



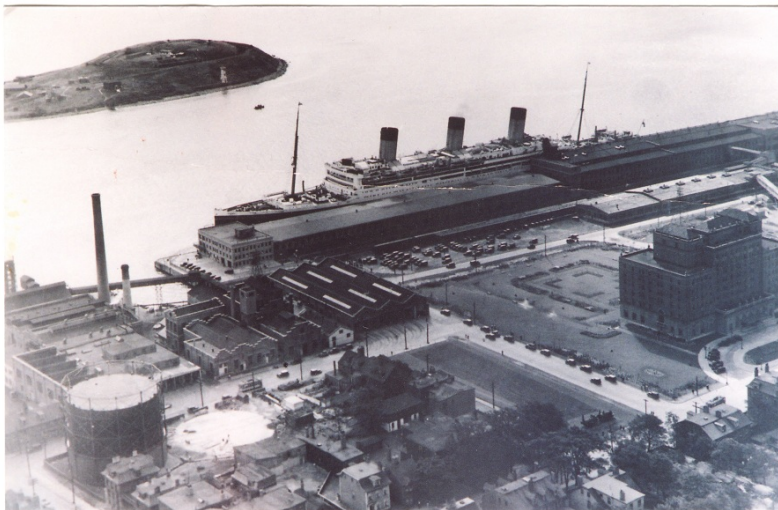
Historic Pier 21

Steven Schwinghamer

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Introduction

Pier 21 was the key passenger transit area of Halifax's South End Ocean Terminals and, when it opened in the 1920s, a major and modern Canadian ocean immigration gateway.¹ The construction of the broader Ocean Terminals complex was a significant civil engineering project that attracted international notice and cost millions of dollars.² Together, Pier 21 and the Ocean Terminals retain historical significance for the immigration and military history of the country and for the commercial history of the region.



Aerial image of Halifax's Ocean Terminals. Pier 21 is the two-storey waterfront shed on the right; it is joined to the Customs Annex building by a walkway. (Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 Collection DI2013.1205.1)

Construction began at the Ocean Terminals in 1915, but the completion of the quarters for the Department of Immigration and Colonization was delayed until more than a decade later.³ The final shape of the terminal structures at Piers 20 to 23 revolved around the passenger-handling structures, specifically the top floor of one of the cargo sheds, Shed 21, and the adjoining Annex building. Shed 21 was built by the Canadian National Railway (CNR).⁴ The conversion of the space for use for immigration was quite thorough, from an up-to-date operating room to strong rooms and catering facilities. The interior construction was marked by processes and attitudes of the time, separating "British" immigrants from "foreigners", and prioritizing medical ahead of civil examination.⁵ After Pier 21 opened in 1928, the immigration structures provided the transition space into Canada for almost one million immigrants before closing in 1971, entrenching the site in the lives and memories of Canadians.

Operations After Opening

On 8 March 1928, the immigration department and staff—along with persons in detention or awaiting deportation—moved into the new facility.⁶ Although the first ship, *Nieuw Amsterdam*, landed only 51 immigrants at the new terminal, the

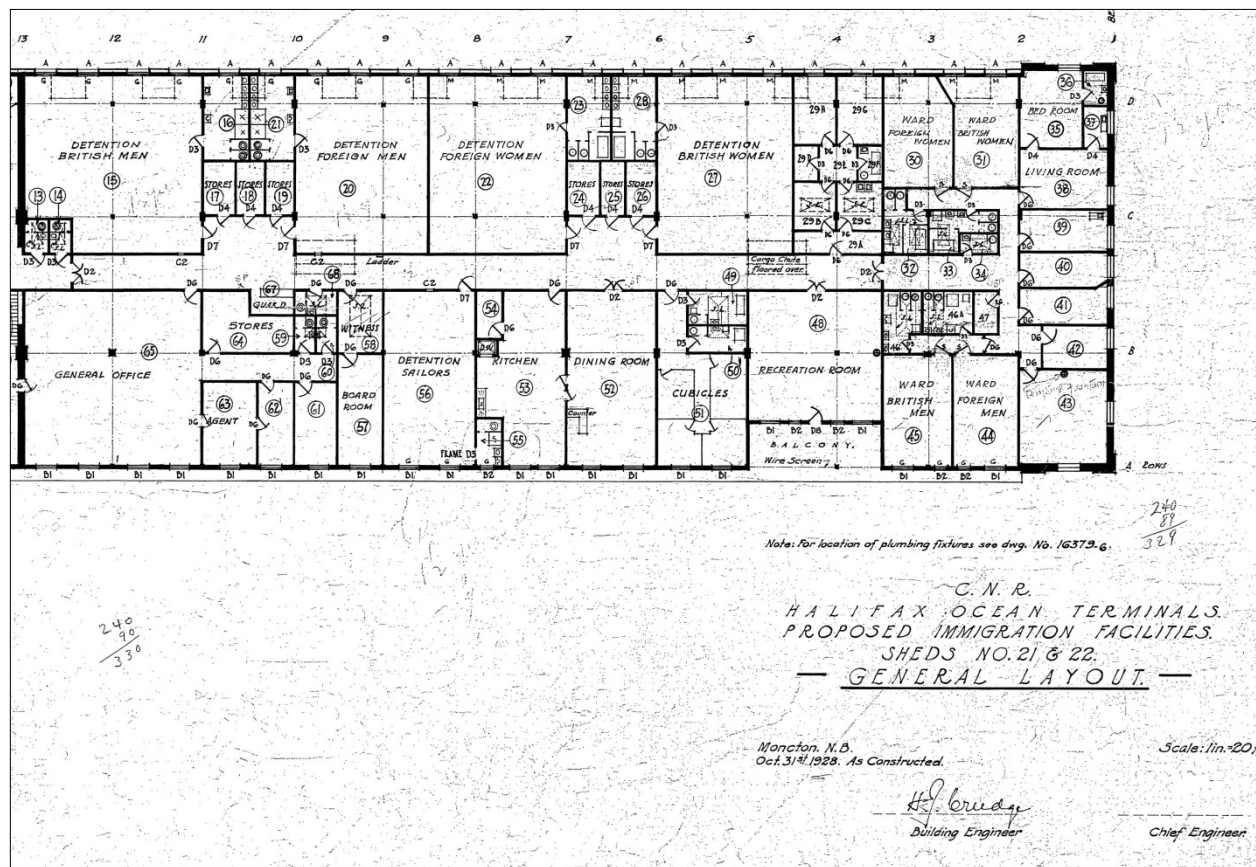
Contents

Historic Pier 21	Steven Schwinghamer	1
Wrapping up Another Productive Year	Gerry Maffre	6
The Start of the Lebanon Special Measures	Kurt F. Jensen	9
In the Beginning	Doug Dunnington	13
Research Matters: Knowledge Mobilization at IRCC	Eleanor Berry	14
Running on Empty: A Progress Report		16
Asian Diary	Michael Molloy	17
P2P Conference	Holly Edwards	18
Latest Donation to Pier 21	Michael Molloy	19
In Memoriam		19

opening of the new immigration site was front-page news in Halifax.⁷ Immigration operations required support from voluntary agencies and from the railways, and although their jostling for space created some minor conflicts for Halifax immigration officials to resolve, the disposition of space was complete in time for the move. American immigration officials also moved, taking up quarters in the adjoining office bay, and a few ships a month required their services.⁸

Halifax's Ocean Terminals, of which the new immigration facility was part, represented a major effort to update and ready the port for significant passenger traffic.⁹ The traffic did not materialize, though, as the onset of the Great Depression in 1929 led to profound responses in Canadian immigration policy. In 1931, Canada's curtailing of immigration culminated in Order-in-Council PC 695 that reduced immigrant admissibility to a narrow set of categories defined by origins, capital, and profession.¹⁰ The impact of these regulatory changes was to reduce the number of admissions during the 1930s to one fifth of those in the prior decade.¹¹

The role of Pier 21 shifted significantly as immigration restrictions tightened and public attitudes hardened regarding the unemployment of immigrants. The landing of "pauper immigrants" had been a featured prohibition of Canadian immigration policy since the *Immigration Act* of 1869, but broad deportations of immigrants as public charges became a normal part of operations as various authorities within Canada tried to relieve the pressures of welfare and employment during the 1930s.¹² Bill Shaw, an immigration officer who joined the department in 1941 and later became district admissions supervisor, described the situation under these regulations simply, saying "[o]ur job was to keep people out"¹³



The outbreak of World WarII in 1939 caused a further dip in the annual number of immigrants. Canada welcomed an average of 12,750 immigrants per year during the Second World War, compared to an average of about 16,300 per year between 1931 and 1938.¹⁴

Nevertheless, Pier 21's immigration staff remained busy during

General layout of Pier 21 immigration facilities as constructed in 1928. (Cropped extract from Halifax Port Authority #10882)

the war, notably in dealing with foreign mariners who jumped ship or refused shipping assignments. The sheer scale of this work led an administrator to claim the Pier 21 office handled 40 percent more files early in the war than in average peacetime years preceding the conflict.¹⁵ Incoming military personnel also required the services of Canadian immigration officers, as did a humanitarian evacuation of children to Canada from the United Kingdom. Other European countries evacuated wealth and cultural treasures through Halifax's Ocean Terminals for safekeeping in Canada, including hundreds of millions of dollars in gold bullion.¹⁶

Despite this variety, the bulk of wartime traffic at the facility was military: Pier 21 was used as a primary embarkation point for Canada's service personnel headed for Europe.¹⁷ As the Ocean Terminals were converted to wartime use, other

