



The Canadian Immigration Historical Society offers its heartiest congratulations to the Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian communities in Canada on this important anniversary of the 1975 fall of Saigon.

Since they first started to come to Canada and especially through Canada's southeast Asian refugee program, they and their Canadian offspring have contributed to the fabric and success of this country.

CIHS members and former colleagues played a significant role in ensuring the successful migration to Canada of those fleeing the region. CIHS has also worked tirelessly over the last several years with the communities to [tell the story](#) of this significant milestone in Canada's immigration history.

CIHS and the Southeast Asian (Indochinese) Refugee Movement

Michael J. Molloy and Peter Duschinsky

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the fall of Saigon and the beginning of the long-lasting movement of Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian refugees to Canada, we thought it would be appropriate to record the Canadian Immigration Historical Society's (CIHS's) engagement with this historic resettlement initiative.

How It Began

In the winter of 2006–07, the CIHS's board met at the late-lamented Citizenship and Immigration Canada's (CIC's) departmental library to review the previous 49 issues of the CIHS Bulletin, with a view to identifying the "Best of the Bulletin" to be republished in a celebratory 50th issue.

What came to light in the course of the review was that there was not a single article on the Southeast Asian refugee movement that brought close to 70,000 refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to Canada between May 1975 and December 1980, and which carried on until 1997, delivering more than 210,000 people. This movement led eventually to the people of Canada receiving the prestigious Nansen Medal from the UNHCR in 1986. It was (and remains) the largest

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refugee resettlement operation undertaken by Canada and saw the debut of Canada's famous private refugee sponsorship program.

There was no thought of writing a book at that stage, but it seemed possible to do an article on the origins of the sponsorship program. The efficient staff of Library and Archives Canada (LAC) found the relevant files. Gordon Barnett and Mike Molloy, who had both worked on designing and "selling" the sponsorship program, read the material, and Molloy had copies made of a couple of dozen of the key documents. These copies sat in a file for several years, until Molloy was approached by Marie Alice Belmont, a foreign student from the Sorbonne who was looking for a topic for a term paper. On the spur of the moment, Molloy gave her the file and suggested she attempt to extract the story. (Molloy was teaching a course on Canadian refugee policy and practice at the University of Ottawa at the time.)

The Decision to Write a History of the Indochinese

The resulting term paper was impressive, and Molloy realized that, with access to the official records, it would be possible to tell the whole story of the Indochinese movement. He recruited Peter Duschinsky, Kurt F. Jensen, and the late Robert Shalka—all retired visa officers with a love of history and strong research and writing skills. The team decided it would concentrate on the period from the fall of Saigon in 1975 to the end of the big movement in 1980. It would tell the story of how the immigration department located, documented, and transported the refugees to Canada, and the policy, program, and operational innovations that made it possible to receive 5,000 refugees a month, matching the majority with sponsors across the country.

None of the four knew much about publishing a book, but they had heard of McGill-Queen's University Press (MQUP). Molloy sent a very short letter to McGill-Queen's describing what they had in mind. MQUP got back to them within 48 hours expressing strong interest! CIC gave LAC the green light to make whatever files the team needed available.

During 2012-13, Duschinsky, Jansen, and Shalka spent long days at LAC photographing enough documents to fill several three-inch ring binders. University of Ottawa graduate student Laura May Roth arranged the records in chronological order and created a detailed annotated index. In the meantime, Molloy contacted about 70 former federal and Quebec immigration officials and asked them write down what they remembered about being involved in the operation, whether in Canada or Southeast Asia. Within months the team had amassed an archive of gripping memoirs.

Detour for a Conference

In 2012, on the 40th anniversary of the Ugandan Asian movement, Molloy gave a series of talks, and his host at York University's Centre for Refugee Studies, James Simeon, who was the centre's acting director, suggested that CIHS and the centre host a conference on the refugees from the former Indochina.

The conference, entitled *The Indochinese Refugee Movement and the Launch of Canada's Private Sponsorship Program*, took place in November 2013 at York University and heard testimonies from Vietnamese, Sino-Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian refugees. The speakers reflected on the process of becoming refugees, their arrival in Canada, their first encounters with sponsors, and their long-term adaptation to life in Canada. The conference also included panels of former visa officers, media representatives, political leaders, community activists, and coordinators as well as academics.

The conference revealed a surprising lack of academic attention to Canada's Indochinese refugee movement, given its magnitude, its impact, and the enormous barriers that confronted refugees adapting to and integrating into Canada.¹

One result of the conference was an effort to promote more research through a call for papers, seven of which were published in a special issue of Canada's refugee journal *Refuge* Vol 32, no 2, 2016. Three

CIHS Members

Please mark your calendars!

This year's CIHS Annual General Meeting
will take place on

Thursday, 23 October 2025.

Details will follow.



L-R: Joe Clark, Mike Molloy, and Judy Trinh at the LAC launch of *Running on Empty*, 17 May 2017. (Courtesy of Peter Duschinsky)

of the papers were particularly notable from a policy perspective and could serve as the basis for a course on Canadian policy and practice.

The *Refuge* articles take the Indochinese refugee program as a point of departure and then follow three distinct but complementary vectors to the present. Michael Casasola examines how Canadian and UNHCR resettlement policies were affected by the Indochinese experience and how they have alternatively diverged and converged over the succeeding decades. Robert C. Batarseh looks at the Indochinese Designated Class Regulation Canada implemented on the eve of the 1979-80 program, how it was later modified to bring it into compliance with the Comprehensive Plan of Action, and how it foreshadowed current UNHCR and Canadian group-processing practices. Shauna Labman discusses how the foundational “additionality” principle, which held that privately sponsored refugees would be admitted over and above the government’s refugee resettlement commitments, has been eroded over the years.²

Participation in the York University conference slowed work on the book but broadened the team’s knowledge and network of academic and community contacts. The book, now called *Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugee Movement 1975 to 1980* took over three years to write.

Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees 1975-1980

The Book’s Structure: Part 1 of *Running on Empty* (ROE) combines a chronological history of events, the impact of the 1976 *Immigration Act*, and the operational innovations that made it possible to select, document, transport, and receive, over 60,000 refugees between 1979 and 1980. They arrived in Canada on 181 charter flights through two reception centres, with more than half matched with newly organized sponsoring groups. Part 2 describes, mainly in the words of former federal and Quebec officers who were there, operations in Singapore (covering Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei), Hong Kong, Macau, and the Philippines, with separate chapters on Quebec’s operations and rescue-at-sea events. Part 3 tells the stories of the reception centres in Montreal and Edmonton, community coordination, the refugee liaison officers, and the adaptation process.

