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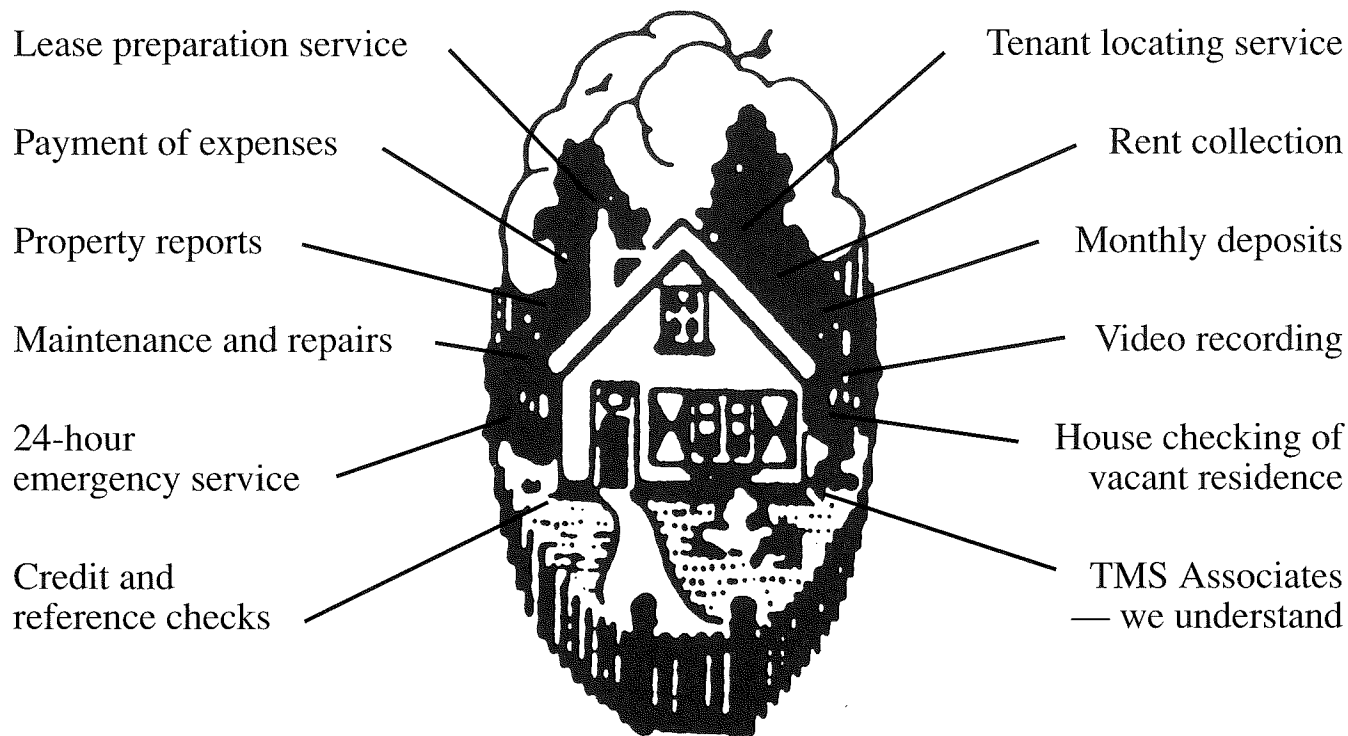
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Special Immigration Issue
Trekking in Peru
Remembering Charles Ritchie

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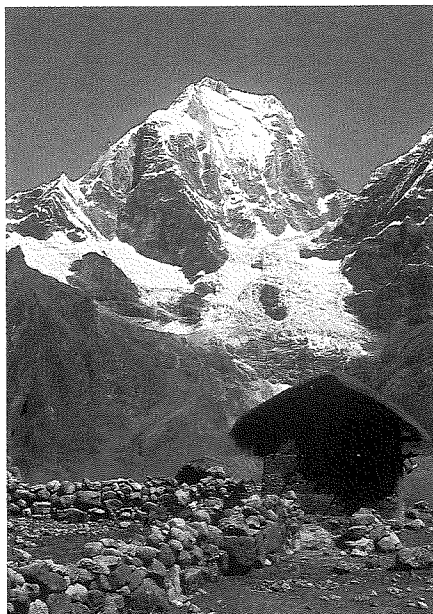
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Our cover illustration of immigrant settlers arriving at Quebec has been hand-coloured by Liza Linklater. Photo courtesy of Canadian Pacific Ltd.



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Editor's Notebook / Carnet du rédacteur

At the risk of betraying my defining cultural moments, I would like to recall that the Beatles once sang in their rather miserable Magical Mystery Tour album, "you say hello, I say goodbye" (or maybe it was the other way around). Well, that's how it is today with this edition of **bout de papier**.

After two years on the job as editor, I am turning over the reins to Nick Coghlan. As most of our readers know, editorship of **bout** is not a life appointment nor does it last as long as a Senate term or the even longer term appointment at the FS level.

I am pleased with what the Editorial Board, Debra Hulley, Acart Graphics and all contributors to **bout** accomplished over the last two years and would like to thank them all for their help and work. We improved the design; defined clearly each section of the magazine; increased our visuals; maintained a regular quarterly schedule; increased our French content; and put out the trilogy on the foreign service (The 100th Anniversary of the Trade Commissioners; A Day in the Life of the Foreign Service; and this Immigration and Citizenship edition).

My major disappointment was our inability to increase readership. That being said, we take pride in having resisted easy and cheap tricks to increase our readership such as the suggestion to have a full page photo of a scantily clad "Play ADM of the Quarter".

So I say "goodbye" and move to the back pages from where I came, and now Nick says "Hello".



Before embarking upon my first attempt at an editorial, I should tell our readers that outgoing editor Kevin O'Shea, who has now departed for the Bonfire of the Vanities (the Canadian Consulate General in New York, that is) was the true initiator of this special issue on immigration, and it is he who must take the credit (or the brickbats).

Kevin's tenure at "bout" was a remarkable one. Its highlight was perhaps the monumental "Day in the life" issue, a snapshot to the entire Canadian Foreign Service taken

one Spring day in 1994. So successful was this issue that — it can now be revealed — the PAFSO Executive Board did its utmost to block his posting to the USA. Kevin foiled this by a brilliant manoeuvre. Knowing full well, one day, that I was out of the office at lunch, he left a message on my voice-mail to the effect that, if he did not hear back from me in five minutes, he would inform the Board that he had found a replacement editor — me. I lingered over lunch, and the deed was done.

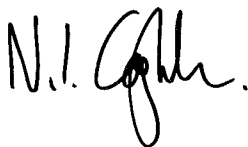
In spite of these inauspicious beginnings, I am particularly proud, as an immigrant to Canada, to take over the helm as the special immigration issue hits the presses. Most immigrants to Canada have their own "immigration story" — some happy, some tragic — and I am no exception.

A Brit living in Buenos Aires in the early eighties, I had applied for teaching jobs in New Zealand and British Columbia. An offer was forthcoming in BC, and my wife and I duly began the lengthy immigration process — interviews, references, medical test, police records — at the Canadian Embassy in Buenos Aires.

Came the great day, and we were summoned to the Embassy, in a large tower block in downtown BA. We were not invited to sit down; the Canadian immigration officer informed us bleakly and tersely that, on the points scheme that Canada used to judge the suitability of prospective immigrants, we had failed to make the grade. Despondently, we shuffled out. We were waiting wordlessly at the elevator when the locally-engaged receptionist surreptitiously beckoned to us. "Show me your forms", she whispered. "Just as I thought", she added after a few moments. "Take these new forms and apply again, this time putting your wife's name at the top of the form, as head of family."