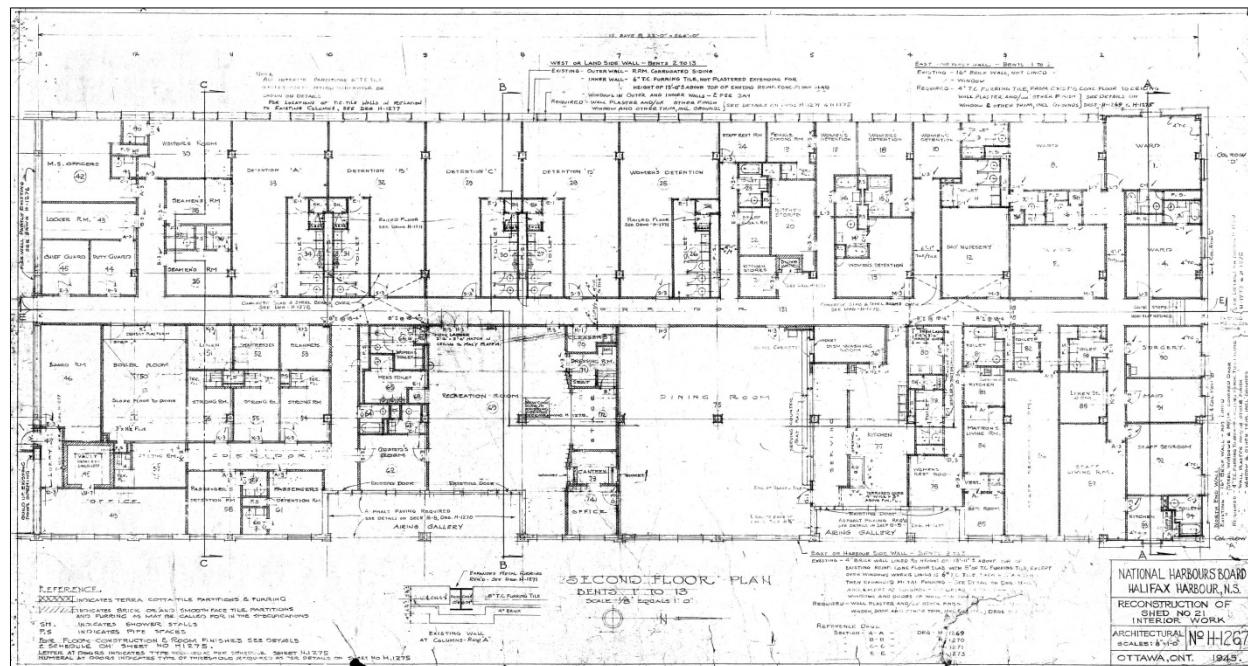
presences crowded the area of Shed 21 and the Annex, including medical staff, a band, and the co-ordinating staff needed to move personnel on and off troopships.¹⁸ At one point, a military unit was briefly barracked in the assembly area, and some of the immigration accommodation quarters were occasionally used as a rest camp for port workers.¹⁹

On 5 March 1944, a major fire swept through Pier 21, gutting the immigration quarters and causing an estimated \$250,000 in damage. The immigration department took up residence in the Annex and in temporary wooden sheds nearby while Shed 21 was repaired.²⁰ Although army personnel had immediately undertaken the task of clearing loose debris, the damage was profound: the National Harbours Board described the second storey of the shed as “almost entirely destroyed” and sought contracts for its complete demolition as the first step in repairs.²¹ Repairs took more than two years, with Pier 21’s second storey immigration quarters reopening in December of 1946.²²

The reconstruction of the site afforded immigration authorities an opportunity to update the interior of Pier 21. Comparing plans and descriptions of the space in 1947 versus in 1928 reveals some interesting changes, as well as significant continuity. The use of space and the route of movement for most immigrants and passengers passing through Pier 21 in the 1930s and the 1950s would have been comparable: the changes in the arrangement of the assembly area did not alter the basic path of most people disembarking from a ship.²³ The placement of the gangway, the assembly area, the medical and civil examination spaces, and the use of the ramp to cross into the Annex Building for customs examination—all of these elements remained in approximately the same relationship to each other.

The immigration department also made significant changes to the immigration quarters, reflecting both operational and procedural influences on the construction. For example, the explicit split between “British” and “Foreign” medical wards and detention areas was removed from the plans. Gone, too, was the parity in detention space for men and women: immigration authorities built five detention areas of a similar size but set aside only one large room for women.

Other changes after the fire made the space more convenient. The recreation room was relocated to be closer to all the detention spaces, and it featured access to a new airing gallery overlooking the water.²⁴ The destruction of the fire made it possible to move facilities that were ordinarily difficult to relocate, like the large kitchen. The adjustments and additions to this space dramatically reduced the office space available in the accommodation and detention area of the shed. The immigration department restored office space by reducing the length of the assembly area by about 100 feet (leaving it about 150 feet long).



The expansion in office space was a significant step for the immigration department in Halifax, and in 1953 that change permitted the relocation of the district offices to the quarters at Pier 21.²⁵ Along with that move came a renovation to the Annex.²⁶

Shed 21 immigration quarters as reopened in 1946, excluding assembly and medical inspection area. (Cropped extract from Halifax Port Authority #15646)

The National Harbours Board built a

two-storey addition to the south end of the structure, which increased the available floor space in the Annex by about two thirds.²⁷ A number of groups benefited from the new accommodations, including religious organizations and other social services that moved to the second storey near the entrance into the Annex from the ramp.²⁸ That area was built with a

large central waiting room and services around the outside walls that included the social services as well as a money exchange, telegraph offices, and railway ticketing. The Red Cross was one of the key service groups to relocate; its Seaport Nursery had been towards the north end of the Annex.²⁹ After the renovations, the nursery moved to a space directly at the bottom of the ramp from the immigration quarters to the Annex,³⁰ a rearrangement that was significant for the social services and for immigrants. However, the principal beneficiary of the expanded space in the Annex was the customs department, whose baggage examination room on the ground floor at the south end of the building more than doubled in length.³¹

Pier 21's Peak Years and Denouement

Rebuilding after the fire prepared the facility for its heaviest period of immigration traffic, which extended from 1946 through the renovation of 1953 and to the end of the decade. Through the 1950s, about 45,000 immigrants arrived at Pier 21 per year.³² During the immediate post-war immigration boom, the majority of ocean immigrants to Canada arrived via the port of Halifax. These movements were important not just in reference to scale, but also as markers for change in Canadian immigration practices. For instance, in 1946 and 1947, about 4,000 veterans of service with Polish military forces were admitted through Pier 21.³³ Their success as contract labourers in Canada contributed to the government's removal of a ban on immigrant contract labour arrangements. This mechanism became an important vehicle for many thousands of other people either directly displaced or motivated by the war to leave Europe and come to Canada.³⁴ The post-war influx of almost 200,000 refugees and displaced persons coincided with significant conventional immigration movements.³⁵ At Pier 21, the post-war period also featured enormous numbers of immigrants from Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands.³⁶

The changes of 1953—renovations and the addition of the district office—fixed the shape of the overall facility until it closed in 1971. The only area of the site that underwent any notable changes after the mid-1950s was the medical clinic, which shifted and grew substantially from the original two examination offices of 1928 to a suite of more than 20 rooms that by 1971 included a laboratory, a minor surgery, and x-ray facilities.³⁷ However, this was the only expanding aspect of Pier 21's affairs. The rate of immigration by sea through Pier 21 fell dramatically in the 1960s: in 1968, for instance, only 12,000 ocean-going immigrants arrived at Pier 21.³⁸

Pier 21 after 1971

After the immigration department closed its operations on the second storey of Shed 21, the space was taken over by the Nova Scotia Nautical Institute (NSNI), which offered training in marine engineering, navigation, and other skills required by merchant mariners.³⁹ By 1979, the school occupied the entire second floor of Shed 21 as well as some space in the Annex building. The NSNI stayed until 1991, when the last of the mariners and their instructors left for a new school at Port Hawkesbury, after which the space was used as artists' studios for several years. In 1998, a private community historical group, the Pier 21 Society, constructed a museum based on the immigration heritage of the site. The museum opened in 1999. In 2011, the operations of the Pier 21 Society were taken over by the newly created Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21.⁴⁰



Anna Salen docks at Pier 21, post-Second World War. (DI2014.466.3)

Notes

¹ "Port Facilities to be Improved", *Halifax Herald*, 18 November 1925. Reproduced in "Immigration Building at Halifax, Nova Scotia (map) (plans)", Library and Archives Canada, RG 76 Volume 666 File C1594, (hereafter File C1594), Part 1. See also in File C1594, page four of an eight-page memorandum on the history of immigration accommodations in Halifax, prepared by F.C. Blair in April of 1929.

² Foley Bros. et al, "Ceremony of dedicating work by Sir Robert Borden", 20 Oct 1915, Nova Scotia Archives 1986-490, F44.

³ A.F. Stewart, Chief Engineer, Canadian National Railways Atlantic Region, to W.J. Egan, Deputy Minister, Department of Immigration and Colonization, Moncton, 31 October 1925, in File C1594, Part 1.

⁴ Note that all the transit sheds were not completed at the same time: construction of Shed 20 was tendered in January 1929. See A.G. Tapley, Chief Engineer Halifax Harbour Commissioners, to W. L. Barnstead, Immigration Agent, Halifax, 7 January 1929, in File C1594, Part 2.