Launch and Marketing: ROE’s formal launch took place on 17 May 2017 at the Ottawa Writer’s Festival at Library and Archives Canada and was attended by 200 people. The Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian communities provided refreshments. The three Southeast Asian communities’ reactions to the book were stunning: the Calgary Vietnamese community alone ordered 200 copies. The first 500 copies sold out in six weeks, the second in six months. CIHS purchased large numbers of books, and members of the writing team conducted book signings at community festivals across the country. The academic community’s reaction was also positive.



Peter Duschinsky and Mike Molloy (closest to the monument) and two Vietnamese-Canadian hosts at the Mississauga Boat People Monument, 2023. (Courtesy of Phan Dam.)

Southeast Asian Archive

CIHS had previously assisted the Carleton University’s Library and Archives to set up a special online collection of materials on the Ugandan Asian refugee movement of 1972. Therefore, it was natural to donate the large collection of materials accumulated by CIHS on the Indochinese movement to the same place.

Translating the Book into Vietnamese: Cong Lung Van Ganh

Shortly after ROE was published, members of the Vietnamese community asked CIHS if it would be possible to bring out a shorter version of the book in Vietnamese. Many older Vietnamese Canadians were unable to read the English version, and the leadership wanted to ensure the book would be accessible to the larger global Vietnamese community. In due course, it was agreed that the Vietnamese version would consist of the historical section, Part 1 (Chapters 1 to 10) plus a selection of the more interesting personal memoirs. The translation was overseen by Professor Phan Dam, a retired Engineering Technology professor from Toronto, while the design and actual publication of the book would be the responsibility of Mr. Tri

Hoang, an Edmonton dentist and former president of the Vietnamese Canadian Federation. Given the vast differences between the English and Vietnamese languages, finding people with sufficient mastery of both languages was a challenge. Another hurdle was that the Vietnamese communist regime had changed the language and it was important the book be untainted by the changes. Much of the work was done during the Covid pandemic.

The title, *Running on Empty*, has always mystified our Southeast Asian friends, so there was a search for Vietnamese words to convey the sense of determination to carry on despite exhaustion. Happily, Tri Hoang's wife, Vi, found a close equivalent in the saying "Cong Lung Van Ganh", which roughly translated means "bent back still has to carry" and refers to the practice of carrying heavy loads in baskets at two ends of a bamboo pole.

The final version of *Cong Lung Van Ganh* was released in 2022 and quickly sold out. It contains a much larger selection of historic and contemporary photos than the original. The book is now available to Vietnamese speakers online.

Creation of the Hearts of Freedom/Cœurs en Liberté Project

At the same time as *Running on Empty* was being researched and written by four CIHS authors under the leadership of Mike Molloy, Canada's Vietnamese community expressed interest in preserving the memory of the boat people's sufferings, the refugees' struggles in Canada, and their long journey to become part of a multicultural Canada. The leadership cohort for this initiative consisted of people who arrived in Canada as very young adults or children and who had spent most of their lives in Canada.

In 2015, Dau-Thi Huynh, treasurer of the Vietnamese Canadian Federation, and Minh Nguyen, an artist and volunteer in the Vietnamese community, met with professor emeritus Colleen Lundy of Carleton University's Department of Social Work in Ottawa. Their discussions led to further discussions with Molloy, who then brought Duschinsky and Carleton professor emeritus Allan Moscovitch on board. Finally, they were joined by Stephanie Stobbe, herself a Laotian refugee, who is an associate professor at the Canadian Mennonite University in Winnipeg. These five individuals became the central research team of a major new project.

Very rapidly, a cross section of representatives of the Vietnamese community joined the core of five. In a series of discussions, the outline of the project started to take shape. In addition to the project's Vietnamese-Canadian originators, it was decided to invite the Cambodian-Canadian and Laotian-Canadian communities to participate. A management committee was formed that, in addition to members from the three ethnic communities, included representatives of the Canadian Museum of History; the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21; Carleton University Archives; Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC); and the CIHS. The management committee decided to proceed with a major research project named *Hearts of Freedom/Cœurs en Liberté*. While the CIHS-sponsored book *Running on Empty* described how Southeast Asian refugees were selected, processed, and resettled in Canada by Canadians, the *Hearts of Freedom/Cœurs en Liberté* (HOF) project would preserve, through oral history interviews with former refugees, the experiences of these former refugees, focusing on their escapes, their lives in refugee camps, their arrivals in Canada, and their lives in Canada.



Mike Molloy at the Canadian History Museum premiere of the documentary "Passage to Freedom/Passage vers la Liberté", 15 April 2023. (Courtesy of Peter Duschinsky)

Following complex exchanges with Heritage Canada, the two Carleton University emeritus professor members of the HOF research team presented a detailed project application to Heritage Canada as a project of Carleton University. The federal department approved the project in 2018, and it received clearance from Carleton University's ethics board on 14 December 2018. Through several meetings, HOF's management committee approved the methodology of oral history interviews. Consent forms, interview guides, and recruitment materials were created in English and French. The research team hired the project staff and arranged training sessions for staff members.

The new project was financed by the generous support of Canadian Heritage's Canada History Fund; Winnipeg's De Fehr Foundation; and IRCC. Generous community donations were received from the Canadian Mennonite University; Carleton University (matched individual donor contributions through its Future Funder program); and the Marshall Family Foundation on behalf of Elizabeth Marshall.

Implementation

Refugee stories are the core of the HOF project. One hundred and forty-five former refugee interviewees shared memories of escapes from conflict and oppression, facing terrors on stormy seas and in steamy jungles, spending time in refugee camps, being selected by and traveling to Canada, and the decades of their lives in Canada. Politicians, private sponsors, government officials, and community/faith organizations also shared their memories of Canada's response to this refugee movement in 28 interviews.

