold and her mother moved in with her second oldest daughter, Adri, and her family. Although her mother was no longer able to answer, Lena continued her weekly letters. Her mother died in September 1954, and Adri, who shared Lena's love of the past, returned to her the correspondence her mother had carefully saved over those four years.

When she had first heard of her mother's cognitive deterioration in the summer of 1953, Lena found writing very difficult as she could no longer predict her mother's reactions. She shared with her sister how she was rereading all of her mother's letters. She also wrote during these months of grief and loss about the guilt she was experiencing: guilt that as an adolescent she had often been critical of her father, guilt that she had not been able to come back when he was ill, and guilt that her emigration and that of her brother may have accelerated her mother's decline.

Her intimate sharing of guilt illustrates how personal letters provide insight into the emotive content of the immigrant experience. Letters are personal in the sense that no collection, including the one examined here, can ever be seen as representative. They are also personal in a more inclusive sense, reflecting aspects of the immigration experience that are often neglected and difficult to access. Much more visible is what can be observed on the outside: the material losses and gains, the difficulties of learning a new language, the adjustments and adaptations in dress and culture.

Canada's private sponsorship program focuses also on the external indicators of adjustment, such as ensuring economic well-being, learning a new language and adjusting to cultural differences. In reading the many letters between my grandmother and mother in the early 1950s, I became aware of parallels to dimensions of Syrian newcomers' lives that had largely remained invisible to me: the retention of patterns of socialization, the continued need for self-understanding by communicating with friends and family in the former life, the longing for a familiar town or home, the bond of memories, all within the shared trauma of wartime loss and destruction. Speaking of immigrants' personal letters, David Gerber concluded: "The relationship they maintain is neither here nor there, but in both the homeland and the land of resettlement simultaneously". The relationship my mother and grandmother maintained by their letters became a life lived concurrently in three worlds. There is much that differentiates the experience of today's privately sponsored newcomers from that of the Dutch immigrants in the 1950s. Not all, for example, seek out a religious community as did my parents. Nevertheless, in the global society and instant communication of the 21st century, the experience of living simultaneously in the homeland and in the land of resettlement remains a reality that needs to be an integral part of Canadian immigration history.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> David A. Gerber, *Authors of Their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants in North America* (New York: New York University Press 2006), 8.

### **Annual General Meeting 2020: Report**

Bob Orr

Bob Orr is the CIHS's Secretary. A longstanding member of Canada's foreign service, he had seven postings abroad including as high commissioner to Tanzania. From 2012 to 2017, he served as Assistant Deputy Minister (Operations) at Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. He retired in 2019 after a short stint at the Canada School of Public Service.

This year's Annual General Meeting (AGM), held on 22 October, marked two major changes. The first was a changing of the guard as Michael (Mike) Molloy, "President for Life and Beyond", handed the baton to Dawn Edlund, our new president. The second was a change in format as we held a virtual meeting via the software platform Zoom (ably organized and managed by Gerry Maffre and Winnerjit Rathor). While Covid-19 prevented members from meeting in person (and enjoying the excellent meal at Ottawa's St. Anthony's Banquet Hall), convening the meeting via Zoom allowed members from outside Ottawa to participate for the first time.

Vice-president Anne Arnott deftly chaired the meeting. Unlike other years, the election of new officers had already taken place by e-voting. Likewise, members had already received by email this year's reports by the president, treasurer, secretary, and the Gunn Prize committee, and so we passed over these formalities quickly. The group was then free to focus on the main events: the celebration of Mike's 17 years as president of the Society and a warm welcome to Dawn.

Mike reflected on his years as president, the CIHS's growth, its contacts at universities and institutions across the country, and the many articles written about immigration history. He also focused on the signature piece of his tenure, the publication of *Running on Empty* by McGill Queen's University Press, and the subsequent initiative now under way: the Hearts of Freedom project. Given the high quality of *Running on Empty*, it may not be surprising that it has enjoyed multiple reprints and is used in many university courses, and that a shortened version is being translated into Vietnamese. The Society has grown and prospered under Mike's leadership—enjoying strong membership, drawing outside interest in its activities, and stimulating a considerable catalogue of quality research and writing. It is fulfilling its core mandate of enhancing our understanding of the vital role immigration has played in shaping Canadian society.

Mike ended his comments by presenting a certificate to Peter Duschinsky, who, after many years, is retiring from the Board. The certificate recognizes Peter's hard work and commitment to the Society.

We then heard from speakers who paid tribute to Mike's enormous contribution. Joe Bissett and Peter Duschinsky spoke on behalf of the board and members. Doug Dunnington, Marie Chapman of the Canadian Museum of Immigration History at Pier 21, Laura Madokoro from Carleton University, Colleen Lundy from the Hearts of Freedom project, and Pat Marshall (formerly of Ottawa's Project 4000 and UNHCR settlement officer) all reminded us of Mike's sterling leadership. With his energy, ability to bring people together (practitioners, academics, non-governmental organizations, and ethnic communities), intelligence, and wit, the Society has gained significant respect as a key player in recording Canada's immigration history. Copies of Mike's remarks, Peter's certificate, and the various tributes are available on the <u>CIHS</u> website.

Mike and several speakers also underlined how much Jo Molloy has contributed to the Society as an editor, historical detective, and in all sorts of unsung ways.

The finale of the evening was Dawn's remarks as she accepted the role of president of the Society. Anne Arnott introduced Dawn, speaking of her long history with the immigration department, initially with the Department of Justice and subsequently as associate assistant deputy minister of Operations at Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). Dawn paid tribute to all that Mike has accomplished, then spoke about her current work for IRCC in chronicling the arrival of the Syrian refugees in 2015 and 2016. A book is in preparation which models itself on *Running on Empty*. She spoke of opportunities for the Society, such as exploring more recent initiatives of the immigration department, and of the need to recruit new members and broaden the membership base.

The Zoom format was new to us but did not prevent CIHS from celebrating Mike Molloy's many accomplishments, and we all look forward to his continuing role with the Society as past president. Dawn Edlund will build on all that has already been accomplished. She clearly has the support of the Society as it moves forward.

### Introducing Dawn Edlund: Remarks from the CIHS 2020 Annual General Meeting Dawn Edlund

Dawn Edlund is the new president of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society. She has kindly provided her speaking notes for publication in the Bulletin and on the CIHS website.

Merci à vous tous pour votre soutien. You have elected a great Board of Directors, and we will continue the fine work that we have been doing under Mike's leadership. I know that I have some enormous shoes to fill, so that's daunting, but luckily, Mike has agreed to stay on the board, so that he—and his shoes—will be close by to help me take up the mantle of president.