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- ⁵ “Best Immigration Facilities on the Continent Here”, *Halifax Chronicle*, 10 November 1927, reproduced in File C1594.
- ⁶ T.B. Willans to J.S. Fraser, telegram, 8 March 1928, File C1594, Part 2.
- ⁷ “Examine First Liner at New South Docks”, *Evening Mail* (Halifax), 8 March 1928, 1.
- ⁸ Norwood Akerlund, interview with Steven Schwinghamer, 8 July 2000, Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, Oral History Collection, 00.07.08NA.
- ⁹ “Port Facilities to Be Improved”, *Halifax Herald*, 18 November 1925.
- ¹⁰ *Immigration Regulations*, P.C. 1931-695, 21 March 1931, in Library and Archives Canada, RG2, Privy Council Office, Series A-1-a, Volume 1479
- ¹¹ Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada, Immigration: Immigrant Arrivals in Canada, 1852 to 1977* (Table A350).
<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiona/A350-eng.csv>
- ¹² *Immigration Act, 1869*, SC 1869, c 10 s 16; Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada, 1900-1935* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), 159-160.
- ¹³ Bill Shaw as quoted in “Bill Shaw’s Gate to the Promised Land”, *MacLean’s Magazine*, January 1970, 30.
- ¹⁴ Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada, Immigration: Immigrant Arrivals in Canada, 1852 to 1977* (Table A350).
<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiona/A350-eng.csv>
- ¹⁵ Fenton Crosman, “Recollections of An Immigration Officer: The Memoirs of Fenton Crosman, 1930-1968”, No. 2 in *Perspectives on Canadian Immigration* (Ottawa: CIHS, 1989), 128
- ¹⁶ See Alfred Draper, *Operation Fish* (Don Mills, Ontario: General Publishing, 1979); Gordon Swager, *The Strange Odyssey of Poland’s National Treasures, 1939-1961* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2004); Statement of Dr. Stanislaw Swierz Zaleski, Ottawa, 20 November 1946. Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Volume 2803 File 837-40.
- ¹⁷ William Naftel, *Halifax At War: Searchlights, Squadrons and Submarines, 1939-1945* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 2008), 82-83.
- ¹⁸ Naftel, *Halifax At War*, 84-86.
- ¹⁹ Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, “The Pier 21 Story, Halifax: 1924-1971”, unpublished report, 17; “Fire-Gutted Pier Had Colorful History”, *Halifax Mail*, 6 March 1944, 1, 3, 13.
- ²⁰ “Fire-Gutted Pier Had Colorful History”, *Halifax Mail*, 6 March 1944, 1, 3, 13; Trudy Duivenvoorden Mitic and J.P. LeBlanc, *Pier 21: The Gateway that Changed Canada*, (Halifax: Nimbus, 1988), 73.
- ²¹ National Harbours Board, Minutes of Meeting, 1 May 1944.
- ²² Mitic and LeBlanc, 73.
- ²³ Comparisons drawn between interior plans for Shed 21 prepared by the Canadian National Railways (1928), Halifax Harbour Commissioners (1934) and the National Harbours Board (1945), HPA #8489, 10882, 15646 and 15647.
- ²⁴ Halifax Port Authority (HPA) #10882 and 15646.
- ²⁵ Crosman, “Recollections”, 190.
- ²⁶ National Harbours Board, “Alterations and Additions, Customs & Immigration Bldg”, architectural drawing No.13-IF-5, 7 Feb 1953, consulted in Halifax Port Authority digitized document #10979.
- ²⁷ HPA #10979; Canadian National Railways, “Halifax Ocean Terminals Customs Examination and Waiting Room Building”, 31 October 1928, Drawing 16434-3, as consulted from HPA #10912.
- ²⁸ Crudge, “Customs Examination & Waiting Room Building: General Plan, Elevations and Sections”, 31 October 1928, Drawing 16436-3, as consulted from Halifax Port Authority digitized document #10912; National Harbours Board, “Ocean Terminals Facilities Leased By Canadian Immigration”, 15 November 1954, Drawing 51103-110, as consulted from Halifax Port Authority digitized document #18196.
- ²⁹ Report quoted in J Biggar, Chief Commissioner, Canadian Red Cross, to J.S. Fraser, Division Commissioner, Dept. of Immigration, Toronto, 3 January 1928, in File C1594 Part 2.
- ³⁰ National Harbours Board, “Ocean Terminals Facilities Leased by Canadian Immigration”, 15 November 1954, Drawing 51103-110, as consulted from Halifax Port Authority digitized document #18196.
- ³¹ HPA #10912; Public Works of Canada, “Customs Annex – Pier 21 – Halifax, Nova Scotia”, 10 April 1956, as consulted from HPA #10998.
- ³² Mitic and LeBlanc, “Pier 21”, 131.
- ³³ For details on this movement, see Immigration Branch, “Admission of 4,000 former Polish soldiers for agricultural work in Canada”, Library and Archives Canada, RG 76 Vol 648 File A85451, Parts 1-3, and in particular for an outline of operations and mechanisms for the movement, H.R. Hare’s “Report of Activities of Canadian Polish Movement Unit”, Ottawa, 26 November 1946, in Part 2.
- ³⁴ Ninette Kelly and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 334-335.
- ³⁵ Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, “The Pier 21 Story: Halifax, 1924-1971”, internally published report, 26.
- ³⁶ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada Year Book 1950, 1952-53, 1955*,
- ³⁷ Public Works, “Immigration, Pier 21 – Halifax, N.S.”, 14 February 1969, Drawing 1, as consulted from HPA #10899.
- ³⁸ Mitic and LeBlanc, “Pier 21”, 162.
- ³⁹ Tom Kearsey, former principal of N.S. Nautical Institute, correspondence with Steven Schwinghamer, 22 June 2010; Tom Kearsey, interviewed by Steven Schwinghamer, 22 June 2010, in Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 Oral History Collection, 10.06.22MATK.
- ⁴⁰ Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, *Annual Report 2010-2011*, accessed via <http://www.pier21.ca/about/corporate-reports> on 20 February 2014.

Wrapping Up Another Productive Year

Gerry Maffre

A smaller group of members than usual gathered in Ottawa on 18 October for the annual general meeting. On the agenda were reports from the president, membership secretary, and treasurer; election of the new board; and a video about a musical under development about the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21. The keynote event was a presentation and question-and-answer session with three directors general of Immigration, Refugees, and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) on immigration, refugee and citizenship processing.

President Michael Molloy spoke about a very active and productive Society year. As this report shows, the Society, its board and many of its nearly 150 members are certainly active and fulfilling the organization's mandate. Membership has been fairly stable despite the passing of several members. The financial situation is good, especially as IRCC has increased its corporate donation to \$2,500. More on these three topics will follow.



Gerry Van Kessel and President Mike Molloy

Elected to the board for another year were: Michael Molloy (president), Anne Arnett (vice-president), Raph Girard (treasurer), Gail Devlin (secretary), Randy Orr (IRCC representative), Gerry Maffre, Ian Rankin, Peter Duschinsky, Kurt Jensen, Valerie de Montigny, Roy Christensen, Charlene Elgee, Brian Casey, Bob Shalka, and Joe Bissett (member emeritus).

Gerard Van Kessel—a member of the original board—has stepped down. He was warmly thanked by Molloy and the membership for his many years of service.

Certificate Wording: 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, starting with your role in the founding of the Society and in launching the Gunn Prize. Canada's immigration story needs to be told and you have helped make that story-telling possible. From your friends and colleagues on the Board and in the Society

Running on Empty

The Society's signature achievement of the year has been the continued success of *Running on Empty: Canada and the Indochinese Refugees 1975-1980*. Two printings have sold out; McGill-Queen's University Press was to do a third in early November. The book is receiving accolades from the academic community, many of whom are using it in their classrooms.

Society members continue to promote the book. Part of the marketing strategy is to promote the book to the children of Indochinese migrants so that they understand what their predecessors experienced in coming to Canada. In presentations to other audiences, such as Canada's School of Public Service, links have been made between the boat people and the later Syrian refugee movement.

More marketing efforts took place in the autumn in Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver. The Vietnamese community in Calgary has expressed an interest in purchasing 300 copies. Presentations in those cities were a prelude to Molloy's book tour in Southeast Asia at the invitation of the Canadian embassy in Bangkok. There he expected to meet expatriate Canadians who originally went to Canada as part of the Indochinese migration. In many instances, these people are now in significant positions in civil society in their homelands.

Collaboration with IRCC

As most of CIHS's approximately 150 members are former employees of the immigration department in its various incarnations, the amount of collaboration between the department and the Society is not surprising.

- *Public Service Week:* Society members Holly Edwards and Brian Casey made a presentation to NHQ staff on the management of the immigration program during the break-up of Yugoslavia. The aim was to help staff understand how past special programs have operated and draw parallels with today's issues in immigration management. Audiences always appreciate these exposures to past programs and the insights the presentations provide on responding to today's program challenges.

- *Historical Refugee Movement*: For some time, the Society and University of Ottawa students have been working on a “*refugee chronicle*” by mining immigration department annual reports starting at 1868 and identifying passages and statistics that deal with refugees and humanitarian immigration. The research should wrap up next spring, and the final product will be placed on line for future students and researchers.
- *Lebanese Special Measures*: IRCC’s Research and Evaluation branch was instrumental in facilitating the Society’s access to archival material held by the immigration and global affairs departments on special measures put in place between 1975 and 1990 to assist Lebanese during Lebanon’s many periods of civil strife. CIHS is collecting recollections of staff members who were involved, as well as historical material, to tell the story of a program that brought 30,000 people to Canada [see article elsewhere in this issue].
- *Metropolis*: Early consultation is under way with IRCC Research and Evaluation regarding a role for CIHS at the upcoming International Metropolis Conference in Ottawa in June 2019.
- *Staff training*: In a new venture for the Society, board members have met with two groups of trainee visa officers to talk about a career in Immigration, about the history of the program, and about the Society. IRCC officials know the board is ready to do this again.