To my chagrin, my wife — a Systems Analyst — scored ten points to my zero as a teacher. We were immediately admitted to Canada.

Enjoy the issue and — if that LES receptionist is reading this — thank you.



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Manuscripts are welcome in double-spaced format, preferably on WP 5.2 3½" diskette, with a short biographical note about the author(s). Features are normally around 2,500 words. **bout de papier** publishes all articles in their original language. Send articles to **bout de papier**, c/o PAFSO (see address above). Manuscripts accepted at double space, de préférence sur WP 5.2, disquette 3,5", accompagnés d'une brève notice biographique sur l'auteur. Les articles comptent habituellement environ 2500 mots. **bout de papier** publie tous les articles dans leur langue d'origine. Envoyer les articles à **bout de papier**, a/s APASE (voir adresse ci-dessus).

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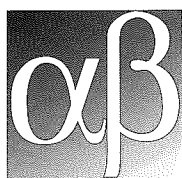
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VAN LINES AGENT

1995 Canadian Foreign Service Officer Awards



It was one of the most successful award-giving events since PAFSO began in 1990 to honour foreign service officers for exceptional achievement. About 190 people from the departments of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and Citizenship and Immigration, from the media and from the ranks of foreign service supporters turned out June 14 at the National Arts Centre to witness the presentation of four awards and to applaud the winners. This year there was a slate of especially strong candidates with a well-balanced representation from the three foreign service streams of trade, political/economic affairs, and immigration. The only drawback to this gratifying picture was that, in sharp contrast to preceding years which featured women as candidates and winners, there was inexplicably only one female nominee this year. Go figure.

Nevertheless, the judges had a difficult task which, everyone agreed, they discharged with fairness and sensitivity. The panel of five included: **Meriel Bradford**, Assistant Vice-President, Corporate Affairs, Teleglobe Canada and formerly Director General of the Latin American and Caribbean Bureau of Foreign Affairs and

L to r: Jon Allen, Nicholas Coghlan, Brian Casey and William Pound.

International Trade; **Mark Drake**, President of the Canadian Exporters Association; **Terry Sheehan**, formerly Assistant Deputy Minister, Immigration Operations and former High Commissioner to Jamaica and Ambassador to Turkey; **J.H. (Si) Taylor**, formerly USSEA, Ambassador to NATO and Japan and currently Chancellor of McMaster University; and **Christopher Waddell**, Parliamentary Bureau Chief for CBC National Television News.

Jon Allen, who is in charge of UN legal affairs at DFAIT, was presented with his award by Irene Johnson, a retired head of mission and senior public servant, in recognition of his outstanding professional and personal skills as a supervisor and of his work as a political and legal officer throughout his career. Aspiring nominees should note that emphasis was placed on Jon Allen's ability as a manager to use care and common sense in dealing with people.

Brian Casey, who was until recently Counsellor (Immigration) in Belgrade, received his award from Ian Glen, Deputy

Secretary to the Cabinet, Operations, Privy Council Office and formerly Associate Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, for his outstanding performance in managing an immigration programme under very trying conditions over a four-year period with such efficiency and compassion that his work has become a model for other posts around the world. His fluency in Serbo-Croat, his empathy with the local culture, and his deep desire to help people in tragic circumstances were striking characteristics of his work.

Nicholas Coghlan, in charge of Mexican affairs in Mexico and South American Relations Division, DFAIT, was given his award by the Honourable Allan J. MacEachen, Senator, and formerly Secretary of State for External Affairs for his exceptional achievements as a political officer in Mexico City, 1992-94, which were marked by his outstanding command of Spanish and his knowledge of Mexico and its people as well as for his political analysis and reporting.

William Pound, Counsel and Senior Trade Commissioner in Sao Paulo, accepted his award from Alexandra Bugailiskis, Director of Caribbean and Central America Relations Division, DFAIT, and a winner of an award in 1990 for his exceptional work in handling trade policy and promotion issues in Canada-Mexico relations, and especially in helping to mount the biggest ever Canadian trade exhibit in Mexico in 1994.

The acceptance speeches of the winners were amusing, touching, and full of pride in the foreign service. Everyone left the dinner with a feeling of pleasure and satisfaction at seeing deserving colleagues rewarded in some measure for their worth.

The surprise of the evening was the presentation of a memories scrap book prepared by Susan Harper and Colin Robertson from contributions from scores of her friends and colleagues to **Debra Hulley** in grateful recognition of the twenty years of outstanding services to PAFSO.

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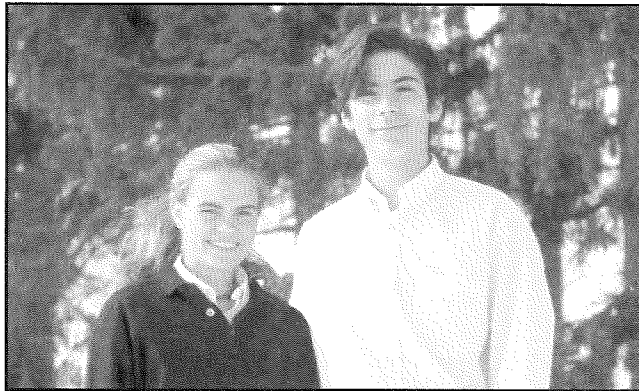
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Interview with a Minister: Talking to Sergio Marchi

bdp: You are from an immigrant family, were born in Buenos Aires, and came to Canada as a small child. What is your perspective on your role as Minister?

SM: It's a great testimony to Canada when the son of an immigrant can aspire to be a government minister and then become the minister of the immigration process that brought his parents to the country. It doesn't say anything about me or my family but it says a great deal about the kind of country that we have built. Is it any wonder that others want to join us?

One can talk of opportunity, one can talk of fairness, and one can talk of the ability to pursue one's goals, or one can act on these things. This country has gone out and acted on them. I think this is recognized internationally. Immigration is one of the building blocks that has made Canada. It's our intention as a government to protect these building blocks. We shouldn't be defensive or insecure about immigration. We should embrace it, welcome it. Obviously, the integrity of our programs should be respected. Still, immigration is a good catalyst that brings plenty of kinetic energy to Canada.

bdp: Not long ago Michael Valpy of the *Globe and Mail* wrote about the new Citizenship Oath — how it has been changed, apparently some drafts have dropped any mention of the Queen. Why do you think it is necessary to change the Oath of Citizenship?

SM: There are two things to bear in mind. Firstly, the Standing Committee on Citizenship and Immigration did a report at the Government's request. We wanted to revisit the Citizenship Act which has been left virtually unchanged and unaltered for 20 years. It is silent on many modern day phenomena. Therefore we had to open the Citizenship Act to make amendments that reflect these new realities. Rather than impose it from the top down, we decided to have the Committee travel around to discuss with Canadians directly the best way of changing this important Act. They recommended that leading

Canadian writers be brought together to come up with a powerful version of the Oath. So, we were responding to what the Committee had heard across the country.

Secondly, I have been to many Citizenship ceremonies and I am moved every time I go. But what I have also noticed, and I have always said this publicly, is that many of the people swearing the Oath of Allegiance seem somewhat distant, going through the motions as it were, and seem to lack the feelings that one should have on that day. That's not to say that they are not moved or that they undervalue the Oath. But the words they repeat leave you to wonder if the Oath is truly understood. If that is correct then the Oath is not as powerful as it could be.