Je suis devenue membre de la Société il y a un an, et tout de suite j'ai découvert que l'Exécutive est une équipe dévouée et passionnée par le mandat de la Société. Les « lunch » chez lan Rankin étaient formidables, mais le travail des membres de l'Exécutif était encore plus impressionnant. Je suis reconnaissante de la manière dont les membres de l'Exécutive m'ont accueillie, et je sais qu'ils vont m'aider beaucoup.

I've had a long association with the department. I started in January 1992 as a newly minted lawyer employed by the Department of Justice, in the Legal Services Unit, as the (at the time) only woman lawyer on the team doing immigration work. Nine years later, one week before 9/11, I was heading up the unit. I used to say to my staff at Legal that the kind of work the



department does changes people's lives and has the result of influencing what Canada is and will become. Very cool, and one of the reasons I became, like many of you, a "lifer". I stayed with Legal for 18 years, almost to the day, and in mid-January 2010 became the Associate ADM in the Operations Sector, working with the inimitable Claudette Deschenes. In fact, she was a significant factor in my changing roles, as she had proposed me for the position when the incumbent was leaving, and the DM liked the idea. At that moment, I stopped being a lawyer and became a hopefully not-too-troublesome client.

Fast forward to the fall of 2015, when I became the operational lead for the Government of Canada's Operation Syrian Refugees (OSR). That was a fabulous experience, which I spoke about with Sid Frank and Louisa Taylor at the AGM four years ago. Prior to retirement, I spent the last year of my career in the public service leading a small team documenting and writing about OSR and working to create a fully searchable digital archive of whatever we could lay our hands on. We are also working on producing an edited collection, capturing the voices of many public servants and Canadians who were involved in OSR. I looked to *Running on Empty* as a model on how to structure the collection, since I had very little idea of how to go about it. In fact, the idea for the Syrian Refugees' Memory Project grew from a seed planted by, you guessed it, Mike Molloy. It's a particular talent of his to plant seeds, nurture them, and give them room to grow.

Along with several hundred others, we were both at Rideau Hall on 1 December 2015, when the Governor General hosted a half-day symposium. Its goal was to ignite Canadians' interest in the Syrian resettlement project, and it was very successful. During the morning coffee break, I chatted with Mike, and he cautioned me not to repeat the "mistakes" made in relation to the Indochinese movement. He shared with me that it was profoundly difficult, decades after the fact, to reconstruct what happened when, and who did what. Memories fade, ephemeral documents disappear, things aren't collected or organized, and you are mostly left with what's in Library and Archives Canada and/or tracking down people who were involved to see what they remember and if they kept anything relevant. And, no insult to LAC, but the kinds of things that are of archival interest only tell a narrow part of the story of what was happening day to day in the department on whatever file or issue becomes of interest. The immigration department is mission-driven and does a magnificent job of delivering on the priorities of the government, but it does a terrible job at ensuring that what is important is kept, properly organized, and readily accessible to people in the future. This is but one of the reasons why the Society, its mandate, and what it does is so important, and why I was deeply honoured to have my name put forward to become your president.

I am a passionate family-tree researcher, and through that I have learned a lot about the building of Canada by waves of immigrants. My mom's family came to New Brunswick in 1765 from Germany via Pennsylvania. Others came from Ireland and England at the turn of the 19th century. My dad's side of the family came from northern Sweden at the turn of the 20th century and homesteaded on the bald prairie in southern Saskatchewan. Through my family-tree research, I have learned so much about the communities where my ancestors lived and worked, and the many ways in which any newcomer to Canada can make a contribution.

There are a few things I want to share with you as I take on the presidency. First is the proposal, soon to be considered by the board, for the creation of the Molloy Award. The award would be aimed at young people who are starting their post-

secondary education, are recent immigrants to Canada, and will take on the valuable work of recording and interpreting Canadian history. More news on this to follow.

It would also be good to get a sense of who is working on what, not just board members, but all of us. There's a lot of collective energy in our membership, and, as Mike said earlier this evening, when we choose to focus that energy, the Society can have a lasting impact. So, a *tour d'horizon* is on my "to do" list, to see where we might want to bring that focus to bear. I will also want to build on the relationships and partnerships that the Society, and Mike in particular, has fostered and nurtured over the years. Important projects like Hearts of Freedom will continue, and some noteworthy anniversaries are coming up. One is the 50th anniversary of the resettlement from Uganda, and Mike has already started the ball rolling on how the CIHS can play a role.

As a way of learning more about the CIHS, I started reading all of the Bulletins—what a rich collection, and a wonderful way for us as practitioners, as "insiders", to share our lived experience. One concern that has come up from time to time is membership in the CIHS. None of us is getting any younger, so how can we market the work of the Society and attract a younger and more diverse group of people to join us? The board has already started, by organizing events with the Research and Evaluation branch [Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada], by speaking to the new Foreign Service Development Program officers, and by hosting events during National Public Service week. I would appreciate your ideas on what else we can do.

Up to now, Bulletin articles have mostly been written by current or former foreign service officers, and it's great to have their experiences recorded. I am hopeful that we can find a way to encourage different folks to come forward and add their voices and stories to the mix. In October, the department released an evaluation of the Express Entry program. That made me wonder whether someone might be interested in writing up the story of how Express Entry was created; maybe someone else would write about the implementation of the e-medical system, which was the first end-to-end paperless process for immigration medicals (or, more generally, document and write about the massive changes that have been brought to how applications are processed in the last decade); maybe another person would write about development of the various settlement and integration programs, etc., etc. Just a few ideas; I am certain that you have many more to offer.

I am so lucky to start out in this new role, in that I have a wonderfully accomplished and dedicated board, that the Society itself has a very strong foundation and its work is relevant and relied upon, that we have a terrific Bulletin, and that we are in solid shape financially. For all this, I am tremendously grateful to Mike Molloy. As others have already said this evening, much of what the Society has become can be traced directly to Mike and his inspirational leadership.

Many thanks to you all for your support and I look forward to working with you.

## Thanks to Peter Duschinsky: Excerpt from Michael Molloy's 2020 AGM Remarks Michael Molloy

As my last official act as president of CIHS, it is my great honour to present a certificate of appreciation to one of our resident historians, someone who has been my travelling brother-in-arms as we introduced *Running on Empty* across the

country and who is leaving the board this year. Peter Duschinsky, that dab hand at the Hmong ball toss game, made an enormous contribution to the book, was a leading member of the team that mounted the Flight to Freedom conference, and has helped to shape and deliver the Hearts of Freedom project at Carleton University—a deep thinker, a good friend, and always a wise and thoughtful member of our board.

#### The citation reads:

Peter Duschinsky, as you step down from the board of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society, we recognize your long standing and deeply appreciated contributions to the work and success of the society, particularly on Running on Empty and the Flight to Freedom and Hearts of Freedom projects as well as your contributions to our Bulletin. Canada's immigration story needs to be told and you have helped to make the story telling possible.

From your friends and colleagues on the Board and in the Society. Ottawa Oct 20, 2020.