Collaboration with Other Partners

- *Pier 21*: CIHS’s connection with Pier 21 continued this year with donations of papers and publications including material from the late Randy Gordon and the late Carla Thorlakson, as well as a collection of photographs from Elvire Westley documenting her years in the Paris visa office.
- *Hearts of Freedom and Carleton University: Running on Empty* chronicles the Canadian officials’ side of the Indochinese refugee story. Hearts of Freedom takes CIHS’s mandate to “support, encourage and promote research into the history of Canadian immigration” a step further. CIHS has joined forces with Carleton University’s School of Social Work and Carleton University Library’s Archives and Research Collections, the Canadian Museum of History, Pier 21, and leaders of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian communities to launch this ambitious project: the collection of oral histories from Indochinese refugees and Canadians who assisted in their selection and resettlement. A grant from the Department of Canadian Heritage will assist the team to gather 110 stories in Ontario and Quebec. Success in more fund raising will allow the collection of histories from Western and Eastern Canada. The interviewing teams have already been recruited and trained.
- *Canada’s Embassy to Thailand*: The embassy invited CIHS President Mike Molloy to Southeast Asia to promote *Running on Empty* among local officials, academics, international NGOs, and communities of expatriate Canadians, many of whom migrated to Canada through the special measures put in place for Indochinese. The trip was combined with book-marketing stops in Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver and collaboration with local Indochinese communities [see article elsewhere in this issue].
- *The Gunn Prize and the International Migration Research Centre (Laurier University)*: This annual \$1,000 award co-funded by the Society and the IMRC was not presented this year. As outgoing board member and Gunn jury member Gerard Van Kessel, reported, the quality of the few submissions was quite poor. Promoting student awareness of the Gunn Prize continues to be a challenge.

Communications

- *Bulletin*: The Bulletin carried a wide variety of articles this past year: a three-part series by Andrew Griffith exploring the history of Canada’s approach to immigrant settlement and integration, a memoir by long-serving Paris Immigration Program Officer Elvire Westly, and the conclusion of Brian Casey’s account of immigrant and refugee processing at the Belgrade office during the Balkan Wars of the 1990s. The Balkan story was picked up by Holly Edwards who, in a two-part series, recounted her experience dealing with Balkan refugees from the Vienna office. Joyce Cavanagh-Wood and Bob Brack provided engaging accounts of refugee processing in Central America, while Kurt Jensen reported on the demographic challenges facing Taiwan. Roy Christensen traced the history of the immigrant ship, the MS *Anna Salen*, while Norm Olson recounted the horror of the bombing of Canada’s embassy in Vienna in 1969.

The Bulletin is increasingly focusing on articles of historical interest, bridging the gap between peer-reviewed academic publications and the popular press, and it is being accepted by academia as a research resource. Articles in the Bulletin are, indeed, peer-reviewed by practitioners rather than academics.

- *Website*: The website at cihs-shic.ca was updated to include a broader spectrum of historical immigration photos on its banner line. Among the interesting communications received through the site was a query from Allen Desnoyers in B.C. He writes musicals and approached CIHS for some input on the musical he is preparing about Pier 21 in the 1930s and 1940s—events and experiences of people working there and going through as immigrants. A sample of the Pier 21 musical was shown at the AGM.

Financial Report

[Treasurer Raph Girard reported](#) our 2017/18 revenues as \$15,606.53 and extended thanks to IRCC for increasing its contribution to \$2,500—the same amount Pier 21 contributes. Sales of *Running on Empty* generated \$1,500 in profit. Annual Bulletin costs are down to \$750 as more members choose the electronic version. At the close of our financial year in April, we had a positive cash balance of over \$8,000 and our Tradex investment had a book value of \$12,400.

Remembrance

In keeping with custom at the AGM, there was a moment of silence in memory of members and colleagues—friends all—who passed away in the past year. It is a long and sad list: David Hall; Wayne Lord; Paul Armstrong; Marty Dolin; Charles Morrow; Paul Simard; Jim Cross; Guy Currier; Randy Gordon; Del McKay; Con Adams; Kingsley Beatty; and long-serving Tokyo Immigration Processing Officer Kozo Tasho.

IRCC Systems and Processes Respond to Evolving Clientele



L to R: Heather Primeau, Mark Giralt, Louis Dumas

The Society was fortunate that three directors general from the department agreed to be guest speakers: Heather Primeau (DG-Centralized Network), Mark Giralt (DG-International Network), and Louis Dumas (DG-Domestic Network).

Primeau spoke first, comparing previous departmental front-line services to bank teller service. She noted that banks have moved well away from that model and so has IRCC, which now uses more and more technology and on-line services. As a result, the department can now more readily shift work among offices to respond to new priorities and client surges, maximizing staff resources.

The Centralized Network has 2,400 employees and tends to handle low-risk casework from any geographical area, with processing centres in Sydney, N.S.; Edmonton, Alberta; Mississauga, Ontario; and the National Capital Region. The network works closely with Policy and other parts of Operations. One of its business lines is the assessment of those electronic travel authorizations which cannot be approved electronically. Staff-driven innovation and change are watchwords in the network as it responds to growing volumes with a less proportionate increase in full-time employees. The variety provides more meaningful work and developmental opportunities for staff. In all, according to Primeau, it is an exciting time in the department.

The next speaker was Mark Giralt, who thought that former Immigration personnel would recognize the overseas arm of the department but for the fact that there are fewer small and medium-sized visa offices but more large centres, such as Beijing, London, Ankara, and Nairobi. Reporting and liaison offices are now found in Washington, the Permanent Mission to the UN in New York, Geneva, Brussels and Canberra.

He recalled how the summer of 2017 saw a huge growth in visitor visa applications, especially from China and India. Even with low-risk applications being referred to the Centralized Network, there was still a need to shift staff resources to respond while keeping that network in close contact with Beijing and Delhi to address any case challenges and to share best practices. Greater volumes will be challenging, and so constant improvement is required. Giralt gave as an example excellent tools developed by any one post being more widely adopted if they have proved to generate efficiencies and sound decisions.

Louis Dumas spoke last. He emphasized the need for uniform decisions across the Domestic Network in its 26 Canadian offices. The network is dealing with a growing number of refugee claims and has developed some innovative approaches

in response to irregular claimants. Meanwhile, student and temporary worker applications are increasing. As well, the citizenship application process led to 186,000 new Canadians in 2018. This network is also responsible for policy and procedures on Canadian passport issuance and is now involved in a pilot in Atlantic Canada for skilled worker migrants. The bottom line for Dumas is that place-based work is a thing of the past. All three networks can shift their capacities and expertise when the need arises; for example, express entry cases can be finalized in six months once a person is invited to apply.

The Start of the Lebanon Special Measures

Kurt F. Jensen

Author's Note: This article could not have been written without the assistance of CIHS members Gerry Maffre and Peter Duschinsky, who interviewed the subjects on behalf of the author. The identity of the young officer and his wife are not revealed for personal reasons. The interviews, conducted in June 2018, are part of a project by CIHS to document the story of the Lebanese Special Measures from 1975 until 1990.

Background

Lebanon has long been a riddle. For much of its modern history, until the end of the First World War, it was part of the Ottoman Empire. Situated at the confluence of such competing religious-ethnographic groups as Muslims (Sunni and Shia), Christians, Druze and Jews, the Lebanese Republic, created in 1926 from a French League of Nations mandate, somehow worked reasonably well and prospered in the years leading up to the mid-1970s. Beirut, the capital, was called “Paris of the Middle East”, a sophisticated, cosmopolitan society functioning as the playground and banking centre for much of the region despite periodic national turmoil and political strife.

Canada established diplomatic relations with Lebanon in 1954 and opened an embassy in Beirut four years later. A Lebanese consulate had already opened in Canada in 1946. Immigration from Lebanon to Canada dates to 1882, but prior to the Second World War it was relatively small. The immigration flow dramatically increased following growing sectarian violence that began in the early 1970s and was closely linked to the regional reaction to the eviction of Palestinians from Jordan, as well as to the growth of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and projection of violence by that organization as a means of achieving political strength in pursuit of a homeland. The arrival of battle-hardened Palestinian fighters ousted by Jordan weakened the fragile sectarian balance in Lebanon.

On the eve of decades of resurgent intermittent civil war, a young Canadian visa officer arrived in Beirut and became part of the events and enhanced immigration of Lebanese to Canada. I shall refer to him as “Hank”, and this is his story. He eventually met, fell in love with, and married a member of the Canadian mission’s locally engaged staff (LES), whom I will call “Mary”.

Early Days

Hank had been posted to the Canadian embassy in Belgrade prior to being assigned to the visa section at the embassy in Beirut. Before taking up his new posting, he returned to Ottawa for briefings that focused on operational matters but made no reference to security or political instability. Hank eventually arrived in Beirut in early 1975 and found the political situation quite calm. The visa section had a very large regional responsibility and he looked forward to his introduction to the countries of the Middle East. Area visits would provide new experiences and exposure to many very different cultures and experiences.

His ambassador, Jacques Gignac, was replaced by Alan Sullivan at the end of the year. The Officer-in-Charge of the visa section was Gary Schroh; Brian Davis assisted him until he was replaced by Peter Lilius in the summer. Other staff included Louis Mack and Charlie Hill from National Headquarters Enforcement Branch. Charlie’s job was to set up a telex security clearance process at the mission. The Canada-based secretary was Eva Grodde, herself later to become an Immigration foreign service officer. The Health and Welfare physician was Dr. Peter Constandinidis, while the RCMP “Stage B” officer was Murray Dent, who was assisted by a second officer.

The local staff when Hank arrived included Michel Kabbas as Immigration program officer, Fadil Bathish as receptionist, Marlene Rashid and Roger Daoud in charge of the registry, as well as Edith Nahme, Fanny “X”, Mona Kadi and Marie Rose Tohmé, with Knariq Shitilian working for the medical section and with François Dupré from the Ministère d’immigration Québec (MIQ).

The immigration program was largely routine at the time, consisting mostly of family class and assisted relatives, with the bulk of the work arising from regular visits to the regional area responsibilities. Life was good. Beirut was indeed the Paris of the Middle East. Hank was looking forward to new experiences, new places to visit, and a joyful daily existence in a

cosmopolitan, sophisticated, and exciting city. That was, in fact, what he found for the first few months into his new assignment. And then it ended.