*It's a lasting
testimony to
Canada when
the son of an
immigrant can
become the minister
of the immigration
process that brought
his parents to
the country.*

From these two perspectives we have taken a look at the Oath as one part of the *Citizenship Act*. It is not the be all and end all nor the primary focus of the Act. And it is not a question of whether you drop the reference to the Monarchy or not. That is not the issue. The issue is: "Does the Oath capture the essence of Canada? Does it reflect the kind of feeling someone should have on swearing the Oath to one's country?" If we can improve the Oath then we should.

The Australians changed their oath. If you look at what it was before and what it is

now, the new one is a lot more eloquent and powerful. The words are simpler. It's more musical. And it gives you a greater sense of energy and pride. I would hope that we can look at this issue from the same perspective and then have the Government and the Cabinet come down on one side or the other in terms of the various versions.

bdp: With the recent announcement to changes to the Immigration Refugee Board (IRB), do you believe that visa officers at our missions overseas can assist the IRB in its work? Visa officers select refugees abroad; they have experience in the field; they meet the people; they know the culture; they see every day how they live.

SM: The IRB, as you well know, is an independent, quasi judicial body. Clearly it is up to the IRB from an internal perspective to make the final decision on refugees in Canada. I also think that we should utilize the expertise of visa officers and recognise that visa officers do care about people, about refugees.

Some hold the opinion that our visa officers overseas are more concerned with how to keep people out than to help people come in. I reject that view. The officers that I have met internationally are a fine crew of Canadians. They are very much the kind of Canadians who have allowed the immigration program to be as progressive as it is. I believe the IRB and its documentation centre should make full use of overseas analysis and information gathering. This would allow all IRB members, lawyers and community groups to get a good up-to-date reading of situations abroad. I think there is room for that kind of cooperation between the IRB and our visa offices.

bdp: With all the talk of debt and deficits in Canada many are asking "Can we still afford the immigration program?" What do you say to that?

SM: I say "yes, we can afford the immigration program" for two reasons. One, immigration is a creator of economic wealth and



Minister Marchi with a family at a Citizenship ceremony.

prosperity. I don't buy the doomsday scenarios that immigration takes jobs, that immigration kills jobs, that immigration is a burden on the country. I see immigration as very much the life blood of our country. Statistics Canada tells us that on the whole immigrants to our country pay more taxes than they receive in benefits, create more jobs than they take. If we ask "Can we afford immigration?", we also ought to ask "Can we afford not to have immigration in terms of our labour force, in terms of consumer demand, in terms of people who build homes and need products, people who bring the world to Canada?" In a highly competitive global economy, Canada does very well because our citizens have roots in every part of the world.

Secondly, if the question is "Is it affordable?", Canadians have told us in our consultations that they expect our programs to be accountable, affordable and sustainable. I take that message to heart. For instance, in the last budget Mr. Martin announced the \$975 landing fee. This will make our

programs affordable. It is not a head tax as some people describe it, which I think is an offensive way of analyzing this landing fee. Rather the question Mr. Martin asked himself is "Do we continue to settle immigrants in Canada?" The answer is "yes". We believe immigrants are needed. They are a unique part of Canada. We believe that a better, more successfully integrated immigrant is good for the country. A productive immigrant does not need the social welfare system or a crutch. And if we say, "Yes, we need to provide immigrant settlement assistance", then the second question one has to ask is "How does it get paid for?" It has now grown to almost \$300 million per year. Perhaps in 5 years it will be a half a billion dollars. So, as we have asked all Canadians to sacrifice in the last budget, whether it's the fisherman, the farmer or the public servant — Canadian families, we believe it's fair that newcomers help in a partnership with Canadians to pay for the services that in the end benefit directly those newcomers to Canada.

Remember too, that as a Liberal Government, we established a program for loans. Those who find the \$975 a hardship can

apply for a loan and have a shot at the Canadian dream. That is very much part of the affordability of our program. We can continue to sustain something without it being a burden to the Canadian tax payer.

bdp: With the new program *Promotion and Recruitment of Immigrants Overseas*, how will you target certain groups of people in your trips abroad and encourage prospective immigrants to choose Canada?

SM: Like most ministers, when I travel abroad I'm always promoting Canada. I think it's our chief job when we are abroad to be a salesperson for Canada, whether we be in Fisheries, Defence, Trade or Citizenship & Immigration. When I'm abroad, I sell immigration to Canada. I try to do it in a positive sense. I don't go to another country and put down that country and say "Why don't you try us?". Rather I go out to meet individuals who could be interested in living or investing in Canada. I try to tap into those people and tell them that these are the reasons why I think you should look closely at Canada.

In my latest visit to Russia, Hungary and Italy I met with many individuals who wanted to look at the possibility of immigrating. I gave them chapter and verse why Canada is the best place for quality of life compared to other parts of the world: for economic reasons; because of our education system; because of our access to the United States and Mexico under NAFTA. I showed them that Canada is not just a North Atlantic nation. If as businesspeople they want to penetrate the Asian market then they must see us as a Pacific Rim nation. When you put it all together with our stable government, orderly society, we are very attractive. I think it's part of my job to explain that we are open for business.

I don't want to get into the game of saying we want people from here and not from there. What I am selling is immigration for the family class, the independent class, and the business class. There are economic opportunities in Canada. We are recruiting foreign specialized workers, there is a place for them in Canada. It's fair to say that in certain parts of the world we created a perception that our doors were closed because Canada effectively shut down the independent class in the early 80s. This perception was combined with cutbacks in our overseas offices which once did do extensive promotion in the good old days. I think it's incumbent upon our visa officers around the world to be as creative as possible in promoting immigration so that the world can see what we are offering. I know that they won't regret taking a chance on Canada. 



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by Carol Turner-Trusca

Confused about when the different waves of immigrants landed in Canada? Who was Clifford Sifton and why was he saying all those wonderful things about us? Home children? War brides? All-white immigration? Refugees or immigration queue jumpers? All you wanted to know about the history of Canadian immigration but were afraid to ask? Here is a short primer on the history of immigration.

Early Immigration Policy (1869-1896)

Early immigration to Canada was generated by a network of emigration agents — salesmen who advertised Canada's attractions to prospective immigrants. They targeted wealthy farmers, agricultural labourers and female domestics, preferably from Great Britain, the United States and northern Europe.

Canada's first immigration legislation, the *Immigration Act of 1869*, reflected the laissez-faire philosophy of the time. It did not say which classes of immigrants should be admitted, merely that the "Governor" could prohibit the landing of pauper or destitute immigrants at any Canadian port.

The Chinese, who were arriving in large numbers to build the railway, were a special target of fear and suspicion. An act passed in 1885 to "restrict and regulate" Chinese immigration, was later complemented by head taxes designed to discourage Chinese immigration. It was not until the 1960s that regulations and restrictions on Chinese immigrants were completely lifted.

Clifford Sifton and the Settlement of the West (1896-1905)

The 19th century closed with a worldwide depression and a slow-down in immigration to the west. All that changed in 1895. Clifford Sifton was appointed as Minister of the Interior at the start of an economic recovery. Sifton believed that "a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat" made the most desirable immigrant, and set out to attract people suited for farming. In 1896, 16,835 immigrants entered Canada. When Sifton left in 1905, the number was 141,464. It rocketed to 400,870 by 1913. Some three million

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A Short History of Immigration to Canada 1869-1995

newcomers arrived between 1896 and the outbreak of World War I.

Sifton's policies triggered criticism, despite his success in attracting newcomers. Immigrants from central and southeastern Europe

raised a groundswell of hostility on the prairies. Residents did not believe these newcomers could assimilate readily into the dominant Anglo-Saxon society.

Stricter Selection (1905-1925)

Sifton's successor did not share Sifton's views. Frank Oliver believed ethnic and cultural origins were more important than occupation. He moved quickly to make Canadian immigration more selective. The Act of 1906 defined "an Immigrant" and excluded certain groups of people. It established a better immigration service including controls along the Canada-US border, the deportation of prohibited individuals, and the drawing up of regulations to enforce the Act's objectives.