The difficult, time-consuming task of finding interviewees in cities across Canada and performing the interviews was shared by community/city coordinators and interview teams from the refugee communities, including Mai Nguyen, Uyen Vu, Hanh Hua, Rivaux Lay, Ran Dawn Long, Richard Dang, Som Phouangpraseuth, Jean Legault, Meaghan Brackenbury, Jen Tran, Stella (Nhung) Davis, Pam Sharp, Ari Phanlouvang, and Phuong Nguyen. Ginette Thomas, the project's executive director and coordinator, spent many hours arranging interview sites and transportation and was very skillful in resolving several crises. The interviews took place in nine cities across Canada. The main interview languages were English and French, but some interviews were in Vietnamese, Laotian, and Khmer. The project's interviewing stage took roughly two years.

Results and Deliverables

The website (heartsoffreedom.org): Mondy Lim, a software engineer and himself a Cambodian refugee, designed and maintained the project website; oversaw quality control and the transcription of the video-recorded interviews; and created a project database of facts and statistics. With the exception of a few interviews that the interviewees did not wish to be made public, all interviews are available on the website. The website also contains five research papers, with a sixth paper still being written. The website receives many hits and is being routinely used by academics and students, including members of the Southeast Asian communities.

Documentary film *Passage to Freedom/Passage vers la Liberté*: Canadian documentary filmmaker Sheila Petzold directed HOF's documentary film *Passage to Freedom/Passage vers la Liberté*. Allan Moscovitch was its executive producer. The film presents the historical context of the Southeast Asian refugee movement as background to clips from the interviews. It transports the viewer from the horrors of pre-escape Southeast Asia to Canada, showing how most refugees succeeded in building new lives and Canadian identities while maintaining deep ties to their families, their communities, and the cultures of their countries of origin.

The film had its premiere in English and French at the Canadian Museum of History, Gatineau, on 15 April 2023, as part of the "CINÉ+ Evenings: MADE IN CANADA" series. The screening was part of a larger event that included the Hearts of Freedom travelling exhibition (see below). The film has since been shown at many venues across Canada.

Travelling Museum Exhibition *Hearts of Freedom—Stories of Southeast Asian Refugees*: This exhibition, curated by Dr. Stephanie Stobbe, presents the story of the Southeast Asian refugees in Canada by using six panels, three in English and three in French. The exhibition narrates the history of the Southeast Asian refugee movement to Canada in a highly focused, easily graspable manner.

Following the exhibition's launch on 15 April 2023, it travelled to many high-profile locations across Canada, including the Senate in Ottawa and the Lieutenant Governor General's mansion in Victoria, B.C. The principal accomplishment of the exhibition has been to expose large numbers of Canadians to the sufferings and successes of Canada's Southeast Asian refugee communities and thereby raise the public visibility of the Hearts of Freedom project.

The Book: *Hearts Of Freedom, Stories of Southeast Asian Refugees*: The oral history interviews were the primary sources for this book, with intensive research of published material serving as secondary sources. Its co-authors are the five members of the HOF Research Team (Duschinsky, Lundy, Molloy, Moscovitch, and Stobbe). It was written between late 2019 and early 2025 after the interviewing process was finalised, mostly during the period when we all coped with Covid. Few published books were available to serve as examples for the book's organisation. Emily Andrew, senior editor of McGill-Queen's University Press provided invaluable advice and assistance at each stage of the writing process.

The book consists of a front end that includes the methodology, the HOF project's description, acknowledgements, and maps. Former Prime Minister Joe Clark kindly wrote the book's foreword. The body of the book is divided into the introduction; five parts that contain fourteen chapters; the conclusion; and four appendices. Two of the appendices are statistical analyses of the refugee movement and the project's interviewee participants; a third is based on the 29 Canadian interviewees' memories; the fourth describes the HOF project management and teams. The book concludes with references and a list of contributors.

The book's five parts separately describe the historical background; the Vietnamese war refugee experience; the Vietnamese boat people experience; the Cambodian refugee experience; and the Laotian refugee experience. This approach was chosen following intense debates. Having separate chapters for each community acknowledges the importance of each group and highlights how their experiences differed. Determining the book's final structure and resolving problems took place in the course of lengthy walks and conversations between Molloy and Duschinsky near the beautiful Mud Lake/Creek Conservation Reserve. The walks were also good for the health of two old fogies.

The final version of the book is with MQUP; it will be published as part of the McGill-Queen's Refugee and Forced Migration Studies series in September 2025. The series editors are Megan Bradley of McGill University and James Milner of Carleton University. The authors acknowledge the invaluable editorial role of Ginette Thomas during the final difficult months getting the book ready for publishing. We also express our deeply felt gratitude to Professor James Milner for finding funds from the final year of Carleton's Local Engagement Refugee Research Network to support the publication of the book: without his help, we would have run into financial difficulties during the final pre-publication stages. It should also be mentioned that the book is now being translated into French. We expect the French version will be published soon after the English.

Many people helped along the way. Among them are volunteers (some of them CIHS members), who assisted in transcribing and translating the video recordings. They include Anne Arnott, Diane Burrows, Aliyah Campbell, the late Gail Devlin, Sylvie Doucet, Megan Evans, Meaghan Fallak, Raphael Girard, Simran Joura, Alexandra Koslock, Amy Ma, Pat Marshall, Phi-Vân Nguyen, Uyiosa Osunde, Ari Phanloung, Malinda Pich, and Korri Schneider.

Educational Materials: One of the most important goals of the HOF project is to make the project's results available to future generations of Canadians of all ethnic groups, but especially to Canadians of Southeast Asian origin. Based on the above results and deliverables, curriculum materials will be created for use in schools from primary level to university.

Final Words

The involvement of CIHS in documenting the Southeast Asian/Indochinese refugee movement has lasted almost two decades. It has resulted in two books being published by a prominent Canadian academic publisher, several articles, the creation of a Southeast Asian archive at Carleton University and participation in a major research project. It has also resulted in valued friendships between the project members and many members of the Canadian Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian communities. For those of us who had an active role, it has been truly worthwhile.

Notes

¹ *Refuge* vol. 32, number 2, pp. 3,4.

² *Refuge* vol. 32, number 2, p. 5.

Introducing the Canadian Visitor Visa Requirement for Citizens of India and Sri Lanka

Anne Arnott

The author is the CIHS's vice-president and former director general of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's Case Management Branch and then International Region. She was also the immigration program manager in New York and London. Other foreign postings include New Delhi, Kingston, and Hong Kong.

Author's note: The names of processes, departments, and cities mentioned have changed since the time described below. I have used the nomenclature in existence in the early 1980s.