Civil War Breaks Out, 1975

The civil war didn't so much begin as slowly evolve out of tense relations between the various power groups. There was constant low-grade violence in the streets. Then, suddenly on 13 April 1975, in Hank's words "all hell broke loose". Fighting between the PLO and the Kataeb Christian militia that had begun in the suburbs spread to other parts of Beirut, especially the downtown area, which was largely destroyed in the process. After this, a demarcation line, later known as the Green Line, was established between the two parts of the city, dividing the population into largely Muslims in western Beirut and Christians in eastern Beirut. Although 13 April marks the beginning of Lebanon's descent into chaos, Hank recalls that the early fighting did not significantly impede the operation of the Canadian embassy except for the initial couple of days.

A number of militias were formed in the two opposing sectors, and hundreds of civilians were killed during the early days of fighting and chaos which followed. The government and its military and police quickly split along secular lines. The militias began to assume state functions.

Snipers became a daily presence along the Green Line. One atrocity followed another. Hank recalls "samedi noir", 6 December 1975, as a particularly bad day when four Christians were murdered. The Christian Phalange militia killed hundreds of Muslims, including Palestinians, in revenge.

As the tensions mounted, danger grew for everyone. While no one was immune from the risk of a sniper's bullet, the risk was especially acute for the those who had to cross the Green Line to get to work. The embassy was in the Muslim sector, and the Christian local staff who lived in east Beirut were no longer able to get to the office. Hank recalls that none of the LES was laid off for not being able to get to work while the embassy still functioned. How they were to be paid was a problem, since movement across the Green Line was difficult and the banks were often unreliable.

Life nevertheless continued, albeit on a more restricted basis. Hank lived in a quiet neighbourhood about twelve minutes' walk from the office. But his routine changed. After returning from work at night, he rarely ventured out. Necessary shopping took place when there was a lull in the fighting. Stores would open and remained well-stocked, but municipal services and security deteriorated.

The reduced quality of life and safety had an impact on the operation of the visa office. Poor mail and telephone services made it difficult to contact visa applicants, particularly those who might have moved due to the fighting. Through the early stage of the civil war, the visa office received no specific guidance from headquarters on application case management. The visa office remained as flexible as possible in handling a Lebanese client base that was located primarily in the rural areas of the country. Relatively few visa applicants came into the office because of the risk of getting about in a live war zone. Those who did come were looked after to the extent possible, and the application was processed as far as possible within a single visit.

By October-November 1975 the visa office ceased to conduct regional visa interview trips. The airport was often closed and travel to it was dangerous, with repeated stoppages enforced by the many militias. While no specific threat was directed at Canadians, random shootings and "accidents" caused by very young, inexperienced militiamen did occur. The danger was much more explicit for the LES who might be stopped at a check point. For all, it was wise to "buy" a militia's newspaper at a check point. This was little more than a polite way of paying a bribe to ensure easy passage. The violence grew. The number of militia groups increased. Anarchy became the norm. The security situation deteriorated constantly, and in November 1975 a decision was made to evacuate the dependants of Canada-based staff.

The Storming of the Canadian Embassy, 1976

On 23 February 1976, the Canadian embassy was stormed and 33 hostages were taken, including Alan Sullivan, the Chargé d'affaires. The attack was orchestrated by [Eddy Haymour](#), a Canadian of Lebanese extraction. A barber and successful entrepreneur from Western Canada, he was assisted by some of his cousins, all wielding AK-47s. The siege lasted between 14 and 15 hours, ending that evening around ten o'clock. Haymour demanded redress for business fraud he claimed had been directed against him in Canada. The PLO and the Lebanese Army eventually negotiated a peaceful end to the siege. After his surrender, Haymour was fined by the Lebanese government and he eventually returned to Canada. He was never charged in Canada.

The intruders entered on the ground floor and took whoever was there up to the second floor, where the visa section was located. Hank was conducting an interview when the attack took place, and he and others were taken to the third floor, where all the hostages were collected. Hank recalls that Gary Schroh and Eva Grodde barricaded themselves in Schroh's

office, hiding under Schroh's desk for the duration of the siege. The gunmen also reached the fourth floor, which housed the political and security sections. The embassy was in a ten-storey office complex. If the elevator stopped on the third floor any passengers were also taken, although Hank recalls that they were generally quickly released. All the embassy staff were made to sit on the floor, although the gunmen arranged for food and drink to be brought in.

Afterwards the embassy staff received little in the way of explanation about what had happened and how the siege had been resolved. Alan Sullivan did not speak about the incident to the staff although he may have briefed the senior managers. The staff had naturally been terrified, although the intruders had not been violent.

Very little information exists about the Haymour episode. But the story didn't end there. In 1986 the British Columbia Supreme Court ordered the B.C. government to pay Eddy Haymour \$250,000 in compensation for "wrongful and deliberate acts by the government", which had precipitated the attack on the embassy. Additional damages were awarded later.

A couple of weeks after the Haymour incident a failed minor coup d'état by Brigadier General Aziz El-Ahdab, acting out of frustration with the incompetence of the government, was directed against President Suleiman Frangieh. Significant massacres of civilians (at Karantina on 18 January 1976) and the arrival of Syrian troops in January had already foreshadowed the descent into a longer, more brutal civil war.

Closing the Embassy, 1976

It came as little surprise that Canada decided to close its embassy in Beirut. A critical factor was the increasing inability to carry out mission tasks because of the growing violence. The decision came suddenly, and staff had little time to carry it out. Hank recalls that he was only informed of the decision the day before the departure was to occur. Staff did not go to the embassy on the morning of departure but went instead to a meeting point with the one suitcase they could take. No office files were taken. Hank thinks it was probably 18 March 1976, although he could be wrong by a couple of days. The trip to the airport was in a convoy, which Hank believes had been arranged by Colonel Landry, the Canadian military attaché. Those who departed by air to Athens included Hank, Lilius, and trade and political staff. Sullivan, Schroh, Landry, and possibly others remained to formally close the mission. Hank thinks that Dr. Peter Constandinidis may have already left at the end of 1975 for a cross-posting to Athens.

Gary Schroh rejoined his team in Athens at the end of March, while the political and trade sections of the mission relocated to Amman, Jordan. Immigration went to Greece because it was thought easier as a destination for Lebanese visa applicants. Some Lebanese applicants did reach Athens to seek visas and were handled by the existing visa section in the Athens embassy.

When Schroh arrived in Athens, he realized that the Beirut visa operation could not function in the overcrowded Athens embassy. The visa section had temporarily been allocated a small conference room that was entirely inadequate. Hank believes Schroh spent some of his last days in Beirut discussing with informed sources the logistics of operating from Athens. Schroh began to develop an operational plan for the continued functioning of the Beirut visa section. He persuaded Ottawa to let him make an exploratory trip to Cyprus to look at whether that could be an operational site. He became convinced that Cyprus was the best option, having an airport and sea port which already received regular traffic from Lebanon. He likely also met with hotels which might serve as a temporary Canadian visa office.

In Ottawa Schroh made a compelling case for setting up a temporary visa office on Cyprus as an easier destination for Lebanese clients. The Muslims, Druze, and Palestinians would not have to cross the Green Line to reach the Beirut airport, while the Christians had the option of embarking from coastal ports, although the boats taken were not always in good repair.

Opening the Cyprus Office, 1976

Getting the necessary support from Ottawa, Schroh, Lilius, Grodde, and Hank left for Limassol, Cyprus, in May 1976 to establish a temporary Beirut visa office in the Hotel Apollonia Beach. Arrangements were made with Cyprus immigration authorities to prepare for a rush of Lebanese destined to the temporary office, although the decision to grant them entry remained with Cypriot authorities. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) office on Cyprus agreed to make travel arrangements to Canada for successful visa applicants. A local doctor already had arrangements with the Canadian doctor in Athens to conduct immigration medical examinations.

Bud Muise was the point man in Ottawa for handling the funds and bookkeeping. External Affairs very briefly complained about the bookkeeping not conforming to their procedures but acquiesced when asked to send two clerks to Limassol to assist.

A charter flight was arranged with Cyprus Air to go to Beirut to pick up office files and forms, photocopier, and those LES who wanted to move to Cyprus temporarily and could reach Beirut airport. (The Immigration program officer, the medical secretary, and Fadil Bathish, who came with his wife and two children, took the Cyprus Air flight.) The Bathish family were eventually put up in an apartment in Limassol, paid for by the office. G. Menassa, an LES in the political section, handled the Beirut end of the arrangements. Mary, who would later marry Hank, lived in Christian east Beirut. It would have been very dangerous for her to cross the Green Line to reach the airport, so she left for Cyprus on a crowded and unsafe boat, reaching the island before the Cyprus Air flight with the office files.

Within a short period, the Limassol office became operational, but it dealt only with family class sponsorships and Assisted Relatives. All Independent and Visitor Visa applicants and consular cases were directed to a Canadian embassy elsewhere. Word of the temporary office in Limassol spread quickly, and soon large numbers of visa applicants flooded the hotel's lobby, disrupting regular hotel business. Hotel Apollonia Beach took the influx of visa applicants in its stride, even during the busy tourist season, and remained well disposed to the Canadian operation, providing the Canadian staff special room and meal rates. Most of the Lebanese visa applicants at that time were from rural areas of the country, reflecting a mix of religions and generally possessing legitimate documents. If a family sponsorship undertaking was not already on file, applicants were told how to have their relatives in Canada make an application. Canadian Immigration Centres in most Canadian cities had already received instructions to expedite sponsorships and nominations for the Lebanese.

The visa office was in constant operation; for the first three months, it was open six or seven days a week for 10 to 12 hours a day. Interviews were not scheduled; applicants were processed as they arrived. A local Cypriot doctor completed the medical examinations on the day of the interview. The test results were forwarded by diplomatic bag for review by the Canadian doctor at the embassy in Athens, and the decision was telephoned back within a day. Very few applicants received deferred medicals (reflecting issues which required resolution). MIQ officers were: initially François Dupré for a brief period, and then Jean Cogné with Gisèle Chevalier, later the wife of Lilius, as secretary.