Parliament passed legislation in 1908 requiring all immigrants to come to Canada directly from their country of origin. This shut off immigration from India, since there was no direct steamship line. On May 23, 1914, 376 prospective East Indian immigrants arrived in Vancouver Harbour on board the *Komagatu Maru*. Its human cargo stayed there for two months while the legality of an exclusion order was tested. The order was upheld and, cheered on by local residents, the vessel and passengers were sent back to sea.

Home Children (1868-1925)

While Britain grappled with its thousands of poor children, Canada needed cheap farm labour. "Home children" fed the demand. Boys aged about eight, nine and ten were located on farms and apprenticed as farm labourers. Girls were sent to small towns to work as domestic servants. Most children came to Canada without their parents even though only one-third were orphans. The movement continued through the turn of the century and was not stopped until 1925. By then 80,000 children had been sent to Canada.

The Great Depression (1930-1938)

No single cause, other than World War II, did more to choke off immigration to Canada than the Great Depression of the 1930s. Like the rest of the world, Canadians became preoccupied with the economy in the 1930s and this was reflected in

immigration policy. In March 1931, all non-farmer immigrants were banned unless they were Britons or Americans with enough money to support themselves until they found jobs. Immigration plummeted from 1,166,000 in the decade 1921-1931 to only 140,000 between 1931 and 1941.

The worsening situation in Europe was not recognized, and no special measures were taken to permit the entry of refugees. This led to the tragedy of the *SS St. Louis*. Its 936 passengers, mostly Jewish, left Europe on the "voyage of the damned" in May 1939, seeking refugee status in the new world. They were refused asylum first by Cuba, then the USA and last by Canada. All options exhausted, the ship returned to Europe where almost certain death awaited most of its passengers.

World War II (1939-1945)

Among the small number of people who did come to Canada in 1940 were highly educated refugees and civilian enemy aliens, who were transported from Great Britain. Many stayed in Canada after the war, providing this country with one of her most remarkable pools of foreign-born talent. The war was also responsible for an influx of British "guest children," mostly through a government financed evacuation program. These children were sent to Canada to live with foster parents until the war in Europe ended.

The Post-War Boom and the Liberalization of Immigration (1947-1957)

Immigration policy continued to be restrictive following World War II. Then, in response to a growing pro-immigration



Clifford Sifton, September 1900.

lobby, the availability of more ships to transport refugees and displaced persons, and the requirements of Canada's labour market, the government began to lower immigration barriers. Large numbers of non-sponsored displaced people were admitted to Canada from 1947-1950. Many entered the country under a "bulk labour" scheme, designed to supply workers to meet the needs of an expanding Canadian economy.

When the Soviets crushed the Hungarian uprising, Canada responded by admitting close to 40,000 Hungarian refugees in 1956-1957. Normal immigration regulations were waived to allow officials to respond quickly to this emergency situation.

an identifiable class for refugees, selected and administered separately from immigrants, and established Canada's first refugee determination system.

The changes due to the opening up of Canada's immigration policy and introduction of the point system started making themselves felt during the 1970s. While 87 per cent of Canada's immigrants in 1966 were of European origin, in 1970 fifty per cent came from new regions: Hong Kong, India, the Philippines, Indochina, the West Indies, Guyana and Haiti.

In 1969, when Canada signed the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, the way was paved for refugees outside Europe to gain admission

Canada's All-White Immigration Policy Abolished (1962)

Although the government gradually eased immigration restrictions during the boom period of 1947-1957, access from countries other than those that belonged to the "old" Commonwealth, the United States and Europe was severely restricted.

This continued until 1962. New regulations were introduced to eliminate racial discrimination. Any unsponsored immigrants with the proper qualifications were considered suitable for admission, no matter what race, colour or national origin, provided they were able to support themselves until they found jobs. In 1967 an objective "point" system based on such qualifications as language and job skills was implemented.

The cornerstone of present-day immigration policy is the Act of 1976. It broke new ground by spelling out the principles of Canadian immigration policy and imposing on the government a mandatory responsibility to plan for the future. It also included

National Archives of Canada

to Canada. Among those welcomed were refugees from Tibet, Uganda, Chile and Indochina (the "Boat People"). Canada has accepted 600,000 refugees since the Second World War.

The Refugee Challenge (1980s)

Canada was confronted by a fast-developing refugee phenomenon in the 1980s. Spiralling

numbers of individuals were claiming refugee status within the country. Many were fleeing persecution. Some were not. A backlog of refugee claimant cases and a public backlash against "immigration queue jumpers" developed. Legislation to streamline the refugee determination system went into force in 1989 and was strengthened by further legislation in 1993.

FOLLOW THE BOUNCING BALL: A HISTORY OF THE IMMIGRATION FOREIGN SERVICE

by Carol Turner-Trusca

Following Confederation, responsibility for immigration matters rested with the Department of Agriculture, until 1892. Upon introduction of the first *Immigration Act* in 1869, federal immigration officers were posted to Great Britain and other European countries.

The Department of the Interior was responsible for immigration between 1893-1916. During this period, overseas posts and activities were expanded in what became Canada's first foreign service assignments. In 1913, some 400,870 immigrants arrived on Canada's shores, the greatest number of landings for one year in this century.

Midway through World War I, in 1917, an independent Department of Immigration and Colonization was created. The immigration program remained there until it was absorbed into the Department of Mines and Resources in 1936.

Immigration affairs operated from a branch of the Department of Mines and Resources through the end of the Depression, throughout World War II and during the resettlement of thousands of "displaced persons" from refugee camps in Europe. Many immigration officers posted overseas were veterans of World War II. They found themselves revisiting countries in times of peace and reconstruction where they had formerly been as members of a liberating army.

The 1950s was a crucial decade in Canada's immigration history. It began with the creation of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1950 and was followed by the proclamation of the *Immigration Act of 1952*. The decade's achievements were topped in 1957 with the admission of 282,164 immigrants — a post-war record which stands to this day.

Two years before the introduction of the "universal" selection criteria in 1967, which eliminated the last prohibitions on the basis of race, the responsibility for immigration was shifted again, this time into the newly created Department of Manpower and Immigration. This formally marked the link between employment policy and the selection of new immigrants. The job of choosing those immigrants overseas was carried out by "Canadian Immigration Affairs Officers", who eventually became rotational Foreign Service Officers in the early 1970s.

In 1981, the "Foreign Branch" of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) was transferred to the Department of External Affairs, under the consolidation of all members of the rotational foreign service. The operational delivery of the program overseas was managed by External while policy continued to be formulated by CEIC. The 1980s also marked the expansion of the "Social Affairs Stream", as the Foreign Branch became known, from its original contingent of almost 250 staff to its present complement of 330 officers.

The Social Affairs Stream was transferred from External Affairs back to CEIC in September 1992, and was reconstituted into the International Service Group. Consolidation of the overseas delivery of the immigration program was enhanced in June 1993 with the transfer from Health and Welfare Canada of the Immigration Medical Services Program to the International Service Group. After a brief sojourn in the short-lived Department of Public Security, the immigration program was reunited with its former citizenship partner in October 1993 following the creation of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

The ball has stopped bouncing ... at least for now.

Entering the 21st Century ...

The 1990s opened as busy years for immigration. Bill C86 became law in 1992, buttressing the enforcement powers of the program. In 1993, the Immigration and Refugee Board recognized the special persecution some refugees may face solely because they are women.