In-person presentation of certificate of appreciation on 7 December 2020 (L-R): Michael Molloy, Peter Duschinsky (Photo courtesy of Michael Molloy)

#### Letter to the Editor

Jo Molloy

Jo Molloy is Michael Molloy's spouse, who, very much in her own right, contributed many years of wisdom, skill, and hard work to CIHS during his tenure as president. Given her impressive support to this organization, Board members wanted to say thank you and covered the cost of this unique piece of jewellery to show their appreciation.

President for Life and Beyond Michael has moved on to allow for fresh ideas and energy to chart the future of the Society. In turn the Society has presented a marvelous pendant/brooch to his PA—me.

Spouses have always been value added—even in today's world, everyone helps their partner in some way. If Michael were a butcher, I imagine I would be scrubbing the chopping block with salt before heading off to manage his books. But he has been a wordsmith and a seer. So, I have tidied up his commas and stickhandled his agenda. To have this acknowledged by the CIHS Board is mind boggling.

I humbly thank the Board for what you can see is a superb piece of artisanal jewellery. It will be borne proudly on my winter coat.





The CIHS wishes to extend its congratulations to the Canadian Foreign Service Alumni Forum (CFSAF) on the publication of its first issue of FORUM, its news bulletin. CHIS members wishing to join this new foreign service organization will find information below to access the first issue of FORUM and to obtain information about membership.

La SHIC tient à féliciter le Forum des anciens du service extérieur canadien (FASEC) pour la publication de son premier numéro de FORUM, son nouveau bulletin périodique. Les membres de la SHIC qui souhaitent adhérer à cette nouvelle organisation du service extérieur trouveront ci-dessous des informations pour accéder au premier numéro de FORUM et obtenir des informations sur l'adhésion.

The FORUM website / Le site web de FORUM : <a href="http://forumdiplocan.ca/publications/">http://forumdiplocan.ca/publications/</a> The FORUM email / L'adresse courriel de FORUM : <a href="http://forumdiplocan.ca/publications/">http://forumdiplocan.ca/publications/</a>

### The International Organization for Migration: Challenges, Commitments, Complexities

by Megan Bradley, Routledge, 2020. 143 pages. Book Review by Erica Usher

Erica Usher joined the immigration foreign service in 1985 and held a variety of assignments both overseas and in Ottawa. She developed an interest in international migration policy and was twice seconded to the Geneva headquarters of the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

"If I have made no one happy, I may well have achieved my goal in troubling assumptions about IOM and highlighting the tensions that shape its work. In a time of reinforced restrictionism, xenophobia, and staggering levels of displacement and migrant abuse, IOM has central if contentious roles to play"—is how Megan Bradley ends her book.

Part of a broader study Bradley is undertaking on the International Organization for Migration (IOM), this succinct and readable work sets out to provide an analysis of the "evolution and influence" of IOM with the argument that it is only by understanding the organization's "involvement in humanitarian action and with displaced persons" that one can have a more nuanced and complete understanding of the organization itself. Bradley notes that despite its long history, IOM remains understudied, and that the focus of researchers studying IOM has largely been on IOM's migration management activities despite the breadth of its emergency and post-conflict work. Bradley argues that it is IOM's expanding involvement in humanitarian activities—the main focus of this book—that has shaped the organization's development and influence more than any of its other programming.

In her book, Bradley describes the often-contradictory views held by scholars, IOM member states, and IOM staff on the true humanitarian nature of the organization. She traces IOM's progression from a "hungry, unscrupulous" "cowboy" to an organization with a new set of policies that help to explain, guide, and legitimize its engagement in the humanitarian sphere and its commitment to protecting human rights.

As she unravels the complex influences on IOM's humanitarian and migrant protection commitments, Bradley opens by offering us a brief history of IOM, from its genesis in 1951 as the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME), a logistics agency created to resettle people uprooted by the war, to the IOM of 2020, working with governments and civil society on a wide array of issues related to human mobility.

Her book then examines the evolution of the organization's structure and mandate, remarking on the impact projectization and decentralization have had, not only on the evolution of IOM's humanitarian work and overall mandate, but also on how the agency has been perceived. It may be helpful here to explain IOM's decentralized and projectized governance structure. Each of IOM's country offices exists entirely through project activities that they propose and that governments are interested in funding. Revenues from these project activities pay for all of the country office's project, staff, and office costs up to the chief of mission's salary. Decision making on individual projects, rather than being centralized, falls to the chiefs of mission. Hence Bradley describes the early IOM as a "humanitarian entrepreneur": doing anything for money in order to keep country offices open, thus earning respect for being nimble, effective, and responsive—but operating without a specific protection or human rights mandate.

Noting the ongoing tension between IOM's "humanitarian identity" and its "migration management mandate" (the latter described primarily in terms of IOM's work in assisted voluntary return, which has been repeatedly criticized by human rights activists), Bradley then examines IOM's efforts over the years to recast itself as an organization that protects humanitarian values and migrants' human rights. She does this by exploring the organization's operations in Haiti and Libya and how these have furthered IOM's legitimacy. She argues that these operations are among the largest in the agency's history; yet while a significant amount of humanitarian, emergency, and post-crises work has been conducted out of these offices, they have still broader remits and offer valuable insights into the tensions within IOM as a "multi-mandate" agency.

Finally, she looks at the evolution of IOM's relationship with the United Nations, its new status as a related organization, and the uncertain implications of this change.

Understanding IOM and its evolution and influence is not an easy task—particularly given the organization's multi-faceted work. Purposefully setting aside the multilateral and migration management components of IOM's work, Bradley leads the reader through a logical progression of factors that have influenced, complicated, or even compromised the evolution of IOM as a credible humanitarian actor. Through her extensive research Bradley is able to capture a snapshot of internal politics, tensions, and power struggles mingling together with a governance structure and culture unique to IOM. She analyses how the latter have evolved with the growth of humanitarian programming and how each have played an influential role in IOM's evolution as an international organization. She looks at the challenge of balancing a commitment to humanitarianism and migrant protection with a constitutional requirement to serve its many and disparate member states—as well as the challenge of working with the UN from outside the system.

Bradley's useful analysis of IOM's projectized and decentralized governance structure considers how the organization's response to the "unreliable cowboy" attribution evolved. I would suggest, however, that she has given insufficient weight to the influence of the governance structure itself on how and why IOM chiefs of mission made project choices that led to the perception of IOM as a cowboy. I would also have liked the author to take a closer look at IOM's efforts to establish more administrative discipline, oversight, and accountability in the organization writ large and the role that this work may have played in the evolution of the agency's overall credibility and legitimacy.

Bradley posits at the outset that "understanding IOM's involvement in humanitarian action...is pivotal to understanding the organization's evolution and influence". She has not made a convincing case that, as she states in her book, there is no clear separation between IOM's work in the humanitarian sector, its development activities, its multilateral activities, and its broader migration management activities. Nor does she sufficiently support her contention that understanding IOM's involvement in humanitarian action and with displaced persons leads to an understanding of IOM's evolution and influence in other sectors of its mandate, such as the multilateral and migration management sectors.