I officially joined the immigration foreign service in August 1981, on my way to New Delhi, my first posting. Since I had already been an immigration officer in the domestic service for six years, I was allowed to go on posting with very little additional training and to convert to the FS pay scale at the very last minute, as PM 3s were making a lot more than FS development officers, classified as FS 1Ds. When I arrived in New Delhi, the visa office was staffed with seven Canada-based officers, led by Ernest Allen. We were responsible for all immigration matters in India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bangladesh.

Up to that point, there had never been a visitor visa requirement for citizens of a commonwealth country, but in 1981 the government of Canada decided that a visitor visa was required for citizens of India. The Minister of Employment and Immigration Canada of the time, Lloyd Axworthy, travelled to India to advise the Indian government of the decision, and the visa imposition became official on 15 October 1981.

Our colleague from headquarters, Kelda Whelan, came to New Delhi before Minister Axworthy's arrival to help set up the processes and forms we would use. The reason for her visit was kept a secret because visa imposition announcements are always done just as they come into effect, to avoid a pre-imposition stampede of possibly inadmissible people traveling to Canada.

With the already large Indian diaspora in Canada, it was abundantly clear that more staff and more space would be needed. As this announcement was timed just after the normal summer rotation for FS visa officers, there were none available to augment our staff. Instead, six single assignment officers were quickly recruited from domestic offices, trained in Ottawa, and dispatched. One officer immediately found India overwhelming and left, so our visa staff increased by five new officers going forward. Our External Affairs colleagues were also very busy retrofitting the chancery to create a large, ground floor visitor-visa processing office with a counter behind which several officers could work simultaneously with several applicants. The practice of escorting each applicant upstairs to an individual office for an interview, as was done for permanent resident applicants, was correctly felt to be too slow and difficult, with possible security risks with that many people circulating in the building. We had enormous lines of visitor visa applicants queuing out of the side door of the chancery every day.

All officers rotated between the immigration and the visitor visa work. Because of my three years' prior experience as an immigration officer at Toronto International Airport, I became the supervisor of the visitor visa unit when more senior colleagues departed New Delhi in the summer of 1982.

This series of events took place long before personal computers were readily available, well before visa offices had computers or internet access, and decades before computer programs allowed processing offices in Canada and abroad to share the workload. At that time, the majority of visa applicants applied in person, although some mail-in applications were permissible but slow because applicants had to write or telephone the visa office to have an application form mailed to them. With no satellite offices in our area of responsibility, all officers (including mixed teams with both Canada-based and locally engaged officers) periodically conducted area trips to large population centres in India. When we were only doing permanent resident interviews, we would advise applicants individually by mail, advising them of the date, time and place of the interview. With the imposition of the visitor visa requirement, we had to advertise in newspapers with the time and place of our visit, so visitor-visa applicants could walk in to apply, be interviewed, and obtain their visas (or be refused). We generally worked in teams of three or four out of hotels—one room each set up for interviews and a separate one for our bedrooms. These were the days—in the beginning—before visa stickers (counterfoils) were introduced. We used paper files and a rubber stamp to issue visas, each of us hauling a separate suitcase with files, forms, stamps, pens, etc., to and from the airport.

At some point in 1982 or 1983, Canada moved away from the rubber stamp and introduced a counterfoil for visitor visas, which was hand written and then stuck into the individual's passport, to increase security. I can remember going on an area trip to Bombay not long after this change came into effect. We had carefully consulted our manager and the team that had conducted the previous area trip and had concluded that 40 counterfoils would be more than enough. Well, that plan didn't work out very well! I don't remember the specifics, but I do remember calling our manager and explaining that we were almost out of counterfoils just days into our trip. More foils were hand-carried to us and we still ran out. I recall writing a message on one of my business cards to the effect that I would have issued a visa to this particular individual, had I had one. He presented it to colleagues at the Canadian consulate general in New York where he was going before his trip to Canada and, I believe, got his visa there. I know this because years later a colleague said "You're the one who wrote on your business card...."

Sri Lanka

We also did area trips into the other countries of our accreditation to conduct interviews with permanent resident applicants, and I was happy to be chosen to go to Colombo, Sri Lanka in the spring of 1983. It was a real pleasure to work in Canada's small high commission for a week and to wander around Colombo. Whereas India was going through a period where only locally grown or manufactured goods were available, Sri Lanka had a more open economy, and it was interesting to see goods for sale that I hadn't seen in a long time and to see the foreign cars on the streets.

On 23 July 1983, just before my return to Canada from my posting in New Delhi, civil war broke out in Sri Lanka. As the number of Sri Lankan refugee claimants in Canada grew, the Canadian government decided to impose a visitor visa requirement, which went into effect on 7 September 1983. A few locally engaged support staff were hired, and a long line of Canada-based officers went to Colombo on temporary duty to set up and manage the office, interview applicants, and approve or refuse visitor visas. I was asked to go in as the last temporary duty officer for a period of three months until Colleen Cupples could be posted there in late August/early September 1984 to officially open the immigration office. It was a fascinating assignment. Sri Lanka is a much smaller country with a much smaller diaspora in Canada. One officer could manage the workload, with the clerical assistance of our locally engaged staff. Despite their patience and

helpfulness, I was never very good at pronouncing the very long surnames of our applicants to invite them into my office. I'd show the application to one of our staff, ask them to pronounce the name, and then pronounce it again, and then I'd go into the waiting room to call the applicant. After a smattering of laughter, one of them would get up and say "I think you must be trying to call me", and accompany me into my office.

While the civil war was certainly raging, it was largely taking place in the north, as the Tamil Tigers fought against the Sinhalese majority. Colombo was largely peaceful, but there were certainly issues. One day I went out to lunch with another staff member and on returning to the high commission, I was called into the office of the high commissioner. A bomb had gone off in the hotel in which I was staying—someone had put a bomb in a suitcase and left it on a shelf in his room. When the hotel worker moved the suitcase, the bomb went off, killing her and blasting furniture and other debris out across the front courtyard. The hotel was, however, largely undamaged and remained open. I was asked if I wanted to change hotels. The high commissioner's advice was that, since this hotel had just been bombed, it was likely the safest place to be. I stayed there until a few weeks later, when I was invited to live with one of the other Canada-based staff in her home until the end of my assignment. A series of major infrastructure projects funded by Canada and a number of other countries was just being completed then, and we travelled out of Colombo to see the Canadian project and go on a wild elephant safari. A group of us also went up to the city of Kandy in the hills for the Perahera celebration of the tooth relic of Buddha.