In the fall of 1993, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration was created. Emphasizing his desire for all Canadians to participate, Minister Sergio Marchi announced unprecedented consultations with immigrant-serving organizations and the public to establish a "new vision" for immigration. The consultations helped create a new five-year plan establishing annual immigration levels for immigration and a 10-year framework for immigration policy to take Canada into the 21st century. 

Carol Turner-Trusca has been posted in Warsaw, Stockholm, Bridgetown, and most recently as Immigration Program Manager in Bucharest. She is presently on assignment in Planning and Analysis with the International Service Group (ISG) of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

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LES MIGRATIONS : un enjeu international

par Anton Jurkovich

Les migrations sont un phénomène aussi ancien que l'humanité. Cette évidence a besoin d'être rappelée dans le présent contexte mondial où les discussions ont parfois tendance à oublier le caractère constructif des migrations à travers l'histoire, qu'ils soient de nature permanente ou temporaire.

Les Amériques et l'Australie, au courant de la deuxième moitié du 19^e siècle et la première partie du 20^e, se sont essentiellement développées par l'apport des populations européennes qui ont représenté le courant migratoire organisé le plus massif de l'histoire, soit près de 50 millions de personnes. Les Européens, et plus particulièrement la France et l'Allemagne, ont eu recours de façon soutenue, jusqu'au début des années 1970, à la main-d'œuvre étrangère pour appuyer le développement de leurs industries. Une part d'immigration illégale a été souvent tolérée car le marché du travail trouvait son compte dans une main-d'œuvre disponible et, faut-il le dire, à très bon marché.

On estime aujourd'hui à quelques 100 millions le nombre des personnes qui à des degrés divers sont des «migrants», volontaires ou forcés par les événements. Aussi important que puisse paraître ce chiffre, il ne représente finalement qu'une fraction infime de la population globale de la planète. Dans le passé la proportion des migrants par rapport à la population mondiale a souvent été plus élevée qu'aujourd'hui.

Le débat actuel sur les migrations, particulièrement dans les pays développés, tend à faire croire que les mouvements de population de nos jours sont sans précédent. Ces préoccupations ont trouvé écho sur les tribunes politiques et sont devenues un enjeu important, autant sur le plan international que national. La multiplication des travaux de recherches et les études publiées au cours des dernières années en sont un témoignage.

Michael Shenstone, ambassadeur canadien à la retraite, a entrepris un travail remarquable de réflexion qui a contribué à faire prendre conscience de l'importance de placer

les migrations dans le contexte de la coopération internationale, et non de les considérer comme relevant exclusivement de la souveraineté nationale. Le rapport de 1993 sur les migrations à la Commission Trilatérale représente un jalon essentiel dans l'évaluation de la situation actuelle (*International Migration Challenges In A New Era*). Rédigé par quatre spécialistes, dont Doris M. Meissner, présentement Commissaire du United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (USINS), le rapport examine la situation des migrations contemporaines et évalue les perspectives pour l'Europe, l'Amérique du Nord, le Japon et la communauté internationale.

Le mouvement des personnes ne peut pas continuer à être traité comme une manifestation secondaire.

Les auteurs affirment : «*International migration is a structural characteristic of broad social, economic and political themes in today's world. The dilemma posed by international migration pressures will not solve itself. It requires concerted efforts and new priorities by individual nations and the international community.*» L'excellent article de Matthew Connelly et Paul Kennedy dans la livraison de décembre 1994 du *Atlantic Monthly* (*Must It Be The Rest Against The West?*) pose le même diagnostic d'une façon plus pressante encore.

Ces recherches confirment l'émergence d'inquiétudes réelles, surtout, mais non exclusivement, en Europe de l'Ouest et en Amérique du Nord, et de mutations importantes dans les flux migratoires. Le contexte économique incertain inquiète et favorise les réactions négatives à l'égard des migrants. À cela s'ajoute la croissance rapide et importante d'une «migration involontaire» qui a

gonflé le nombre des demandeurs d'asile, et la modification dans l'origine des immigrants, bien différente des sources traditionnelles.

La cause fondamentale des migrations est bien connue : les dissimilarités entre pays et régions. Dans le contexte contemporain, les mouvements de population sont exacerbés par la surpopulation, l'augmentation de la pauvreté, les abus des droits de la personne, les guerres, les catastrophes naturelles et la dégradation de l'environnement. En réalité ces différents facteurs sont interreliés et s'influencent mutuellement, et les migrations sont à la fois la cause et la conséquence de ces facteurs. Il en résulte des tensions qui peuvent menacer la paix, la sécurité et la stabilité des États.

La communauté internationale et les pays affectés répondent à ces tensions en ordre dispersé et de façon souvent superficielle. L'accès d'un étranger à un pays est encore considéré comme une expression essentielle de la souveraineté nationale qui se prête mal à une coordination inter-étatique. Le long et difficile cheminement de l'Union Européenne vers un espace sans frontières intérieures est l'illustration de cette réalité. La perception de la «migration» varie considérablement en fonction des évolutions historiques des différents états. L'attitude de l'Amérique du Nord et de l'Australie face aux migrations est beaucoup plus positive, alors que pour la plupart des pays européens l'immigration n'a constitué qu'un recours ponctuel pour pallier à un manque de main-d'œuvre. On parle rarement en Europe de «résidents permanents», mais plutôt «d'immigrés». En outre, la distinction traditionnelle entre «pays d'immigration» et «d'émigration» tend à s'estomper. Les organisations internationales ont dans le passé traité des questions de migrations sous l'aspect essentiellement normatif, ou purement statistique. Seuls le Haut Commissariat des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés (HCNUR) et l'Organisation des Migrations Internationales ont développé une réflexion un peu plus substantielle sur les mouvements de populations.

Une prise de conscience est donc en train de s'opérer. On réalise que dans un monde

de plus en plus interdépendant, le mouvement des personnes ne peut pas continuer à être traité comme une manifestation secondaire. Les politiques restrictives des uns ont des conséquences sur leurs voisins. Certains pays utilisent l'exportation de leur main-d'oeuvre au même titre que toute autre ressource naturelle, ce qui contribue à la rentrée de devises. Michael Shenstone, dans le document préparé pour les consultations nationales sur la stratégie de l'immigration en juillet 1994, soumis également au Comité sur la revue de la politique étrangère («*Les migrations internationales et la politique étrangère du Canada : pour des stratégies cohérentes*») souligne que les envois de fonds à leur pays d'origine par les migrants s'élèvent à près de 70 milliards de dollars par an, dépassant ainsi l'aide totale au développement.

La Conférence Internationale sur la Population et le Développement qui s'est tenue au Caire en septembre 1994 a inclus dans son programme d'action un chapitre qui reconnaît spécifiquement les influences réciproques entre les questions de population, de migration et de développement. Ceci représente sans doute une première démarche globale intégrant les migrations et un jalon d'importance dans ce débat. Il faut maintenant que la réflexion soit poursuivie et approfondie, et qu'elle débouche sur une coopération internationale active et des orientations politiques réalistes pour l'avenir.

Le Canada paraît particulièrement bien placé pour faire avancer le dossier. Son expérience des migrations et de l'immigration lui permet d'approcher la problématique de façon nuancée. Bien qu'affectée comme les autres pays développés par les récentes pressions des flux migratoires irréguliers, la population canadienne dans sa majorité continue à percevoir l'immigration comme un apport positif, tel qu'en témoignent les consultations nationales, sans pour autant occulter les problèmes qui se manifestent. Ceci permet déjà au Canada d'être actif sur la scène internationale et de promouvoir une prise de conscience réaliste face aux défis que posent les nouveaux flux migratoires.