As an introductory overview to the evolution of IOM's influence in the humanitarian sector, Bradley offers a credible and eminently readable analysis. Through her extensive research and interviews, she has captured the essence of the tensions and contradictions that IOM strived to resolve as it established itself alongside its partners in the humanitarian, emergency, and post-conflict sectors. Bradley's claim to present an unbiased view is weakened by her turn of phrase

throughout the book which suggests a specific perspective, but this does not prevent the reader from appreciating the validity of her work.

Bradley covers only part of IOM's story, but it is a piece of the IOM puzzle that is not often studied, and she has made a valuable contribution to understanding the evolution of the International Organization for Migration. I recommend her book to all students of humanitarianism and international organizations.

### The Canadian Flag in Kampala Uganda

Michael Molloy

At one point when we were well into the Uganda Asian immigration operation, Roger St-Vincent, the officer in charge of the Canadian team, came past my office desk and told me to grab an application kit for four people and join him right away. We drove to the Apollo International Hotel, which was where we were staying. We went up to his suite and met one of the richest people in Uganda. He told us he had been at his home, located at some considerable distance from Kampala, when he was tipped off that Ugandan President Idi Amin had ordered his arrest. This man gathered up his wife and daughters, said goodbye to his household staff, and drove to Kampala. There was an army roadblock not far from his home, but they got through when the young officer in charge put his head through the driver's side window, quietly said "Thank you for the scholarship, sir" and waved them through.

Roger had me conduct a cursory interview and document the application on the spot, whereupon I returned immediately to the office. I didn't learn what happened next until many years later, in 1993, when the CIHS co-hosted the "Journey to Hope" Conference and a young woman, the elder of the man's two daughters, got up and spoke.<sup>1</sup>

Upon stating our plight to a Canadian embassy official in Kampala, something happened, to which this day, neither I nor my family, will ever forget. Having accepted us as Canadian immigrants just a few days ago, the officials booked two rooms at the Apollo Hotel in Kampala, and placed the Canadian flag outside our doors. We were now under the protection of the full force of Her Majesty's Canadian government. Amin dare not lay a hand on us. You can imagine the tremendous feeling my family and I experienced yesterday evening when we met the official, 22 years later, who placed us under the flag. He is Roger St-Vincent. We owe him an enormous debt of gratitude. Still in my mind's eye today, I see that red and white flag outside our hotel door. I can't begin to tell you what that flag meant to us. It embodied life, humanitarian values, the quiet strength of a great nation, its people's belief in compassion, in freedom, in the grace of God. I do not know if at the time Canadians realized the power and majesty embodied by a Canadian flag in a small African country, halfway around the world. A few days later, we were driven to the airport in a van flying the Canadian flag and Canadian officials escorted us onto our plane for the flight to Canada. The plane took off. After what seemed like an eternity, the pilot announced that we had cleared Ugandan airspace. We were on our way home.<sup>2</sup>

Those little red and white flags had a lot of uses. During our two months in Kampala we knew that if Amin's people wanted to seize us there would be nothing we could do about it. As the violence increased around us we decided that if we had to leave in a hurry for any reason we needed to be able to find our team members quickly even in the middle of the night. As a result, all of our people had a Canadian flag on their doors.

Like so many other organizations this year, the <u>Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21</u> held its annual general meeting virtually. It can now be viewed in <u>English</u> et en <u>français</u> on the museum's website.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Excerpt and citation provided by the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zain Alarakhia, arrived from Uganda as a refugee, 1972. CIHS, "Journey Into Hope: A Chronicle of the Ugandan Asian Migration". Canadian Museum of Immigration [D2014.331.1a].

# Canadian Visa Offices Abroad: Fifty Years of Service Part Five, 1990-2000

Anne Arnott, Diane Burrows, Peter Duschinsky, Raph Girard, Gerry Maffre, and Robert Shalka

This is the final instalment in our series locating Canadian immigration or visa offices abroad, either in the capital or consular city of a country, or with its officers accredited to another country. The compilation draws on the <u>Global Affairs Digital Library</u>'s holdings of *Canadian Representatives Abroad*. Note that no issues of *Representatives* were published in 1997 and 2000; we used the listings from early 1998 and 2001 respectively.

Visa offices were identified because officers in the directories were either known to us or titled as immigration officers. In the last decade of the twentieth century, there was a widespread sharing of responsibilities between offices. One arrangement is reflected in the column "Other countries served, Notes" by the phrase "Shared work with ...". In other words, some officers accredited to, for example, Paris, were also accredited to the visa office in Rabat, Morocco, alongside officers accredited solely to Rabat. The phrase "shared with" simply means that two offices together delivered visa services in the noted country.

In addition to Gerry Maffre's and Raphael Girard's ongoing work on this series of articles, other former immigration program managers of visa offices—Diane Burrows, Anne Arnott, Bob Shalka, and Peter Duschinsky—reviewed the 1990s listing to improve its accuracy. We have used their dates if they differ from *Representatives*. Some discrepancies may be due to the publication's production deadlines' not aligning with dates of office closings or openings.

The overseas visa office network went through many changes in this decade. A total of 77 offices in 62 countries operated throughout or during part of the 1990s. Instability in the Middle East led to much shifting of office responsibilities and movement of staff. There was similar operational shifting in Africa, with greater area responsibilities given to visa offices in Accra, Abidjan, Nairobi, and Pretoria.

The Canadian government's decision to reduce its fiscal deficit through a program review of the public service in May 1994 imposed severe cuts upon the Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) budget. CIC could no longer maintain the broad international network of visa offices that it had received back from the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in 1992. The required reduction in operating resources could only be accomplished through reengineering processes, reducing points of service, and cutting the number of employees. Hard choices had to be made.

"Downsizing" included the closure of some visa offices such as Berne, Brussels, The Hague, and Boston or reducing the range of services provided, as in Stockholm. At the same time, the immigration service had to respond to changes in Central and Eastern Europe brought about by the collapse of the U.S.S.R. and the end of its severe foreign travel restrictions. To respond to increasing service demands, existing offices, such as Moscow, expanded, and new ones, such as Kyiv and Prague, opened. Yugoslavia's collapse into its constituent ethnic components triggered a major refugee movement that became the responsibility of the European offices.