The hotel allowed Eva Grodde to use its telex machine at night to send case and work information, as well as truncated security requests. For the latter, if there was no response within five working days the applicant was considered as "passed security". Encrypted telex messages and other classified material were regularly delivered and picked up by Canadian peacekeeping forces in Nicosia who used Hotel Apollonia Beach for rest leave.

Almost all applicants were accepted, and visas were usually issued within seven to ten working days. These visas were coded "Beirut (Lim)" to denote that approval was made under the Lebanese Special Measures Program. Approximately 7,000 visas were issued between March and November 1976. At the start, Mary was the only one in Limassol who had the training to type out the complex IMM1000 immigration forms, but she could not keep up with the flow of approvals since accepted applicants waited in Cyprus until they received their visas. Around the end of June or beginning of July, Fanny "X" and Mona Kadi were brought over from Beirut to assist her.

Hank and Mary recall that during the early days almost all the cases involved country folk from the Bekaa Valley and mountain villages, all with family in Canada and reflecting an ethnic and religious mix (Christians, Muslims, Druze, and even some Palestinians). The majority were destined to family members in Montreal, Halifax, Toronto, Ottawa, Edmonton, and Calgary. Travel arrangements were completed by the IOM.

Hank had to undergo surgery during his time in Limassol. Clifford Fox of CIC Montreal had come on temporary duty to assist and remained a bit longer to cover for him. Hank and Mary fell in love while in Limassol and, newly married, left for Ottawa in mid-November 1976. Hank's personal effects, which had remained in Beirut, were packed under the supervision of Menassa, who had remained in Beirut. Their personal effects reached the newly married couple in Ottawa early in 1977.

Hank feels strongly that Schroh's efforts in establishing the Limassol operation were critical to the success of what became the Lebanese Special Measures. If Schroh had not identified Limassol as the only logical operation centre, negotiated arrangements with the Hotel Apollonia Beach and the IOM, and met the many other logistical planning requirements, far fewer people would have been enabled to come to Canada.

Hank and Mary still recall their time in Beirut and Limassol as if it was yesterday. They were exciting days, but also a period of stress and fear about the safety of Mary's family.

Seen from today's perspective, it was a time of participating in history.

In the Beginning

Doug Dunnington

In the fall of my fourth year of university, I saw a recruiting poster for the Canadian Foreign Service and wrote the exam the next evening. In early December I received a call from Ottawa offering me a position as a visa officer.

“What’s that?” I enquired. “Oh, you work at an embassy or consulate and interview people who want to immigrate, work, study or visit Canada. If you accept them, you tell them about Canada so they have no problem settling, process their paperwork, and issue them a visa.”

Sounded good to me as I liked talking to people and having the government pay for my travel. I had a beautiful Kitchener girl I was going to marry, so I asked Barbara what she thought. We were both happy in Kitchener-Waterloo but thought it would be great to travel to two postings and then settle back home. I reported for duty in Ottawa on 17 June 1968, with 25 other rookies from across Canada. We spent the first month in Ottawa learning about immigration. Then we were sent to Toronto for a month to see how the airport worked and to learn about the various agencies that dealt with the people we would be sending them. I was most impressed that we were put up at the famous King Edward Hotel where movie stars and big-wheel politicians stayed. We were given a generous food and living allowance: can you imagine we were also allowed 25 cents a day for a gratuity for the maid? Not bad for a Kitchener boy!

The next phase of our training required us to go to a country in Europe where our first language was spoken and then another two weeks in a third-language country. My first-language destination was Belfast, Northern Ireland. I arrived on a Saturday afternoon after my first-ever flight. I soon enjoyed the atmosphere and libations of a pub while exploring the city. I was booked into the Grand Central hotel, which featured boiled beef and soggy peas for Saturday dinner. It was bombed and destroyed by the Irish Republican Army two years later.

I reported to the office Monday morning and was given operational briefings by the two Canada-based officers. On Wednesday, I was ready to interview my first clients and escorted a pleasant family to my office, where we exchanged chit chat. The man was 52 years old and had a job offer as a laundry supervisor in a hospital in Windsor. He had the equivalent of a Grade 10 education. Our Immigration selection system was based on a points system, and I soon realised he had only 42 of the 50 points required for acceptance. My first case had to be refused!

I marshalled all my Kitchener charm and told the applicant the bad news: due to his age, education and lack of skilled job experience, he did not earn enough points on the Canadian selection criteria. I knew that this outcome was a disappointment but if his job fell through and he had to find another job in Canada he would have an impossible task given his lack of skills and education. “Are you sure that is your final decision, Mr. Dunnington?” he asked. “Yes, sir”, I replied. “I’m afraid you would have a difficult time in Canada given the current needs of the labour market.” “All right then!” he shouted. “I will put my family in my car and drive them into the nearest hydro pole I see,” and stormed out.

What had I done—I had just killed my first immigration clients! On reflection I soon realised I had done both the client and Canada a favour. Can you imagine how this man and his attitude would have reacted had he lost his job in Windsor? He’d have been a real bane to the welfare system and his family. Besides, in Belfast in 1968, a laundry supervisor would never have had his own car, so that was a ruse. The rest of my stay in Belfast was not as eventful, but I did see and mostly accept a number of skilled British and Irish welders, mechanics, fitters and professionals.

I was then sent to Vienna—home of Strauss waltzes, Wiener schnitzel, castles, and history. Unfortunately, I left Belfast about the same time as the Russian tanks were driving into Prague. My formal training was thus aborted as officers were brought in from across Europe to process Czech and Slovak refugees. As an intern my task was to process files, issue visas, and fill Air Canada flights.

After a few days I was placed on the interview line and met Jerzy and his wife and child. He had been a TV cameraman in Prague and was broadcasting the news of the Russian invasion of their country. He and his announcer could hear the Russians banging their rifles on the downstairs’ door and coming up the stairs. They knew it was time to leave and hurtled down the backstairs to their waiting cars and families and headed to Vienna. What an exciting story! After a few more questions, I told Jerzy that he was accepted but his occupation was not really in significant demand. If he was lucky enough to find a job in his field it would probably be in a small market out East or West. His wife was a bilingual secretary and would find a job more easily. They accepted all that—anything was better than being governed by the Russian bear.

One other recollection is my hands appeared in newscasts all over Europe. The TV networks were most interested in what Canada was doing with the Czechs and asked to do a documentary on us. The senior officers were all interviewed on camera, but the program started with a Czech passport being opened and a Canada visa being embossed on the

fourth page. As the hardest-working rookies, Mike Molloy and I were in the running. From years of playing the accordion, my hands were pristine and photogenic. My Irish friend's genes suffered from years of planting potatoes and working in the B.C. fishery. So I won, but to this day feel badly for my buddy. Jo tried to make up for it by constantly holding and caressing his hands. It must have paid off, as he has become a painter of some renown.

I spent the next three weeks interviewing and then it was time to return to my training class in Ottawa. My last duty was to escort the second Air Canada flight of Czech refugees to Toronto. There were about 250 anxious and concerned faces when we took off. Emotions were even higher when I announced that if they looked out the left side of the plane, they would see Czechoslovakia. Imagine the tears! I then went up and down the rows spending time with each person, answering their questions and ensuring them that in the long run they would settle well in Canada. The second emotional moment occurred seven hours later when I announced that if they looked out the right side, they would see their new country. More tears.

On arrival in Toronto we were met by all sorts of print and TV media anxious to tell the story of our new countrymen. I stayed behind at the door to shake hands and wish them well. As I finally headed down the gangplank, I heard someone yelling my name. It was Jerzy. After a hug he told me what a wonderful place Canada was. On the second day after his arrival he was interviewed by a Manpower officer who wasted little time in phoning CTV. An interview was arranged for that afternoon and he started work the next day. Not only that but CTV needed a secretary who spoke Czech and so his wife was also hired. They found an apartment three blocks from the station and their son was happily attending school around the corner. What a happy ending to the story.

The next day I returned to Ottawa where we were just starting on a four-week cross-Canada tour to meet governments, Chambers of Commerce, employers and immigrant settlement agencies to get a better idea of the needs and conditions that the immigrants we selected would face. During our training we were asked our preferences for our first posting. I simply wrote I'd like a country completely different from Canada, where we could see the world. In a Halifax hotel lobby, the postings were read out: Marilyn Major, London; Jacques Drapeau, Rome; Robert Lapointe, Hong Kong; Mike Molloy, Tokyo; Elizabeth Marshall, Al Nauman, Kingston Jamaica; Doug Dunnington, Manila, Philippines.

I shrieked, "Where is Manila?!"

Research Matters: Knowledge Mobilization at Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

Eleanor Berry

Eleanor Berry is a research and evaluation analyst at IRCC. She currently leads the Knowledge Management Unit in the Research and Evaluation Branch, where she has worked since 2013. A librarian by training and trade, she also worked in the former CIC Library as the department's cataloguer and metadata specialist from 2008-2012.

The Knowledge Mobilization and Partnerships (KMP) team of the IRCC Research and Evaluation Branch has been busy this year! With the objective of enhancing IRCC's research capacity, fostering collaboration, and bridging knowledge gaps between research, policy and service sectors, KMP has intensified its knowledge mobilization efforts by redesigning and re-energizing its *Research at a Glance* and *Research Matters* series.

With the increasing focus on evidence-based policy over the past several years, ensuring the broad distribution of policy-relevant evidence—whether developed in house, commissioned, or leveraged through partners—is crucial to the application of a rational, rigorous, and systematic approach to decision making.