Le rôle du Canada a été particulièrement utile et remarqué dans l'élaboration et l'adoption du chapitre sur les migrations du programme d'action concluant la Conférence Internationale sur la Population et le Développement. Le Canada avait déjà joué un rôle déterminant à la fin des années 80 dans la création, puis la survie en 1992, du Groupe des consultations informelles réunissant une quinzaine de pays de l'Europe de l'Ouest, ainsi que le Canada, les États-Unis et l'Australie, pour justement favoriser

la réflexion et l'échange d'informations devant les pressions de plus en plus fortes des arrivées irrégulières de migrants.

De plus le Canada s'est doté d'un cadre d'action pour promouvoir la coopération internationale face aux défis des flux migratoires, exprimé dans le document d'orientation déposé au Parlement par le Ministre Marchi en novembre 1994 («*Vers le 21^e siècle : une stratégie pour l'immigration et la citoyenneté*»). Il propose :

- de s'attaquer aux causes profondes de l'émigration involontaire, et rendre viable à terme l'option de rester dans son pays d'origine;
- d'assurer un traitement humanitaire à ceux qui sont contraints de fuir, et notamment de renforcer l'institution de l'asile;
- de favoriser des régimes de migration méthodiques et positifs, qui facilitent et règlent les mouvements de population d'une manière prévisible, et de reconnaître que les migrations sont un facteur de progrès, particulièrement dans le contexte de la globalisation des marchés, dont elles constituent la dimension humaine.

Le gouvernement canadien, dans sa réponse à la revue de la politique étrangère, reconnaît également l'émergence des défis planétaires confrontant la communauté internationale, dont les pressions migratoires et

les déplacements de populations, la pauvreté et l'environnement. Pour y répondre, le ministère des Affaires étrangères s'est doté d'un instrument d'action en créant la Direction générale des enjeux globaux, ce qui favorisera la coordination et la cohérence des initiatives canadiennes sur la scène internationale pour s'attaquer à ces défis.

Les études récentes illustrent la complexité du dossier et identifient le faisceau des intérêts en jeux. Il est essentiel de mieux connaître les mécanismes qui influencent les mouvements migratoires, et ensuite de les prendre en considération et les intégrer dans la grille d'évaluation de l'impact des décisions concernant l'aide au développement, le commerce international et les transactions financières, entre autres. Ici aussi, le Canada pourrait montrer l'exemple en encourageant les recherches spécifiques qui permettront une meilleure coordination, entre les ministères fédéraux concernés, dans la formulation des politiques, et pourraient inspirer les interventions sur la scène internationale.

Anton Jurkovich est directeur, Migration internationale et Coordination du programme, Citoyenneté et Immigration. Il a été en poste à New Delhi, Paris (deux fois), Berne et Bruxelles.

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WILLIAM DIXON, CANADA'S FIRST IMMIGRATION AGENT

Little is known about the early life of William Dixon, who became the first immigration agent for the Dominion of Canada. Dixon was born in Ireland around 1825 and his family emigrated to Canada in 1830. His father opened a business (the British Saddlery Warehouse) in Toronto in 1835 and William was educated at Upper Canada College. In his mid-30s, William Dixon went to England, where he worked and travelled. We know that he married Clara Rowsell "by whom he had several children." Somehow Dixon came to the attention of the chief commissioner of crown lands in Canada, who recommended him for a job receiving and organizing the exhibits from Canada for the International Exhibition in London in 1862. He unpacked the crates so well that he was made curator of Canada's display.

Probably as a result of another recommendation from the same quarter, Dixon was appointed in January 1866 as temporary emigration agent in the United Kingdom for the Province of Canada by the province's Minister of Agriculture, Thomas D'Arcy McGee. The latter was sufficiently impressed by Dixon's work that the employment was prolonged, though Dixon moved his office from Liverpool to Wolverhampton around the time of Confederation.

By then, responsibility for immigration had been defined, under section 95 of the *British North America Act*, as one shared between the federal and provincial governments. That prompted the first, but certainly not the last, federal-provincial conference on immigration, in 1868. One consequence of that gathering was a commitment from Ottawa to open an office in London, with others to follow as necessary. Of course, there was nothing to prevent provinces from appointing agents as well.

In December 1868, an Order-in-Council was passed which established a Dominion Agency for Emigration in London, with William Dixon as its first chief. Soon afterward, permanent agents were located in Dublin, Belfast, Glasgow and elsewhere. "It is not an exaggeration," H. Gordon Skilling has written, "to describe Mr. Dixon, with his two small rooms in Adams Street, with two clerks and a messenger as his staff, and with subordinate agents in other port cities of the British Isles, as Canada's first resident agent abroad and as the predecessor of the High Commissioner in London."

In his new role, Dixon was expected to distribute publicity, supervise other Dominion agents in the United Kingdom and later on the continent of Europe, co-operate with the provinces and their own agents, and to report back to Ottawa on conditions affecting emigration from Britain and Europe. "Dixon was a promoter," according to Nancy Gelber, "who quickly set about inserting advertisements in newspapers and distributing to rural British towns 10,000 posters eulogizing Canada. He was so deluged with responses that he had not time to check on the other agents who continued to go their own way." Dixon's efforts were further complicated by unclear instructions and uncertain authority. That situation was eventually remedied in part when his successor was appointed "Agent-General", though the overall framework for immigration work in Britain was not revised until the appointment of the first High Commissioner in 1880. Dixon had even more difficulty with the representatives of the provinces, whose efforts to promote immigration to their destinations often duplicated and sometimes contradicted the work of federal agents. In part inspired by earlier reports from Dixon, widespread evidence of 'waste and inefficiency' led a federal-provincial conference in 1874 to call for the discontinuation of provincial agencies.

William Dixon died in late October 1873. As Wesley Turner has commented in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Dixon "deserves some credit" for the dramatic increase in emigration to Canada from Britain and Europe during his tenure of office "because of his vigorous efforts in the promotion of emigration. His honesty, courtesy, and competence helped ensure the permanence of the Canadian agency in London and set a high standard for future agents."

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Refugee Movements and Canadian Response

A look at four successive waves of immigration to Canada: from Hungary, Uganda, Indo-China and the former Yugoslavia.

by Carol Turner-Trusca

Introduction

One of the basic policy objectives of Canada's present *Immigration Act* is "to fulfil Canada's legal obligations with respect to refugees and to uphold its *humanitarian tradition* with respect to the displaced and the persecuted".

This objective was not stated so clearly until the proclamation of this Act in 1976. Yet the humanitarian response to the displaced and the persecuted had, indeed, become a tradition long before the introduction of the legislative means to recognize officially special humanitarian programs that fall outside the definition of a Convention Refugee.

The "Political Prisoners and Oppressed Persons (PPOP)" Program, which facilitated the resettlement of those fighting oppressive regimes from within their homelands, and consequently suffering for it at the hands of those they opposed — such as the Chileans of the early 1970s who opposed the Pinochet Regime, and Poles of the early 1980s who, as 'Solidarity' activists, were imprisoned or detained following the introduction of martial law in 1981 — was one program which continues in certain countries to this day. The affected countries change from time to time, but not the commitment to extend such humanitarian assistance.

This tradition had its roots in the Cold War. The Iron Curtain had just been hung between East and West, forcibly enclosing East Europeans within the Soviet sphere of influence determined by the Allies at Yalta in 1945. It took a decade for East Europeans to recover sufficiently from the ravages wrought by the war to demonstrate dissent with the communist regimes — and another 35 years before the yoke was cast off completely — and in between those who could flee west did. Canada took thousands during this period, beginning with the Hungarians in 1956, continuing with the

Czechs and Slovaks following the Prague Spring of 1968, and extending throughout the 1980s with the *Self-Exiled Program*.