Our CIDA colleague told us that Sri Lanka was just moving from the "have-not" countries to the "have" countries side of the blotter when the civil war broke out, changing everything.

Ed. Note: With the permission of McGill University's [McGill Daily](#) and contributor Mara Gibeau, we reprint the following article about Madeleine Le receiving the CIHS's 2024 Molloy Bursary. Note that, while this story features Mike Molloy's contributions to the CIHS and his recording of Canada's immigration history, it misses the significant role played by the other CIHS authors of [Running on Empty](#)—Peter Duschinsky, Kurt Jensen, and the late Bob Shalka. Please also note that the Bursary is not aimed solely at immigrant students. CIHS's website contains detailed information about its [Molloy Bursary](#), including eligibility and how to apply. The website also explains the CIHS's [objectives](#). The CIHS promotes a broad range of migration research about Canada; not solely academic research.

The photos in the article are, first—Madeleine's father (sunglasses) and his younger sisters and an uncle, and second—Madeleine and her father. Photos are courtesy of Madeleine Le.

McGill Student Promotes Vietnamese Heritage in Canada Through the Molloy Bursary Canadian Studies Major Madeleine Le is Awarded

by [Mara Gibeau](#)

January 13, 2025



The [Molloy Bursary](#) is offered by the board of the [Canadian Immigration Historical Society](#) (CIHS) to students studying Canadian history at the undergraduate level in Canada. It aims to shed light on the stories and immigration patterns of refugees and permanent residents by way of financially supporting the studies of Canadian history among immigrants or those who come from immigrant families.

While only undergraduate students in their second year or beyond studying Canadian history at a Canadian university can qualify, new Canadian residents are encouraged to apply by submitting an essay in either French or English. In Madeleine Le's case, she qualified as a first-generation Canadian student majoring in Canadian Studies and minoring in Political Science. As a McGill undergraduate, she was introduced to the scholarship by the professor of

her [Canadian Political History class](#) (HIST 370). [Edward Dunsworth](#) is an assistant professor in History and Classical Studies, concentrating on the history of [Canadian immigration, labour, and politics](#). After hearing Le's family history of her father's immigration to Canada, Dunsworth saw her as an ideal candidate for the bursary.

His premonition proved true as Madeleine Le was awarded the prestigious Molloy Bursary on November 30, 2024. Le dedicated her 1000-word essay to the sacrifices her father made to establish himself as a Canadian citizen and raise his family here. Her father, Hieu Le, was a Chinese-Vietnamese refugee who fled the Vietnam War at the age of five. During

his escape, he was separated from his family at a refugee camp where he remained until the Anglican Church of Canada sponsored his immigration to Ontario. In her essay, Le explains how winning the bursary would mean more than fulfilling her financial needs to further her studies: her efforts are dedicated to her father, especially as he has been supporting her post-secondary education.



Le's essay also details the relevance of [Michael James Molloy's](#) project "[Hearts of Freedom and Flight to Freedom](#)" to the story of her own family. Molloy's project was based on research into [Indochinese immigration in the 1970s and 1980s](#), with a particular emphasis on Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian refugees. This diaspora would have included Le's father. In other words, by sharing her father's biography with CIHS, Le was able to preserve Vietnamese stories of settlement in Canada while honouring the intersectionality of her heritage with Canadian identity. The latter is especially important to Le and has inspired her to become involved in extracurricular initiatives such as the [Canadian Studies Arts Undergraduate Society](#) (CSAUS), the [McGill Pre-Law Society](#), and [McGill's North American-born Asian Association](#), through which she investigates history's role in precedents pertaining to Immigration Law.

As the former president of the [CIHS](#), a non-partisan organization composed of immigration history academics, Michael Molloy has greatly expanded the ability for stories of Canadian immigration to be shared, through his independent work, such as that in "[Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees, 1975-1980](#)," as well as partnerships with the [Hearts of Freedom project](#), the [Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21](#), the Indochinese and Ugandan Asian communities, and the [Flight to Freedom conference](#) held by the

Hungarian community. In light of Molloy's significant contribution to the resettlement of Indochinese and Ugandan Asian diasporas in Canada, the CIHS bursary was named after him to further honour the promotion of Canadian immigration history in today's political scholarship arena. For Le, Molloy's work intersects heavily with both her field of study and familial history. She finds this dual significance reflected in the bursary, one of the few available that promote the undergraduate scholarship of immigration history in Canada.

**Book review: *Beyond Numbers: Stories from an Immigration Insider* by Neil Cochrane
Published by DeeBee Press, Ontario, in 2025, ISBN 9781896794846**

Diane Burrows

I first learned about Neil Cochrane's memoir project when he approached the Canadian Immigration Historical Society about options for its publication. As my time at Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) generally overlapped with Neil's and we had worked from our different vantage points to resolve a variety of issues through the years, I was interested in what he had to say. I remember his interventions were sensible and got quickly to the point. I was also curious to learn more about what he had done, since I remembered that he had operational experience locally in a Canada Immigration Centre (CIC Ottawa), abroad as a visa officer in one of Canada's largest immigration offices overseas at the time (Delhi), and at national headquarters at Place du Portage Phase IV in Gatineau and then in Ottawa.

Overall, Neil's book is easy to read, with pops of very funny yet dry humour throughout, telling the story of someone who entered the public service, eager to learn and expand his experiences. With a few exceptions, he portrays his career positively as he moved through the ranks in CIC. (I will discuss his portrayal of the Canadian Employment and Immigration Union (CEIU) strike of 1991, the 1993 Program Review cuts, and subsequent events later.) He explains how he took on new opportunities and progressively more responsibilities in CIC and how he met these challenges. He offers helpful explanations of the daily grind in each of the locations in which he worked as well as some of his more outstanding and unique adventures.

Neil's story starts in his childhood, where he introduces the reader to a young schoolmate from an impoverished immigrant family in his Ottawa neighborhood. Things went from bad to worse for that child as he matured, and Neil's empathy helped to build his own benchmarks for fairness and compassion in interpersonal relations. Neil's story explores these values through stories related to his immigration work in his various positions in a local office, Delhi, a temporary duty assignment in Manila, and at NHQ. His story ends when he leaves CIC for the Canada Revenue Agency.