Research at a Glance alerts and *Research Matters* events are designed to inform the IRCC community and other interested parties about recently published policy-relevant research from government, academic and NGO sources. The research reports, although they do not necessarily reflect the views of the department or the Government of Canada, are disseminated in a timely manner to help ensure awareness, stimulate conversation, and encourage the development of new ideas and policy or program solutions.

Research at a Glance

Research at a Glance is an almost daily email alert service that provides an overview of current research studies, journal articles, and similar reports relevant to Canadian policies and practices from a broad range of subject areas, including—but certainly not limited to—the following:

- immigration and refugee levels
- IRCC program evaluations and policy research
- immigrant attraction and retention
- newcomer health and wellness

- settlement outcomes
- irregular migration
- international students
- foreign credential recognition
- welcoming communities
- citizenship uptake and barriers
- ethnic diversity and multiculturalism
- public opinion research

Publications from organizations using IRCC operational or research data in their projects are frequently included. Abstracts and links to full reports are provided, and related studies of interest are often referenced as well. While much of the research has a Canadian focus, studies from international organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) are also shared through this service.

Nearly 1,000 people currently subscribe to *Research at a Glance*, including federal and provincial/territorial government immigration researchers, policy analysts and other employees, academic researchers, settlement service providers, and historians.

For more information or to subscribe to our *Research at a Glance* mailing list, please contact us at research-recherche@cic.gc.ca.

Research Matters

Research Matters events are learning opportunities organized by the Research and Evaluation Branch at which experts and scholars from different fields and from a variety of institutions present their policy research findings. These events present a broad range of topics by researchers from across the country. This past year we showcased studies related to

- newcomer youth
- integration and resettlement services
- gender identity
- health access and outcomes
- building knowledge networks
- refugee sponsorship
- labour force outcomes
- immigrant attraction and retention
- Canadian public opinion
- Syrian refugees

These presentations take place at IRCC at least twice a month. Examples of presentations delivered in 2018 include:

- *Bridging two worlds: Supporting newcomers and refugee youth* (presentation and book launch), Dr. Janice Stewart (University of Winnipeg) and Diana El Chaar (University of Calgary)
- *Impact of the Syrian refugee influx on local systems of support*, Dr. Richard Janzen (Co-Executive Director, Centre for Community Based Research)
- *Migrant dreams* (movie screening and Q and A session of award-winning film), Dr. Min Sook Lee (OCAD University)
- *Improving refugee integration through data-driven algorithmic assignment*, Dr. Jens Hainmueller and Kirk Bansak (Stanford University)
- *The case for diversity: Building the case to improve mental health services for immigrant, refugee, ethno-cultural and racialized populations*, Dr. Kwame McKenzie (CEO, Wellesley Institute) and Bonita Varga (Mental Health Commission of Canada)
- *The right information at the right time: Optimizing the provision of information to facilitate the settlement and integration of refugees in Canada*, Dr. Victoria Esses (University of Western Ontario) and Dr. Leah Hamilton (Mount Royal University).

Research Matters is now on GCcollab! Join the [Research Matters at Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada](#) group to access all past presentations, find a listing of upcoming events, and obtain information about attending via WebEx videoconference. If you do not have access to this group on GCcollab, please contact us at researchnetwork-reseauRecherche@cic.gc.ca to request an invitation.

We encourage anyone with an interest in immigration issues to take advantage of these research alerts and presentations.

As 2018 winds down and we start to fill in our 2019 calendars, please add CIHS AGM on 17 October at 6pm.

Running on Empty: A Progress Report

In planning a promotional trip in the West, we received bad news and good news. The good news was that the second printing of 500 copies of *Running on Empty* was pretty well sold out. The bad news was that there were not enough books to meet the anticipated needs of the promotional tour. More good news—our publisher, McGill-Queen's University Press, is producing a third printing of 500. Still more good news is that we have begun discussions with Vietnamese community leaders and McGill-Queen's about the possibility of publishing a shorter version of the book in Vietnamese.

Promoting *Running on Empty* Out West

In late October, President Mike Molloy travelled to Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver to promote *Running on Empty*. The travel was generously sponsored by members of the Edmonton Vietnamese community.

The Calgary visit (27 October) was organized by Tuyet Lam, Thach Nguyen and Hieu Tran. Molloy gave a telephone interview to Lac Viet Radio Vancouver (FM 96.1) and spoke to an audience of 50 to 60 people representing various institutions at the Vietnamese community centre. Among the attendees was Elizabeth Marshall, Manpower and Immigration Foreign Service class of 1968 and manager of CFB Greisbach Refugee Reception Centre 1979-1980. Every one of the 40 copies of *Running on Empty* was sold on the spot and the Calgary Vietnamese community ordered another 300!



Tuyet Lam, Calgary Vietnamese Association, and Mike Molloy.

Molloy then proceeded to Edmonton on the Red Arrow Bus and was accommodated there by Tri Hoang and his wife Vi Nguyen, who provided a quick tour of Edmonton the following day, including the 10-block Avenue of Nations lined with Vietnamese businesses and green street lights decorated with a Vietnamese motif. About 50 people attended the event at the Vietnamese community centre (28 October), where Vi Nguyen acted as master of ceremonies. Molloy spoke of Canada's



L to R: Huy Nguyen, Tri Hoang, Amy Duong (President), Linh Truong, Dr. Nhung Tran-Davies, Mike Molloy wearing the "gift of freedom and human dignity", Vi Nguyen, Veronica Vu, Dr. Grant Davies

response to the boat people crisis and gave an interview to the local Vietnamese TV station. He was then presented by Edmonton Viet Association President Amy Duong with a "gift of freedom and human dignity" in the form of a traditional silk scarf and lapel pin. Again, the 40 books on hand were snapped up and the community placed an order for 40 more.

That evening Molloy flew to Vancouver and the following afternoon attended a third event, at Simon Fraser University's (SFU) Harbour Centre. It was sponsored by the Canada International Council (CIC) and SFU's David Lam Centre and organized by Grant Duckworth of Vancouver Strategic Research, with promotional assistance from the Vietnamese community and Gisele Yasmeen. The event was opened by CIC Vancouver president Charles Dumbrell and attended by a very diverse group including former Uganda refugees. There was a three-member panel, with Molloy providing a strategic overview of the Indochinese movement, David Ritchie speaking about his experience as a front-line visa officer in Southeast Asia in 1979-1981, and Mohammed Al Saleh, one of the first Syrian refugees to reach Canada (and a newly minted Canadian citizen), describing his own life experiences and providing an update on the contemporary role of Canada's refugee sponsorship program. Fortunately, the absence of books supposedly ordered by the local book store did not dampen the event. Afterwards, leaders of the Vancouver Vietnamese community approached Molloy and offered to organize a second event in January 2019. Stay tuned.



L to R: David Ritchie, Mohammed Al Saleh

Asian Diary

Michael Molloy

After two very long flights my wife, Jo, and I arrived safely in Thailand and were ensconced in the official residence of Ambassador Donica Pottie and her husband Scott Slessor. Both Donica and Scott worked for me when I was ambassador to Jordan almost 20 years ago. We had a relaxing weekend, with some sightseeing, market visits, and nice meals.

The official program started on 5 November, with a meeting at the Foreign Ministry with representatives of the Thai government departments of International Organizations, American and South Pacific Affairs, East Asian Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, and the National Security Council. We had a wide-ranging discussion of Canada's role in resettling Indochinese refugees from Thailand and Thailand's efforts to set up a refugee status determination system despite the fact that it is not a Convention signatory and has no plans to become one. At the meeting's end, we presented a copy of *Running on Empty* to the Director General of International Organizations, and the dozen or so young desk officers in attendance snapped up the flyers McGill Queen's University Press (MQUP) provided on how to get the e-book.

The meeting was followed by lunch at the funky Rosabieng restaurant with Pia Paguio, UNHCR senior protection officer, and Dana Graber Ladak, IOM's Head of Office in Thailand. Dana had been given a copy of our book by Stephan Stebelsky, formerly IRCC Thailand manager who is now in Manila, and had obviously read it with care. There was an interesting discussion of current refugee and migration developments including Thai efforts to ensure that children of illegal migrants are no longer incarcerated, efforts to repatriate long-staying Burmese refugees, and IOM's program to monitor and survey the flow of irregular migrants across the Thai-Myanmar border. We presented our book to Pia, who was delighted.

That evening Ambassador Pottie held a reception attended by representatives of a dozen non-governmental organizations and international agencies, the Cambodian ambassador, and Society board member Ian Rankin's son Anthony and his spouse. Jo and I had worked out a routine in which I spoke about the book and the Indochinese movement, and at intervals, Jo gave short readings from the book. It seemed to work pretty well, though the rumours that we will take the routine to Broadway are premature. We presented the book to the Cambodian ambassador, and the supply of MQUP flyers was seriously depleted.

Two more days of events provided a wonderful reminder of the interesting people you meet in the expatriate communities of places like Bangkok, for example, a daughter of Blaine Higgs, the new premier of New Brunswick.



Ambassador Donica Pottie presenting *Running on Empty* to UN Special Representative for International Migration Louise Arbour during the Asia consultations for the Global Migration Compact; to their left, then-Immigration program manager Stephan Stebelsky



Ayesha Rekhi, former visa officer, now political counsellor; Ambassador Pottie; General Krista Norapoompipat (ret); Beart Schweitzer, Int. Committee Red Cross (ret); Mechai Virvaidya, community activist; Jo Molloy; Kristen Erickson, manager IRCC, Thailand; and Mike Molloy.