Despite resource constraints, the "immigration control officer" (ICO) network in visa offices continued to expand. This trend reflected a decade of escalating global irregular migration abetted by more and more sophisticated travel document fraud. ICOs worked out of offices in countries or regions where there was irregular migration (source and transiting) to Canada. ICOs also helped airline staff become more adept at detecting Canada-bound passengers with invalid travel documents. In the accompanying table's Notes column, offices with an ICO presence are indicated by "ICO". ICO positions were not specified as such in *Representatives*. We did not seek out any official list of these positions. Rather, notations in the table reflect the memories of those involved in this project. Fortunately, former immigration colleague Gordon Cheeseman provided us with a 1996 ICO training list that identified some officers and their locations. ICOs were primarily dedicated to this work and variously performed other immigration functions where warranted.

Through the 1990s, geo-political instability affected operations in Abidjan and Accra, to say nothing of other offices. As tensions and unrest in Abidjan led to Canadian embassy staff cutbacks, responsibilities for elements of the immigration program were transferred to Accra. Finding space for transferred staff and doing it quickly was a challenge. The complexities in the accompanying table reflect this turmoil.

Another reality was that visa offices, even in peaceful countries like Sweden, were required to provide narrower ranges of services. Responsibility for processing non-immigrant visas was one line of work often left in place once immigrant processing was moved elsewhere. In other cases, it was the first type of service offered in new offices; Abu Dhabi, Kyiv, and Chandigarh are three examples. Also, the department opened a small number of offices, like Dubai, that specialized

in applications from would-be business immigrants. These distinctions are not laid out in *Canadian Representatives Abroad*.

Over and above all, the visa office in Buffalo, New York, became the initial point of contact for applicants living in the U.S.A. Buffalo received their application and created files and initiated criminal and security checks and medical assessments. The office would later issue an immigrant visa to successful applicants or a refusal to those who could not meet statutory requirements, including medical assessment. More complex cases were processed differently. Buffalo would open the file and enter case data into the department's case management system. The file would then be transferred to one of the consulate visa offices for an interview and final determination and disposition. Detroit, Los Angeles, Seattle, and New York City were part of this network. Buffalo was also the office that handled permanent resident applications launched from within Canada but which were required by law to be completed outside our borders.

In addition to cutbacks, the overseas and domestic programs dealt with three significant organizational changes. First, responsibility for the delivery of immigration programs overseas was transferred from External Affairs and International Trade back to Employment and Immigration Canada in 1992. Second, under the brief tenure of Prime Minister Kim Campbell, in 1993 the government moved significant elements of immigration and border control programs and staff (except for settlement policy and programs) to the newly created and short-lived Department of Public Security, through whose minister other bodies, including the RCMP, reported to Parliament. The dispersed elements of the immigration program were brought back together in 1994 by the Jean Chrétien government as Citizenship and Immigration Canada and remained as such for the rest of the decade.

Within Canada, there were many developments on the immigration front in the 1990s. "Business Processing Reengineering" and "Program Review" resulted in major changes to the inland network. One of the most important was the creation of central processing centres in Vegreville, Alberta (opened in 1994), and Mississauga, Ontario (about the same time). The former initially handled applications within Canada to extend visitor, student, and temporary worker visas. The case processing centre (CPC) in Vegreville also took in applications on "humanitarian and compassionate" grounds for in-Canada, Family Class permanent residence cases that were then finalized at local Canada Immigration Centres. CPC Mississauga dealt with Family Class applications and assessed sponsors' compliance with requirements before referring cases abroad for further processing.

In 1990, the Brian Mulroney government released an annual immigration plan that, for the first time, projected target numbers over a five-year period. This government also brought in legislation (Bill C-86) to deal with problems in the refugee determination system that included the very contentious "safe third country" provision. The succeeding Chrétien government introduced legislation to bar known criminals from making refugee claims and made other changes to expedite <u>hearings</u>.

The decade saw the signing of another and more robust <u>immigration agreement between Canada and Quebec</u>. This agreement gave the province authority for overseas immigrant selection of economic migration cases (not medical or criminality criteria or visa issuance) and responsibility for immigrant settlement. It built on Quebec's role established with the initial agreement of 1971 and led to an increased presence abroad of Quebec's immigration staff and offices. Staff in these offices worked in close collaboration with their federal counterparts.

The 1990s ended with the immigration program front and centre in the news. In the spring of 1999, the department and its partners delivered on a government commitment to provide transport to Canada and, initially, temporary protection to some 5,000 Kosovars fleeing ethnic persecution in the Balkan wars. Thousands took advantage of the option to stay permanently. That summer, four ships carrying Chinese refugee claimants arrived off the B.C. coast, sparking intense public debate. And in the dying days of the year, Ahmed Ressam, a failed refugee claimant in Canada, was arrested trying to enter the United States intent on bombing the Los Angeles airport that New Year's Eve. This last incident prompted more intense criticism—from both sides of the 49th parallel this time—about Canada's immigration program.

Some 2.2 million people migrated to Canada in the 1990s. With these ten years (and especially the last one), the Year 2000 rollover in the immigration program was, thankfully, uneventful!

And here ends our decennial review of visa office locations. We will provide a consolidated overview of these 50 years of visa office locations in the next issue of the *Bulletin*.

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
AFRICA		
Cairo, Egypt	1990-2000	ICO office mid-1990s. Bahrain 1994-1995; Oman 1993-1994; shared work with Riyadh 1995-1996; Sudan 1990-1997; United Arab Emirates 1993-1995; Yemen 1990-1994.
Accra, Ghana (see text in narrative)	1990-2000	Shared work with Abidjan and Lagos 1992-1993. Angola 1992-1993; Cabo Verde 1991, 1993-2000; Central African Republic 1991; Congo 1991-1993; Equatorial Guinea 1991, 1993-2000; Gambia 1991, 1993-2000; Guinea 1991; Guinea-Bissau 1991, 1993-2000; Liberia 1990, 1993-2000; Mauritania 2000; Niger 1991; Nigeria 1998-1999; São Tomé et Príncipe 1991, 1993-2000; Senegal 1999, shared with Abidjan 2000; Sierra Leone 1993-2000; Togo 1991, 1993, 1996-2000; Zaire 1991.
Abidjan, Ivory Coast (see text in narrative)	1990-2000	Shared work with Accra 1993, 2000; shared work with Paris 1995-1996. Angola 1990-1992; Benin 1990-1999, shared with Accra and Lagos 1993-1994; Burkina Faso 1990-2000; shared with Accra 1993; Cameroon 1990-2000, shared with Accra 1993, 2000; Cabo Verde 1990-1992; Central African Republic 1990-2000, shared with Accra 1993, 2000; Chad 1990-2000, shared with Accra 1993, 2000; Congo 1990-2000, shared with Accra 1993, 2000; Equatorial Guinea 1990-1992; Gabon 1990-2000, shared with Accra 1993; Gambia 1990-1993, shared with Accra 1993; Guinea 1990-1993, shared with Accra 1993-2000; Guinea-Bissau 1990- 1992; Liberia 1990-1992; Mali 1990-2000, shared with Accra 1993; Mauritania 1990-1998, shared with Accra 1993; Sierra Leone 1990-1998, shared with Accra 1993; Senegal 1990-1998, shared with Accra 1993; Sierra Leone 1990-1992; Togo 1990-1996, shared with Accra 1993-1996; Zaire 1990-1992.