One aspect that I really appreciated from being his contemporary, even if I did not always agree with his conclusions, was how he highlighted the value of person-to-person contact. His anecdotes include his immigration interviews and immigration enforcement experiences; for example, how face-to-face sessions allowed for corrections that prevented wasteful processing delays, gave opportunities to catch immigration fraud, and overall improve program integrity and outcomes for the clients in front of him. He lamented the end of this routine practice in favour of building case processing centres and “paper-based” assessments, which he claims were not as effective in improving immigration outcomes.

Another poignant aspect that surprised me but shouldn't have: Neil's mother saved his letters from Delhi (1989-1991) in a big brown envelope, and he was able to include excerpts of them in his book. Coincidentally, my mother also saved my letters from postings in Delhi and Rome from about the same time, and I now have them in a few big binders.

I don't recall reading many dates in Neil's story, which means that I missed some of the “what happened when” context. But this wasn't a showstopper, as most of Neil's client service experiences or situations in working with colleagues, or even his dissatisfaction about his family's housing situation on their overseas posting, were in a sense timeless—they were generally the type of situations that I've lived through, as many other officers would have.

I left Neil's discussion of the 1991 strike and the 1993 Program Review for the last, because I was struck by his blunt criticism of how they were handled at CIC. I had to re-read those segments in particular, because he writes about how bewildering and cruel he found the program review's reverse order of merit process for him and colleagues (“career hunger games”). Again, with respect to the program review cuts, Neil does not temper his criticism. One person's departure hit particularly hard. Randy Gordon, one of his mentors and an iconoclast, left the public service—a big loss for CIC. (See [Bulletin 85](#), page 17, for an article about Randy Gordon's career, written after his death in 2018.)

From that point, I noticed Neil's growing and marked disenchantment with changes at CIC, culminating with his departure for the Canada Revenue Agency—even though he survived the reverse order of merit process. The final straw appears to have been his experience with how a competition for a director-level NHQ position was handled (poorly and unfairly), and what he considered to be a clumsy division of the immigration enforcement function following the December 2003 creation of the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA). They were examples for Neil of a disintegration of the part of CIC in which he felt he had served so faithfully. That said, throughout this retrospective of his career in immigration, I noted his enjoyment and optimism in engaging directly with the client. It was renewed in his temporary duty assignment in Manila, interviewing skilled worker applicants and as such comes across repeatedly as a strong positive element of his time with CIC.

I'd recommend this book to readers who have immigration experience or who are interested in a career in the federal public service, particularly in immigration. It gives ample, clearly laid-out examples of how the human connection is so important in applying the complexity of Canada's immigration act and regulations, and how the various components of a public service organization function.

Ed. Note: At the beginning of February 2025, the CIHS asked members to contribute their stories to future issues of the [Bulletin](#). In response, I received the following email from Dr. Samuel, which in turn sent me into the [Bulletin archives](#) for articles written by or about him. They are listed after the letter. This email is reprinted with his consent.

Letter to the Editor

My name is Dr. John Samuel. Currently I am 92 years of age. I worked in Immigration policy for 26 years and took early retirement in 1996.

Special Initiative

The point system of selection was introduced without a lot of research. When the Parliamentarians pointed this out, the deputy minister of the time asked Dr. Ziegler of the department to do the required research. He hired me in 1969 and asked me to do a longitudinal study of 15,000 immigrants using four different questionnaires.

The study was done and the results were used for policy formulation. Our example has been followed by some other immigrant-receiving countries. A long time after I was absorbed into the policy section, I was mainly responsible for a study by a McGill professor to show that Canada has a tremendous potential for a larger population. He pointed out that if Canada is populated at the density of Holland within 10 miles of the border with the U.S., we can have a population of 400 million. No one would dare to start a tariff war with us!

A book to be published shortly from the U.K. that contains some of my memories will contain more material on these conclusions. The book is titled, *Cassava Peasant Became Advisor to Prime Ministers*. Incidentally, I am enjoying tropical weather away from the snow and Canada. I should be back by the end of March.

Past CIHS *Bulletin* articles by or about Dr. Samuel:

Samuel, John T., "Immigrant Children in Canada", part 1, [CIHS *Bulletin* #14](#), September 1993, page 4.

Ibid., "Immigrant Children in Canada", part 2, [CIHS *Bulletin* #15](#), November 1993, page 3.

Ibid., Book review of *The Asianization of Australia? Some Facts About the Myths*, by Laksiri Jayasuriya and Kee Pookong, 1999, pp 114, Melbourne University Press, ISBN 0 522, 84854 0, in [CIHS *Bulletin* #39](#), February 2000, page 7.

Ibid., "Origins of Immigration Research", [CIHS *Bulletin* #75](#), December 2015, page 11.

Shingadia, Ashwin, Book Review of *Many Avatars, One Life—Challenges, Achievements and the Future*, by John T. Samuel, Friesen Press, Victoria B.C., 2013. Originally appeared in *The Glebe Report*, reprinted in [CIHS *Bulletin* #74](#), August 2015.

Canada Immigration Centre Kitchener (Part 1)

Doug Dunnington

Doug Dunnington has written for the CIHS Bulletin several articles describing his experiences in visa offices, immigration headquarters and in Ontario. The article below is divided into two segments; its conclusion will follow in a subsequent Bulletin edition.

After 12 years of working away from my hometown of Kitchener, in September 1980, I finally walked to the nearby 15 Duke Street East office to deliver immigration programs to the folks back home. We were fortunate to have found a lovely side-split home within walking distance of the office at a significantly lower price than we could buy in Ottawa. My pay category was lower, but my wife Barbara had secured a teaching position so that the Dunnington family would enjoy a higher income. The girls' school was just around the corner, and Barbara had a short 10-minute drive to St Francis School. Life was good.

During my time in Cambridge, I had often communicated with the Canada Immigration Centre (CIC) in Kitchener, so I knew most of the people with whom I would be working, especially the supervisor, a wily and experienced "lifer" with a keen mind and witty personality.

In those days the Kitchener CIC was located on the second floor of the Federal Building downtown. In addition to a manager and a supervisor, two officers were charged with immigration enforcement and three more with immigration admissions, recruitment, and selection. We had a receptionist and four clerks to assist officers in filing, typing reports, and handling documents. An administrative supervisor had one assistant to manage financial and administrative processes.