The next day's program consisted of a lunch given by Ambassador Pottie, attended by three people whose early careers involved them with the refugees who flooded into Thailand in the 1970s and 1980s. The lunch was an occasion to review Thailand's role as the major country of asylum for Cambodian and Laotian refugees. As a young officer Gen. Krista Norapoompipat was stationed with his unit near the Panatnikhom refugee camp. He described the close relationship that developed between the Royal Thai Army and the various UN and international

organizations and NGOs involved with the refugees. Beart Schweitzer, recently retired as the Thailand representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross, described how many of the UN and international agencies “came of age” during the refugee protection operations along the Thai border and noted that this period has been little studied. Mechai Virvaitya is well known in Thailand for his efforts on behalf of planned parenthood and for heading off a major AIDS epidemic. He described innovations that his organization developed to improve camp conditions—including controlling the fly and rat populations, involving local farmers in supplying food for the refugees, and establishing a camp currency to pay refugees for working in the camps.

Ambassador Pottie presented all three guests with copies of our book, and there was a thoughtful discussion about whether the approach taken in *Running on Empty* could be used to document the experiences of international and Thai officials and workers during the Indochinese refugee crisis.

P2P Conference

Holly Edwards

Attesting to its growing popularity, some 450 people attended the sixth annual Pathways to Prosperity national conference held in Montreal on 22 and 23 November, compared to 250 who attended the first in Ottawa. The theme of this year’s conference was “Borders, Welcoming Communities and the Politicization of Immigration: Challenges and Opportunities Surrounding the Dynamic Movement of People”. Eric Gervais, Quebec’s Associate Deputy Minister for Francisation, Diversity and Inclusion, gave opening remarks. Sharon Bala, author of the novel *The Boat People*, was the special keynote speaker.

In a plenary session on the politicization of immigration, a speaker asserted that Canadian policy no longer leads public opinion, but rather is adapting to it; another pointed out that immigration was part of a calculated electoral strategy in the recent Quebec election. All speakers were concerned that a previous consensus of political leaders not to engage on immigration was being undermined by populists and that the 2019 federal election could have long-term results.

The conference also examined the role of immigration in Canada’s labour market. IRCC Policy Research moderated a panel outlining the challenges of immigration in small communities where there are labour shortages, discussed the trend of work being increasingly done by machines (Canada is near the bottom of spending by OECD countries on training of workers and it is mainly the unskilled who are at risk), and British Columbia’s ambitious plans to find 24,300 skilled immigrants a year to fill new jobs. Employers are driving a number of innovations to bring in skilled workers, particularly the IT sector, which is very happy with the Express Entry program.

In the plenary on refugee claimants, IRCC came under fire with regard to the Safe Third Country Agreement but responded ably, including by referring to the ongoing Federal Court challenge. The final plenary dealing with settlement challenges pointed out that immigrants are going less to Montreal, Vancouver, and Toronto than they did in the past (66 percent in 2017 vs 90 percent in 1997), demonstrated how Toronto is working with smaller centres to house refugees given the dire housing situation there, and showcased the impressive work of the city of Moncton in attracting immigrants.

The many workshops were generally extremely interesting and practical. There were 33 presentations of posters on research work being done by university students. It was gratifying to see how many panellists, workshop presenters, and researchers are themselves first- or second-generation immigrants. The attendees I spoke to were open to learning about CIHS and supportive of its aims. Academics were generally aware of the Gunn Prize and had publicized it among their students. The conference is a great forum for learning what is happening with regard to immigration to Canada, since so much is now being done by nongovernmental and non-profit agencies and by academics.



A Plenary Session

Latest Donation to Pier 21

Michael Molloy

As we were preparing the text of *Running on Empty*, David Ritchie let slip that he had retained a half dozen files from his time in Singapore working on the Indochinese refugee movement 1979-1980 and he asked whether CIHS would be interested in finding a good home for them. I took delivery of the files some years later. They proved to be a real treasure trove, a time capsule of the kinds of documents officers working on complex refugee movements collected to take with them when they went into the field. Going through the material I was delighted to find a small Canadian flag, printed on light cardboard in greeting card format, with the flag printed on the front and back covers and a description of the flag's origins printed in several languages inside. When I asked David about it, he explained that he carried that flag with him when he went on interviewing trips to Malaysia, Indonesia, Anambas Islands, and Brunei. Before starting his interviews, he would set the flag on his work table to show "Canada is in the house".

The contents of these working files will be part of a CIHS contribution to the Carleton University Archive's Indochinese refugee collection. Carleton already houses the Ugandan Asian Collection [see Bulletins [71](#), [76](#), [77](#)]. Carleton University, David's *alma mater*, has one of the largest concentrations of immigration and refugee scholars in Canada in its Migration and Diaspora Network. However, when our friends at Pier 21 heard about the flag they asked whether it could go to their collection, and David agreed on the condition that the flag's history and provenance be clearly displayed. Pier 21 has a replica of an identical Canadian flag that Roger St. Vincent put on the door of a hotel room where we hid a prominent Asian family during the 1972 Uganda Asian expulsion, so it seemed appropriate that David's flag go to our national immigration museum at Pier 21 as well.

International Metropolis Conference 2019

Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) will host the International Metropolis Conference in Ottawa and Gatineau from 24 to 28 June 2019. This represents the largest annual international gathering of experts from around the world representing academia, government and civil society in the fields of migration, integration and diversity.

The conference will promote knowledge sharing and provide an excellent opportunity to interact with representatives from all levels of government, the settlement sector, business, and non-governmental organizations as well as university researchers.

The program will reflect pressing public policy issues of international concern, including the international migration order and the quest for international governance; managing immigration for development purposes; issues surrounding vulnerable populations; and the plight of internally displaced persons. It will feature internationally renowned speakers at eight plenary sessions, approximately 130 simultaneous workshops, and a rich cultural program including site visits.

Registration and the call for abstracts will begin soon. Registered delegates will be able to take advantage of discounts on travel and accommodation. Online pre-registration will be offered on a first-come, first-served basis. Please check our [website](#) for the latest news.

In Memoriam

Beattie, Kingsley

Taken from The Ottawa Citizen

Kingsley Beattie died on 1 October, at the age of 85. He is survived by his beloved wife Micheline, son Andrew, daughter Laura, and several grandchildren. Kingsley retired from a 34-year career as an Immigration officer. A polio survivor, he overcame many obstacles with compassion and empathy and always put the needs of others before his own. He had an infectious curiosity about people and society and was a proud graduate of Carleton University, where he studied history, Spanish, philosophy and politics.

Cross, James

Remembered by Raph Girard

Jim Cross was a career immigration officer from the early 1950s until his retirement—and a life member of the CIHS. Like many of his peers, Jim joined the Public Service after demobilization at the end of World War II. But in his case, before coming to Ottawa he completed a degree at McMaster University that had been interrupted by the outbreak of war in 1939, earning the Chancellor’s Gold Medal for academic achievement along the way. His early government service included working as a speech writer for Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. He then moved to the Office of the Deputy Minister of Immigration and then to Immigration Headquarters, where his consummate writing skills equipped him for the Policy Branch, where he eventually served as director general.

Jim was the model civil servant: obedient, intelligent, loyal, modest almost to the extreme—but also infused with the concept of public service regardless of which party was in power. His primary quality was as a man of absolute integrity, a true wayfaring Christian. If asked or ordered to do anything that was not either lawful or proper, he would simply refuse to do so. On every one of his formidable 31 war-time missions over occupied Europe and Germany, he risked his life fighting for the honour of his country. He never would betray the trust he felt he owed his many comrades who lost their lives doing so. His war experience shaped his life and made him an exemplary public servant.

Jim was a key member of the policy group that transformed Deputy Minister Tom Kent’s vision of a completely universal and non-discriminatory Immigration selection system into regulations and operational instructions. These flowed from the White Paper on Immigration of 1967 that made the opportunity to apply for immigration to Canada open to all and embedded a point system for selection into immigration practice to make sure the same criteria were applied to everyone in the same category regardless of race, religion, colour, or nationality. He played an important role in ensuring that the government’s decision to remove the last vestiges of discrimination from Canada’s immigration policy and practice were fully implemented by the department, an achievement that has not been recognized. Jim was one of those special people who were part of a generation that no longer seems to exist. In his retirement he continued to keep in touch with his air force comrades and maintained a deep interest in immigration affairs.

Remembered by Ron Button

Jim was the kindest of souls, just so considerate of everyone and very humble. He was a very religious person, a deacon in his church, seldom swore, not even after the most frustrating of golf games. He had a great sense of humour. At one time he was acting assistant deputy minister in place of Jeanne Edmonds. First-time visitors were always shocked when they entered his office as he would pull Jeanne’s wig out of the drawer and place it on his head.

He delighted in talking about the time he was caught swearing vociferously. He flew 31 raids over Germany during WWII, while the average bomber crew member had a lifespan of nine sorties. Like all veterans who faced danger he spoke about it often. When he returned from one raid, his captain asked him to check in after some serious flack. The captain was so surprised at Jim’s uncharacteristic reply that he immediately went to see what the problem was. Jim had a piece of shrapnel through his oxygen hose, was hallucinating, and so decided act like a normal crewman after an attack and cursed the hell out of the captain. He loved telling that story just to show that he had a little bit of bad stuff in him.

We have also been informed by René Pappone that Anita Rutledge, 91, a career officer in the fields of labour and immigration, died on 17 August, and Frank Ianni, also 91 and a former director of Immigration Information, died 25 August.

CIHS thanks its corporate members - IRCC, P2P and Pier 21 - for their significant support as well as its life and annual members. All these contributions allow us to pursue our objectives and activities.

<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 - Michael J. Molloy; Vice-President - Anne Arnott; Treasurer - Raph Girard; Secretary - Gail Devlin; Editor - Valerie de Montigny; Members at large - Brian Casey, Roy Christensen, Peter Duschinsky, Charlene Elgee, Kurt Jensen, Gerry Maffre (Communications), Ian Rankin, and Robert Shalka Member emeritus - J.B. “Joe” Bissett IRCC Representative - Randy Orr Webmaster: Winnerjit Rathor; Website translations: Michel Sleiman</p>
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