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
Nairobi, Kenya	1990-2000	Shared work with Pretoria 1993.ICO office mid-1990s. Botswana 1993, shared with Pretoria 1994-2000; Burundi 1990-2000; Comoros 1990-2000; Djibouti 1990-2000; Eritrea 2000; Ethiopia 1990-2000; Lesotho 1993; Madagascar 1990-2000; Malawi 1990-1991, shared with Pretoria 1993-1996; Mauritius 1990-1999, shared with Pretoria 2000; Mozambique 1990-1991,1993, shared with Pretoria 1993-2000; Rwanda 1990-2000; Seychelles 1990-2000, shared with Dar-es-Salaam 1995; Somalia 1990-2000; Tanzania 1990-2000; Uganda 1990-2000; Zambia 1990-1991; Zaire 1998; Zimbabwe, shared with Pretoria 1993-1999.
Rabat, Morocco	1990-2000	Shared work with Paris 1993-2000. Temporary resident processing 1994-2000 Algeria 1990-1992; Tunisia 1992-1993, shared with Paris 1994-2000.
Lagos, Nigeria	1990-1997	ICO office mid-1990s. Temporary resident processing from 1992 and for Benin 1993-1994. Shared work with Accra 1993, 1996-1997; shared work with Paris and Accra 1994, 1995.
Pretoria, South Africa		Shared work with Nairobi 1993-1999. Angola 1994-1995; shared with Nairobi 1996, shared with Harare 1997, shared with Nairobi, Pretoria and Harare 1998, shared with Pretoria and Nairobi 1999-2000; Botswana 1990-1992; Lesotho 1990-1992, 1994-1995, shared with Nairobi 1996-2000; Malawi 1995, 1997-2000; Mozambique 1997-2000; Namibia 1990-1995, 1996-1998, shared with Nairobi 1995, 2000; Swaziland 1990-1994, shared with Nairobi 1995, 1996-2000; Zambia 1996-2000, shared with Nairobi 1994-1999; Zimbabwe 1990-2000.
AMERICAS		
America Washington	1990-2000	ICO office 1993-2000 for U.S.A.; became temporary resident processing office in 1992.
Atlanta	1990-1992	
Boston	1990-1992	
Buffalo	1990-2000	
Chicago	1990-1992	
Dallas	1990-1992	

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
Detroit	1990-2000	
Los Angeles	1990-2000	
Miami	1993-2000	ICO office (covered Mexico, Colombia, Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama).
Minneapolis	1990-1992	
New York City	1990-2000	Bermuda 1990-2000.
Seattle	1990-2000	
Buenos Aires, Argentina	1990-2000	Shared work with Santiago 1993-1994 and 1997-2000. ICO office 1996-2000 covering southern portion of South America. Paraguay 1993-2000; Uruguay 1990-2000.
Bridgetown, Barbados	1990-1992	Anguilla, Montserrat and British Virgin Islands; Antigua and Barbuda; Dominica, Grenada, Puerto Rico, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenadines.
San Paulo, Brazil	1991-2000	ICO office 1993-1995 for Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay.
Santiago, Chile	1990-1994, 1997-2000	Shared workload with Buenos Aires 1992-1994 and 1997-2000. Paraguay 1990-1992, shared with Miami 1994.
Bogota, Colombia	1990-2000	Shared work with Miami 1993-2000.
San José, Costa Rica	1990-1992	Honduras 1990-1992, Nicaragua 1990-1992, Panama 1990-1992.
Havana, Cuba	1991-2000	Shared work with Mexico City 1991, shared work with Kingston 1993-1995.
Guatemala City, Guatemala	1990-2000	El Salvador 1990-1993, shared work with Miami 1994 -2000. Honduras, shared with Miami 1993-2000; Nicaragua 1993, shared with Miami 1994-2000; Panama 1993, shared with Miami 1994-2000.
Port au Prince, Haiti	1990-2000	Shared work with Kingston 1993-1995. Dominican Republic 1990-2000.
Kingston, Jamaica	1990-2000	ICO office 1993-2000. Shared work with Port of Spain 1993-2000. Bahamas 1990-2000, Belize 1990-1993, shared with Miami 1993-1997; Dominican Republic 1994-1995 shared work with Port-au-Prince; Cayman Islands 1990-2000; Turks and Caicos Islands 1990-2000.

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
Mexico City, Mexico	1990-2000	Cuba 1990-1991; Shared work with Miami 1993-2000.
Lima, Peru	1990-2000	Bolivia 1990-1992, 1996-2000 1993-1995 shared work with São Paulo.
Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago	1990-2000	Shared work with Kingston 1993-2000. Anguilla, Montserrat and British Virgin Islands 1993-2000; Antigua and Barbuda 1993-1994, shared with Kingston 1995-2000; Barbados 1993-2000; Dominica 1993, shared with Kingston 1993-2000; Guyana 1990-1992, shared with Kingston 1993-2000; Grenada 1993, shared with Kingston 1993-2000; St. Kitts and Nevis shared with Kingston 1993-2000; St. Lucia shared with Kingston 1993-2000; St. Vincent and Grenadines shared with Kingston 1993-2000; Suriname 1990-1992, shared with Kingston 1993-2000.
ASIA-PACIFIC	1	1
Australia	4000 0000	100 (6)
Canberra	1993-2000	ICO office and shared work with Sydney 1993. Vanuatu 1999-2000.
Sydney	1990-2000	Shared work with Canberra 1993. Fiji 1990-1992, shared with Singapore 1994-1995, shared with Canberra 1996-2000; Kiribati 1999-2000; New Zealand 1990-2000, shared with Canberra 1994-1995, 1999-2000; Papua New Guinea 1990-1993, shared with Singapore 1994-1996, 1997-2000; Solomon Islands 1990-1996; Samoa, shared with Canberra 1999-2000; Tonga 1999-2000, shared with Canberra; Tuvalu 1999-2000; Vanuatu 1990-1992, 1993 shared with Singapore.
Dhaka, Bangladesh	1996-1998	Shared work with Bangkok 1999, and with Singapore 2000. ICO office mid-1990.
China Beijing	1993-2000	Shared work with Hong Kong 1993-1996.
Hong Kong	1990-2000	ICO office mid-1990s. Mongolia 1992-2000, Macao 1990-1998; Malaysia 1993.
India Chandigarh	1997-2000	Branch office of Delhi, no visa officer assigned.
New Delhi	1990-2000	Bangladesh 1990-1992, shared work with Bangkok 1994; Nepal 1990-2000.
Jakarta, Indonesia	1997-2000	Shared work with Singapore 1997-2000