Unlike these days, the office was open for anyone wishing information on immigration. Complex cases were scheduled with an officer, but straightforward issues were dealt with at reception or referred to a specialized staff member or officer. Computers were not in operation at that time but were on the horizon. The uncertainty of their arrival was a concern to all staff, so our wise manager secured permission to hire a recent computer graduate from Conestoga College for a year, to give us individual instructions for two hours every two weeks. It provided comfort and allowed us to enter the high-tech world.

My program responsibilities involved interviewing clients applying for their spouses, fiancé(e)s, and parents. Visitors in Canada and their sponsors who had married Canadian residents were required to prove that their relationships were bona fide and not intended to simply "marry Canada". Canadian residents wanting to have relatives visit from Eastern Europe needed to prove their financial ability to support their stays. We also evaluated work permits, student authorizations, and applications to extend visitor visas to ensure they were bona fide and not a way for their applicants to stay and work illegally.

Finally, in addition to admissions work, officers also had to examine foreign residents who committed criminal offences, stayed in Canada illegally, or worked or studied without authorization; having done that, they would determine if a

recommendation for deportation was warranted. A special enforcement unit also worked outside of the office investigating cases and responding to queries from the local police and RCMP.

Left- and Right-wing Views on Immigration

Immigration has both an enforcement and facilitation role, and there is sometimes a spirited debate at the working level as to which position is warranted in a particular case. I experienced that early in my time at the Kitchener CIC. The manager took umbrage at one of my policy positions. To paraphrase, he vented, "That's the trouble with you leftwing university graduates from Ottawa and visa offices. You don't understand the law and the need to enforce it". Suffice to say I was astounded at being spoken to in that manner but waited until the end of the meeting to confront him alone, when I responded, "You can disagree with my immigration philosophy or view of policy or operations, but you DO NOT have the right to attack me personally". To his credit, he backed down completely, apologized, and said it would not happen again. When we did occasionally spar in the future, he was as good as his word and there were no more personal attacks.

Unbeknownst to me at the time, several of the church and advocacy groups in Waterloo Region had felt that the CIC was not supportive and flexible enough regarding refugees from Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe. They made their views known to the political level and as a result, a senior official was sent to review the operation and made some changes. The manager was dispatched to a desk at the local Canada Employment Centre until his retirement.

These changes preceded my arrival, so I cannot say whether the tone of the office changed markedly as a result. However, it may be significant that since the NHQ intervention, the three new officer positions at the Kitchener CIC were filled by those with CEC experience, and their service delivery was more facilitative than enforcement-focused.

Immigration Facilitation

As the number of refugee sponsorships increased in the early 1980s, I became more involved in meeting with church representatives and ordinary groups of people interested in accepting the financial and settlement responsibilities of bringing visa-office-approved refugees to Canada.

Local church groups' refugee sponsorships had to be pre-screened and approved by their national headquarters, but I was to ensure they had created a solid local settlement plan. Groups of five ordinary citizens could also apply to become refugee sponsors, but they had to convince an officer that they had enough savings and a plan to ensure newcomers would not require government financial or practical assistance. It was the officer's task to establish the ground rules and use good judgement. A partnership had to be established. Frankly, there were no real "cast in iron" rules from NHQ, so I enjoyed the challenge of forming sponsorships in our CIC catchment area.

Formal refugee sponsorships essentially started with the programs developed to settle Vietnamese boat people, but the practice spread to Poles during the Lech Walesa days, other Eastern Europeans, and then the Balkans when Miloslav Slobodan Milosovic was the president of Serbia. The Waterloo-Kitchener area has always been a welcoming place for immigrants and refugees, so when world events resulted in displaced people, our citizens, churches and ethnic groups responded. Having grown up and been educated in Kitchener, I knew the area and people well, so I did not require an inordinate number of documents and red tape to approve sponsorships. Our statistics soon showed that CIC Kitchener approved more sponsorships per capita than any other immigration office in Canada. I was known as "The Polish Prince" and received the Silver Award of the Canadian Polish Congress from the Polish consul in Toronto at a ceremony at the Kitchener City Hall. The consul said that as far as he knew, I was the first non-Polish or government official to be granted the honour.

Another solid sponsoring group was the Serbian church in Waterloo. Its leaders provided personal and group guarantees that Serbs and even Croatians selected by our visa offices would not require government services. They often helped government-sponsored refugees with jobs and lodgings. As a result of this practice, I presented their leaders Ned Krasnik and Ranko Rankovic with a certificate of appreciation from our office.

The manager and I visited the nine members of parliament and their staff members in our area to brief them on any immigration issues they might have. I invited them or their constituency managers to contact me on any case problems. It was interesting to note how differently our MPs viewed their roles vis à vis immigration cases. One who had been serving for two terms was proud to tell us that she had only contacted NHQ on three occasions. Another felt the subject was so confusing and contradictory that he wanted his constituent manager to continue dealing directly with me. Another felt the same but said he often contacted the visa office directly.

Our local multicultural centre at the time was establishing a summer festival with food, dancing, and cultural presentations in Victoria Park to introduce citizens to the various ethnic clubs in our area. We thought this was an excellent opportunity to explain immigration to our fellow citizens. With the co-operation of colleagues in public relations at the regional level, I secured a canopy, counter, and handouts like information pamphlets, flags and pins. We even designed, had manufactured, and had our officers wear special shirts identifying them to the public. The understanding to staff was that we did not want to have them just stand under the canopy and wait to be asked questions; rather they were to be friendly, approach passersby, and ask if they had any questions about immigration or would like a pamphlet or flag. Many ordinary residents welcomed this change.

I had worked closely with the MPs' offices in our catchment area and tried to establish good working relationships with our ethnic and advocacy groups. I suppose it was that work that had our Kitchener Member of Parliament invite me to her office and offer me the position of citizenship judge. I was humbled by the invitation but asked for a day to consider it. Barbara was excited about the prospect of being the wife of a judge, but I was reluctant. The incumbent I would be replacing was a good man, and frankly, I thought that the job would be mostly ceremonial. Also, I thought one day I would establish a consultancy business which would pay much more and provide more of a challenge.

Immigration Enforcement

Immigration enforcement was an important part of our portfolio but not one in which I had had much experience, and so I felt I should try it for a year. Within my first few days I was told we were going to join the RCMP for an evening investigation of potential "illegals". I thought they may have committed serious criminal offences or taken Canadian jobs or even been ordered deported and disappeared. My excitement soon dissipated when I learned that we were going to a golf course to check the immigration status of worm pickers! Some may not have work permits, I was told.