Canada extended assistance to Ugandan-Asians in 1972 when they were expelled by then-dictator Idi Amin Dada. It was described as the first mass resettlement of non-Europeans to Canada following the introduction of the universal, non-discriminatory selection criteria in 1967. Barely half a dozen years later, Canadians responded to the plight of thousands of Vietnamese fleeing that country following the defeat of the South in April 1975. By then, the new *Immigration Act and Regulations* had been proclaimed and there now existed a legal process for rapid response to such a massive displacement of people.

The Designated Classes, which define groups of interest to Canada from a humanitarian and compassionate perspective, are introduced and discontinued according to need and changing global situations. Some, such as the Indo-Chinese Designated Class, which facilitated the admission of Vietnamese "Boat People", gain wide public recognition, support and involvement; while others have had little public profile outside of the community directly involved.

The articles which follow are based on the experiences of officers of the Immigration Foreign Service who were (and in one case still is) actually involved with the special groups we profile here — the Hungarians of 1956, the Ugandan-Asians of 1972, the Vietnamese of 1978-80 and the Yugoslavs of 1995. Memories of these special programs remain forever clear for those who were actively involved with them — the bold headlines and sombre voices of newscasters describing scenes of human upheaval akin to Dante's *Inferno*, the speed and urgency with which the programs were established, the chaos and confusion greeting the first wave of staff arriving to respond to the crisis and the subsequent camaraderie among colleagues while getting the job done. And

finally, for the faces, if not the names, of the people sitting on the other side of the table, desk, bench or whatever flat surface served as the working space for the immigration interview, seeking a new life of peace and security in Canada.

The Hungarians

by Carol Turner-Trusca

The Hungarian Uprising of late October and early November of 1956 was the culmination of a tumultuous year in the Communist world. The denunciation of Josef Stalin's policies and personality in a vitriolic speech by his successor, Nikita Khrushchev, at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent shock waves rippling through the communist satellites. The effects and disparate solutions in Poland and Hungary were most dramatic.

Encouraged by what appeared to be a relaxation of totalitarian control from Moscow, the Poznan (Poland) Riots of September 1956 began initially over a shortage of bread. They later spread to those who were generally discontented with their standard of living. The crisis was resolved without the direct intervention by Soviet forces through negotiation and an acknowledgement by Moscow that Warsaw would be permitted to respond to Polish problems in a uniquely Polish way.

Less than a month later, the Hungarians, taking encouragement from the Polish outcome, began demonstrating in the streets of Budapest against the political system which had been imposed upon them. Students and young workers were later joined by members of the military who had been ordered out to subdue the demonstrators. This manifestation of discontent posed a far greater threat to the Kremlin than did the food riots in Poland. It threatened the

very existence and unity of the Communist Bloc. Other communist leaders encouraged Moscow to take drastic action.

On November 4, 1956 Soviet troops marched through the streets of Budapest and by November 7, 1956 visible dissent had been quelled. Then came the Stalinist-style retribution, for leaders such as Imre Nagy, who was toppled from power and later executed, and for the students, workers and soldiers who had demonstrated. The exodus began. Two hundred thousand persons fled Hungary for Western Europe over the next few weeks. Almost 40,000 found new homes in Canada (the entire Forestry Faculty of Sopron University resettled at the University of British Columbia where students continued their studies under Sopron auspices until the last class graduated in 1961) in an ad hoc program which forever changed Canadian immigration.

Under the guidance of the then Minister, J. W. Pickersgill, who personally oversaw many of the arrangements both in Europe and in Canada (including the placement of the Sopron faculty), disputes, obstacles and

politics were set aside to permit an administrative approach that processed and resettled virtually the entire movement in less than three months. For the first time, Canada took an active role in resettling refugees, including the chartering of aircraft dedicated to bringing Hungarians from refugee camps all over Europe to Dorval, Malton, Winnipeg and Vancouver in addition to those who travelled by sea to Halifax, Quebec and Saint John.

To facilitate the rapid movement of the Hungarian refugees to Canada, Cabinet approval was granted in late November permitting Minister Pickersgill to modify the usual security and medical procedures, and within days the Immigration Attaché in Vienna had received his instructions, including relaxed selection requirements. Most Hungarians underwent medical examinations on their arrival in settlement centres in Canada, and the only reason for



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obtaining occupational information was to facilitate eventual placement following their processing at reception centres in Canada.

At the outset of this movement, immigration staff in European centres processing Hungarians were reminded that "field officers are to exhibit a sympathetic and patient approach bearing in mind the stress and uncertainty which has been the lot of these people in the last few weeks."

This admonition likely proved unnecessary. Historians have noted that all involved in the processing of the Hungarians, from the Minister right down to the most junior clerk, displayed an extraordinary degree of professional commitment during this period, particularly those officials posted in Europe at the time charged with the responsibility of organizing the various camps in conjunction with the International Committee on European Migration (ICEM, now known as the International Organization for Migration — IOM). Regrettably, most officers actively involved with this movement have long since retired from the foreign service.

Hercule Raymond was one Foreign Service Officer who started his career in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in May 1957 as a junior accounting clerk in Quebec. He was charged with the responsibility of handing each arriving adult \$5.00 pocket money, as authorized by Parliament in February 1957.

Raymond, who retired from the Foreign Service on April 30, 1995, recalled of the arriving Hungarians: "They were all very young, and most arrived with only the clothes on their backs. They had nothing else. Quebec City was the transit point for most who arrived by sea — we were charged with processing them to their onward destinations across Canada. People went overboard to help them — starting with the CN and CP staff in Quebec, and the interpreters there, and continuing right across the country. Resettlement of such numbers was a tremendous logistical challenge, and even though the department was small it was done well — especially considering that the "state of the art" technology then was the telex machine.

"I think one of the reasons for this success was an instruction that then existed in the *Immigration Manual of the day* — a 2 volume blue bound series — in Section 4.00(b) that stated "there is no substitute for common sense".

The Hungarian refugee movement was the first example of the use of immigration as a national response to an external political situation, and its unqualified success acted as a useful precedent for other humanitarian programs of subsequent years.

As John L. Manion, former Policy Assistant to Minister Pickersgill, stated at a 1993 symposium on the Hungarian Movement: "(it) was a brave and bold initiative of the Government and people of Canada. Immigration was never quite the same afterward."

Scattered Pearls — the Ugandan Asian Exodus to Canada

by Leslie Toope

In early August 1972, world headlines proclaimed "IDI AMIN TO EXPEL UGANDAN ASIANS". Given 90 days to leave the country they had called home for generations, some 80,000 people found themselves stateless.

The Asian community in East Africa, which traced its roots back to the mid-1800s, had been the mainstay of the Ugandan economy and civil service, and a link between former British colonial power and the African nationals. There had been threats of "Ugandanization" since the country's independence from Britain in 1962, but few believed it would happen. However, threats, beatings and robberies showed that Amin meant business this time.