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
Tokyo, Japan	1990-2000	
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia	1990-1992	
Islamabad, Pakistan	1990-2000	
Manila, Philippines	1990-2000	Shared work with Singapore 1993-1995.
Singapore	1990-2000	Shared work with Manila 1993-1995, and with Sydney 1993. Brunei 1990-2000; Fiji 1993; Indonesia 1990-1998; Malaysia 1994-2000; Vanuatu 1994-1998.
Seoul, South Korea	1990-2000	ICO office mid-1990s.
Colombo, Sri Lanka	1990-2000	ICO office mid-1990s. Maldives 1990-2000.
Taipei, Taiwan	No Date	ICO office mid-1990s.
Bangkok, Thailand	1990-2000	ICO office mid-1990s Bangladesh 1993-1995, shared work with New Delhi 1993, and with Singapore 1999-2000; Cambodia 1993-2000; Laos 1990-2000; Myanmar 1990-2000; Viet Nam 1990-2000.
EUROPE		
Vienna, Austria	1990-2000	ICO office. Shared work with Prague 1993, and with Bonn 1994-1998. Bosnia-Herzegovina 1996-2000; Croatia 1994-1998, shared with Warsaw 1999-2000; Macedonia 2000; Slovakia 1999-2000, shared with Prague 1999; Slovenia 1994-1998, shared with Warsaw; Hungary 1996-2000, shared with Warsaw 1996-1998.
Brussels, Belgium	1990-1992	Luxembourg 1990-1992.
Prague, Czechoslovakia/ Czech Republic	1990-1995, 1998-2000	Shared work with Warsaw 1994-1995 and 1998-1999, and with Vienna 2000. Czechoslovakia 1990-1992, Czech Republic and Slovakia 1992-1995, shared with Warsaw 1994.
Bonn, Germany	1990-2000	

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
France Paris	1990-2000	Algeria, shared work with Madrid 1994-1995, 1997-2000; Belgium 1993-2000, shared with Bonn and Rabat 1993; Libya 1997, shared with Tunis 1998-1999, 2000; Lichtenstein 1998; Luxembourg 1993-1999, shared with The Hague 2000; Spain 1993-1998, shared with Rome 1999-2000; Sweden 1994-1997, shared with Bonn 1998; Tunisia 1993.
Marseille	1990-1993	
Athens, Greece	1990-1994	
Budapest, Hungary	1990-1996	Shared work with Belgrade 1993, with Warsaw 1994-1995, and with Vienna and Warsaw 1996-1997. Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Slovenia 1993.
Dublin, Ireland	1990-1992	
Rome, Italy	1990-2000	Albania 1999-2000; Greece 1994-1995, shared work with Paris 1996-1998, 1999-2000; Libya 1990-1993, shared with Tunis 1994-1996; Malta 1990-2000; Portugal 1999-2000.
The Hague, Netherlands	1990-2000	Shared work with Stockholm and London 1993, with London 1994-1995, with Bonn 1996-1977, with Berlin 1998-1999, with London and Berlin 1997-2000.
Warsaw Poland	1990-2000	ICO office mid-1990s. Shared work with Prague and Kyiv 1993, and with Vienna 1997. Belarus 1999-2000; Slovakia 1995-1998.
Lisbon, Portugal	1990-1998	Shared work with Paris 1994-1995. Spain 1996, shared with Paris 1998.
Bucharest, Romania	1990-2000	Shared work with Warsaw 1994-1996. Bulgaria 1999-2000; Moldova 1992-1995, shared with Budapest 1996-2000.
Moscow, U.S.S.R./Russia	1990-2000	1992-2000: Armenia; Kazakhstan; Kyrgyzstan; Tajikistan; Uzbekistan; Azerbaijan; shared with Ankara 1992-1993, 1994 and 1997-1998; Belarus 1992-1998; Georgia 1992-1998; Latvia 2000; Turkmenistan 1992-1998.

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES	
Belgrade, Serbia	1990-2000	Shared work with Warsaw 1994-1995, and with Vienna 1999-2000. Albania 1990-1992, 1994-1998; Bulgaria 1990-1992, 1994-1998 shared with Warsaw; Macedonia 1996-1999.	
Madrid, Spain	1990-1992		
Stockholm, Sweden	1990-1994	Shared work with The Hague 1993, and with The Hague and London 1994.  Denmark 1990-1993, shared with London 1994-1995; Estonia 1992-1993, shared work with London 1994; Finland 1990-1993, shared with London 1994; Iceland 1990-1993, shared with London and The Hague 1994; Latvia 1992; Lithuania 1992; Norway 1990-1992, 1994, shared with London and The Hague 1994.	
Switzerland Berne	1990-1994		
Geneva	1990-2000	Permanent Mission to the UN.	
Kyiv, Ukraine	1992-2000	Shared work with Moscow 1993-1996, 1999-2000.	
London, United Kingdom	1990-2000	Shared work with The Hague 1993. Denmark 1998-2000, shared with The Hague; Estonia 1995-2000; Finland 1995-1998, shared with The Hague 1999-2000; Iceland 1995-2000; Ireland 1993-2000; Latvia 1993, shared with Stockholm 1994, 1995-1999; Lithuania 1993, shared with Stockholm 1994, 1995-2000; Norway 1995-1998, shared with The Hague 1999-2000; Sweden 1995-2000.	
MIDDLE EAST	MIDDLE EAST		
Tehran, Iran	1999-2000	Shared work with Damascus 1990-2000.	
Tel Aviv, Israel	1990-2000	Shared work with Cairo 1995-1998. Cyprus 1990-1993, shared with Damascus 1994-1996.	
Amman, Jordan	1998-2000	Shared work with Damascus 1998-2000.	
Kuwait City, Kuwait	1990 Some service suspension 1990	Iraq, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Yemen 1990; United Arab Republic, Bahrain 1990-1991.	
Beirut, Lebanon	1999-2000	Shared work with Damascus.	

VISA OFFICE LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	OTHER COUNTRIES SERVED, NOTES
Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	1991-1998	Shared work with Cairo 1993-1996. Bahrain 1992-1993,1997-1998; Kuwait 1991-1993, shared with Cairo 1994-1995,1995-1997, shared with Cairo and Dubai 1996, shared with Cairo and Abu Dhabi 1999; Oman 1991-1992, 1997-1998, shared with Abu Dhabi 1999; Qatar 1991-1993, shared with Cairo 1994-1995, shared with Cairo and Abu Dhabi 1996, 1995-1997, shared with Cairo 1997-1998; United Arab Emirates 1992, 1995-1997; Yemen 1991-1992, 1995-1998, shared with Cairo 1993-1996.
Damascus, Syria	1990-2000	Cyprus 1997-2000; Iran 1990-2000; Lebanon 1990-1998; Saudi Arabia 1990.
Ankara, Turkey	1990-2000	Shared work with Damascus 1994-2000. Azerbaijan 1994, shared with Moscow 1995-2000; Georgia 1999-2000; Iraq 1991-2000; Turkmenistan 1999-2000.
United Arab Emirates Abu Dhabi	1997-2000	Oman 2000; Qatar shared with Cairo 1999; Saudi Arabia 1999-2000; Yemen 1999-2000.
Dubai	1994-1997, 2000	ICO office late 1990s; business immigration office 1994-1997.