More important was the occasion when two Canadian-born Asian students presented themselves on a Friday afternoon, saying they had been laid off from their serving jobs because the restaurant owner had given their jobs to three recently arrived friends from Malaysia. Our enforcement officers swooped in, arrested the undocumented workers, and caused the restaurant to close. The unhappy owner was advised that he had committed an immigration offence and faced a possible criminal charge.

In another case, a caller advised me that he knew of a garage employing an undocumented worker rather than a local resident. After satisfying myself that this was not simply sour grapes, I asked for a description of the person and was told I should be careful as the guy had a gun! We called the RCMP to take the lead.

I prided myself on my communications ability, which would diffuse most contentious situations; however, there was a limit to that skill, as evidenced when I was on the Peace Officer Training Course given to immigration officers at the RCMP depot in Regina. Professional actors were hired to take part in the role-playing exercises. The scenario my partner and I were presented with consisted of an excited and distraught lady who was to be deported but refused to leave her home and had a gun.

I told my partner we need not worry as we could talk her through any problem. On arrival we saw a poor soul holding a gun to her head with a cocked trigger. I immediately launched into a gentle and soothing soliloquy. There was a deportation order against her so she would have to leave Canada, but we would help her to come back by working with her boyfriend and the department. I went on until I was hoisted by my own petard. The woman took the gun from head, smiled, and shot us both! As our instructor pointed out, when an officer sees a gun, he or she is to phone for back up or the hit squad.

At that time, the department was considering arming immigration enforcement officers. Some of us were strongly against the idea as we felt it would increase the danger. If our demographic knew we were armed, its reaction was more likely to be threatening. The issue was finally settled when immigration enforcement functions were transferred to the new Canada Border Services Agency.

Ed. note: the second half of this article will appear in a subsequent edition of the Bulletin.

Forging Our Legacy—Published 25 Years Ago

Gerry Maffre

One of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's millennium projects was publication of the book *Forging Our Legacy: Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977*. It was issued on 1 January 2000—25 years ago. Debbie Farnand, the project manager for the book, provided this photo of a launch event at Library and Archives Canada.

L-R: Ian Wilson, National Archivist of Canada; Rosaline Frith, DG Settlement; Gerry Maffre, DG Communications; Valerie Knowles, author of *Forging Our Legacy*; Debbie Farnand, and Georges Tsai, ADM.



In Memoriam

Shaw, Clifton (Cliff)

Retired foreign service immigration program manager and director, Cliff Shaw, died on 2 February 2025, in his 93rd year. We recommend reading his [obituary](#), which compellingly encapsulates his life, interests, and contributions. Cliff's career took him and his family to Birmingham (England), New Delhi, Hong Kong, New York, and Bangkok; and he was a key contributor to the resettlement of refugees from many parts of Asia in the 1970s and 1980s. Cliff led a variety of divisions in CEIC and External Affairs.

Remembered by Anne Arnott

I worked with Cliff Shaw at External Affairs in 1991 and 1992. Cliff was the director of Consular and Immigration Strategy, a small division with just a few staff including Eloi Arsenault, Gary Hawkes, Marilyn Langstaff, and me. Cliff was unfailingly cheerful, supportive, and involved as we worked to gain mastery of strategic planning. I worked with Cliff for only eight months more than 30 years ago, and yet I remember the atmosphere of working hard, laughing, trying to figure things out, and supporting each other. We remained friends over the years, meeting for lunch with other immigration folks from time to time. My fondest memory of Cliff was his periodically departing from the office for violin (or cello?) lessons—clearly code for something we had no need to know about—with Cliff cheerfully waving goodbye as he left for his appointments.

Remembered by Diane Burrows

I am the co-beneficiary of some very practical advice that my spouse, Greg Bell, received from Cliff in 1975, prior to Greg's first posting to New Delhi. The yellow "Biographical Register" binder reveals that Cliff would have been "Coordinator, Personnel, Finance and Administration Foreign Service (CEIC)" at the time. Cliff, who had been the immigration program manager in New Delhi several years previously, advised Greg to go out and buy a set of "CorningWare", which would hold Greg, a single guy at the time, in good stead in his posting. I can testify that Greg did indeed buy that full set of casserole dishes. They not only lasted through his New Delhi assignment, but his career as well, and are now almost all intact in their 50th year. Not a week goes by that we don't use one of them, and sometimes Greg remarks that the set was "One of the best purchases I've ever made".

Remembered by Gerry Campbell

Cliff was the first director that I reported to in the (then) Immigration Program division (JIM) in the legal bureau of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), when I was there from 1995 to 1997. He was a great boss—relaxed, composed, and supportive. I learned a great deal from him both in career and personal terms. He was an

intelligent, witty, and personable colleague, and I enjoyed working with and for him. He was, as the saying goes, a man of many parts. There were not many like him in a service full of many remarkable and unique colleagues.

He was also a good friend. Our paths, as is often the case in the foreign service, did not cross often after our time together in DFAIT, but we saw each other again around 1993, when he passed through Hong Kong when I was posted there as the immigration program manager.



Two photos of Cliff (far right) looking relaxed on a boat off of Lantau Island, and looking threatened when my youngest daughter Karen decided to jump over him.

CIHS thanks its corporate members - IRCC and Pier 21 - for their significant support as well as its life and annual members. All these contributions allow us to pursue our objectives and activities.

<p>The Canadian Immigration Historical Society (www.CIHS-SHIC.ca) is a non-profit corporation registered as a charitable organization under the Income Tax Act.</p>	<p>The society's goals are: - to support, encourage and promote research into the history of Canadian immigration and to foster the collection and dissemination of that history, and - to stimulate interest in and further the appreciation and understanding of the influence of immigration on Canada's development and position in the world.</p>	<p>President – Dawn Edlund; Vice-President – Anne Arnott; Treasurer – Don Cochrane; Secretary – Robert Orr; Editor – Diane Burrows; Past-President – Michael Molloy Members at large – Brian Casey, Charlene Elgee, Raphael Girard, Kurt Jensen, Gerry Maffre (Communications), and Ian Rankin Member emeritus – J.B. “Joe” Bissett IRCC Representative – Michael McCormick Webmaster: Winnerjit Rathor Translations: Sylvie Doucet</p>
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