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

#### In Memoriam

#### Frazer Mark

We are sad to report the recent passing of <u>Frazer Mark</u> on 16 December 2020. Members are invited to share their reminiscences.

#### **Roger St-Vincent**

Remembered by Alnoor Abdulla

In 1970, at age 19, I started medical school at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, on a Tanzanian government scholarship, as Tanzania did not have a medical school at that time.

Right from first year in medical school, I started discussing my dilemma with my tutors and professors: Tanzania had a socialist government; my family had a business in our own building from which we ran the business; our residence and business were nationalized; and overnight my family lost almost everything we had earned. Together with ongoing risks in my home village of Mpwapwa for my parents, this loss had set an obligatory, singular goal for me: I needed to get out of Tanzania. I had managed that initially by getting into medical school in Uganda and thus got an official passport. From here at Makerere University I now had to catapult abroad, complete my education there, get myself established, and be able to get my parents and my four-year-old brother out of Tanzania. I talked to my professors about the obstacles to my career growth if I went back to Tanzania—government control of jobs, high possibility of being posted to a rural hospital as a junior medical officer, slim-to-no chance of being able to proceed to specialization. Most importantly, I was the only hope for my family's future.

I got sympathetic murmurs from my professors at Makerere, and with their encouragement, I started applying to universities around the world for a transfer into their medical schools "on political grounds". Many schools replied, but the message was the same: "we do not feel the political situation is bad enough to warrant your transfer", or "if it worsens, we will consider". I had a very strong academic record, earning distinction in exams at Makerere and British overseas examinations.

In my second year at medical school, 1971, Uganda had a military coup and General Idi Amin seized power. Deposed President Milton Obote took refuge in Tanzania, whose government tried to reinstate him. Essentially Tanzania and Uganda were now "at war". My "Tanzania problem" suddenly had an unforeseen "Uganda problem" grafted to it. I did not risk going home during school vacation because I feared getting trapped in Tanzania without access to medical school.

In 1972, I re-doubled my efforts to emigrate, re-applying to many medical schools. Then came Idi Amin's decree for all Asians to leave Uganda within three months. It was a disaster: now would I have to leave Uganda and go back to Tanzania, not even having finished medical school?

Around this time, I started getting some positive responses to my applications and acceptances of transfer from reputable medical schools in Canada, the U.S., and the United Kingdom. I now had acceptances for transfer to overseas medical schools but no immigration status to any of those countries and no financial means to go or to fund my education. Uganda was becoming very violent; Asians and many, many anti-Amin black Ugandans were being killed. People were scrambling to leave the country. Foreign embassies and high commissions were flooded with refugee applications. I felt I did not stand a chance. I decided it was no use for me to continue going to classes and I had to do something to get immigrant status to one of the countries from which I now had medical school transfer acceptance.

The Canadian high commission was then processing hundreds of Ugandan applicants daily: getting their medicals done right away and subsequently accepting some based on Canadian immigration criteria; identifying the ones that had already passed the medicals; and flying them to Canada as soon as possible. Its medical department had quite a heavy workload.

I seized my opportunity: I volunteered to help them at the lab—I was very competent at doing stool and urine checks for ova and parasites. My offer was accepted and I found out later that it had been approved by the "big man" (in my mind I thought of him as that) upstairs who was the immigration boss at the high commission. I worked alongside Canadians in the medical department, getting to know them, and earning their approval of my work. This arrangement carried on for over two months, and I still I was unable to get an application form or interview anywhere.

Then the Grace of God fell upon me. My efforts were rewarded. On the "never-will-I-ever-forget" evening of 30 October 1972, around 5:00 pm, I was summoned from the medical lab to go upstairs. The "big man"—whom I still hadn't met—wanted to see me. In his office he told me that he had heard good things about me from the medical staff and was aware I already had medical school acceptance at the University of British Columbia (I quickly added "and at Universities of Alberta and Western Ontario"). He asked me about my family, my ability to fund my education, where I would go, etc. I told him that I was alone in Uganda; I had no money; my family had no money abroad; I had no relatives abroad who could assist me financially; and I was willing to go to any of the three cities where I had medical school acceptances. I made my well-rehearsed pitch about my family stuck in Tanzania, my young brother, issues in Tanzania, and no future for me there. (By now I had perfected it, having written the same to scores of medical schools around the world.)

Audaciously, I told him that I would do well at medical school in Canada and would turn out to be a good asset for Canada, because, if allowed to immigrate there, I would contribute to the country as a doctor graduating from a Canadian medical school. As for how I would support myself—I had no resources, but I did not expect to get anything handed to me. I would work very hard and repay whatever I required.

I could not read him well. I thought he was unimpressed and was going to ask me to leave. I had not even filled in an application form for immigration. He looked at me and said that he would give me "landed immigrant status" as a refugee to Canada. I was shocked! I think I stopped breathing. He asked me if I was ready to fly out in the morning. In a daze I said "yes". I recall him saying "go to Vancouver, you will be happy there". I rushed back to campus. I did not mention a word to anyone except my roommate Nasir. I packed a few clothes, took no other possessions, books or any of the small amount of Ugandan money I had. The next morning at 7:00 am, I was at the rendezvous spot behind the Apollo Hotel where the Canadian high commission bus picked up Ugandan refugees and took us to the airport. We passed multiple army check points on the way. I was terrified as a Tanzanian, but I had no possessions or money about which the officers could make an issue. We made it to the airport and flew off to Canada.

That "big man" had approved my working in the Canadian medical unit and now had given me a new life and a country I could call home. So much good happened to me and my family in Canada in the subsequent decades from the big man's decision.

That man was Roger St-Vincent. God bless his soul.

Unfortunately, after I had been in Canada about a year, my mother (aged 46) passed away back in my village. The month before my graduation from the University of British Columbia's medical school in 1975, my widowed father and young brother immigrated to Canada to join me. I subsequently sponsored the immigration of many of my extended family and my now ex-wife's family; all have flourished in this wonderful country, due to the "big man's" decision to select me, a young man with no resources who was entirely committed to his career and family.

I found out later that Mr. Mike Molloy (Mr. St-Vincent's assistant), the deans of Canadian medical schools, the Aga Khan and others, worked simultaneously to place other Asian medical students at medical schools in Canada and obtain immigration status for them. I was not part of that initiative. My guardian angel was Roger St. Vincent!!

Eternally grateful,

Alnoor Abdulla, MD, FRCPC, FACC, FACP, FACC

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