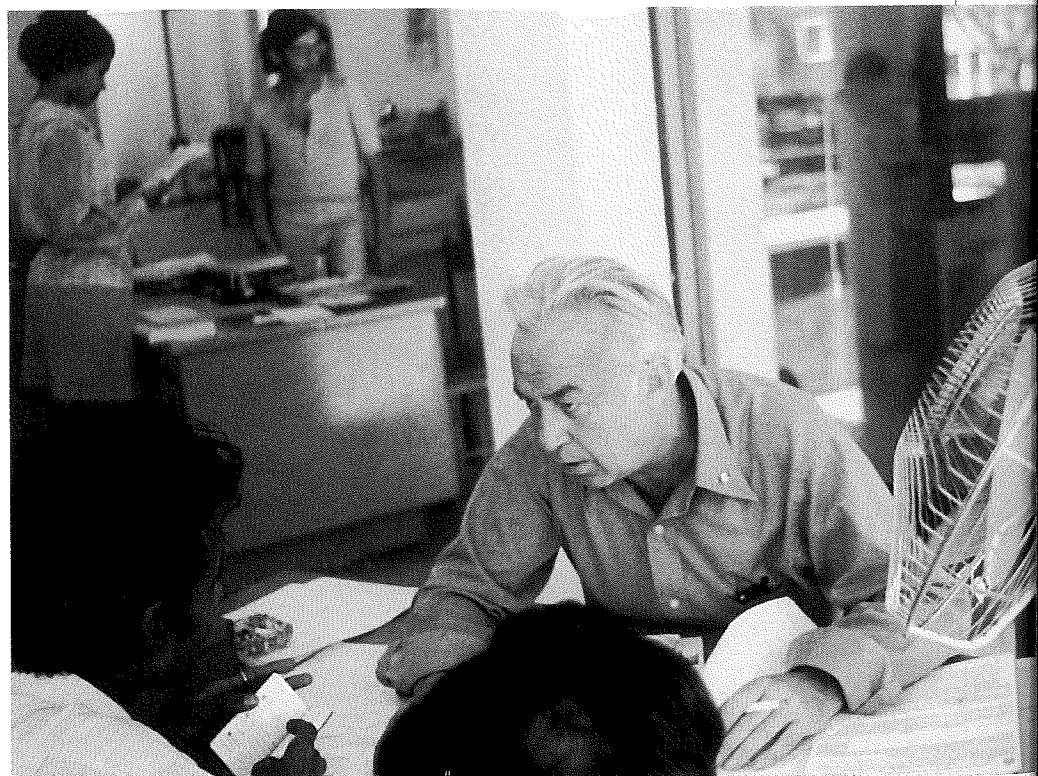
Amin declared that all Ugandan passports had to be "verified", a pretext for stripping people of their documents. Over half

of the Asian community held British citizenship, and queues soon formed at the British High Commissioner's office. However, speedy acceptance was uncertain, as a wave of "Britain for the British" nationalism was sweeping that country at the time. India, the "mother country" for most Ugandan Asians, was not keen on taking them either.

At that particular moment Canada was in the midst of a federal election campaign. As always, immigration was a controversial subject. Up to this time Canada had never been involved in resettling thousands of refugees from anywhere other than Eastern Europe. The plight of the Ugandan Asians was one of the first challenges to Canada's relatively new non-discriminatory immigration policy. The Minister of Manpower and Immigration, the Hon. Bryce Mackasey, convinced his cabinet colleagues that Canada had a moral obligation to respond.

On August 24, 1972, then Prime Minister Trudeau announced that Canada would accept all "expellees" with nowhere to go. The only trouble was, Canada had no diplomatic mission in the Ugandan capital at the time. The Foreign Branch at immigration headquarters in the old Bourque building in Ottawa called on the immigration program manager in Beirut, Roger St. Vincent, to head up the team.

Mike Molloy was one of that team of 30 visa officers, clerks, typists, doctors, and medical technicians who flew into Kampala. "Canada got there first with the most," says Molloy, now Director General of Citizenship



Louis Mach, Visa Officer.

Mike Molloy Collection



Mike Molloy Collection

and Immigration for Ontario. Under St. Vincent's leadership, Molloy and his colleagues set up an office from scratch that was capable of assessing over a hundred refugees daily. "We only had the point system to work with," Molloy adds. The United Nations definition of a Convention Refugee was added to the *Immigration Act* in 1976.

Since most Ugandan Asians spoke English, were well educated, and had business and professional skills, they easily qualified for the minimum 50 points. However, visa officers had to be very careful that their very efforts to assist the Asians did not in fact put them at risk of reprisals from Amin's government, since the selection process was taking place within the country of persecution. To protect applicants, each was given a number and told to watch for it in the local newspaper, alerting them when to come for an interview. By Amin's November deadline, Canada's team had facilitated the departure of 6,175 refugees. Canada admitted more Ugandan Asians than any other country except Britain.

"The Canadian government responded to a variety of motives as all governments do," reflects Molloy. "First, it acted to demonstrate its humanitarian concern and to provide an example we hoped would be emulated by other governments. Second, it acted to assist Britain out of a very difficult situation."

"The third thing that's evident in the decision making is that the government felt it had to do a certain amount of balancing. It gauged its intervention with one eye on satisfying the humanitarian impulse felt by many Canadians, but at the same time, it was concerned about not going so far as to

invite a backlash. So it's the balancing that always has to take place in immigration policy between 'doing things right' and 'doing the right thing.'

"Finally," says Molloy, "I think the government acted out of a very strong perception that the Asian community in Uganda represented a significant and very desirable pool of entrepreneurial and professional talent, and this would benefit Canada."

For those with no family in Canada, the government provided housing, transportation, orientation programs, and job counselling. Religious and community groups also joined the settlement effort. When they fled Uganda, few Asians believed that they would never return to their country of birth. However, within a year, nearly 90% of those surveyed had found work in Canada. 94% said they wanted to remain here. Twenty-three years later, this community of "expellees" continues to thrive in their new home.

Leslie Toope has been posted to Kingston, Jamaica and Washington, DC and is currently Deputy Director (Training) for the International Service Group.

The Indo-Chinese Movement: Bangkok — The Early Days

by Robert J. Shalka

Communist victories in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in April 1975 displaced thousands of persons associated with the defeated governments. While most were resettled in the

United States and France, the two countries most directly linked to Indo-China, Canada accepted over 5,000 persons over the next two years either as refugees or under Family Reunification Categories.

By mid-1977, increasing numbers of "Boat People" from Vietnam began appearing on the less than welcoming beaches of neighbouring countries, chiefly Malaysia and Thailand, which resulted in pressure upon Western countries to resettle more Vietnamese. At the same time, a trickle of refugees escaping Cambodia brought at least some of the horrors of Pol Pot's "Democratic Kampuchea" to the attention of the wider world. Laotians, facing conditions somewhat akin to those in Vietnam, also started to cross the border into north-east Thailand in large numbers.

In mid-1978, Canada officially committed itself to an Indo-Chinese resettlement program through the "Indo-Chinese Designated Class" — a concept incorporated into the then new 1976 *Immigration Act*. The initial limited commitment was quickly overtaken by events, primarily that of world attention focussing on the problem through media coverage of the plight of the "Boat People".

The principal share of the workload in the early stages fell on the two-person office at our High Commission in Singapore. It quickly became obvious that the Singapore-based staff could not handle the situation alone. It was decided to open a small operation in Bangkok, with responsibility for Thailand and Burma (Myanmar) when a "land" component for the Indo-Chinese

Below: Cambodian refugees



James Trotter

movement was established — the “Thailand Overland Refugee (TOR)” and the “Small Boat Escapees (SBE)”. We would also process privately sponsored refugees.

Thailand was the reluctant host to almost 100,000 displaced persons from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam housed in camps along the country’s eastern land border and coast. The Thais had markedly different attitudes to the three nationalities: because of the close ethnic links between Thais and Laotians, the authorities took a relaxed approach to security in the Laotian camps. Residents were free to travel outside the camps, including back to Laos. Cambodians were offered an uncertain welcome in a series of austere camps on the border between

Right Reverend Plourde, whose efforts were instrumental in developing the Church’s refugee sponsorship program. Ottawa groups, from churches and elsewhere, were to become particularly active in resettlement of Indo-Chinese in what became known as “Project 4000”.

Ever greater numbers of refugees arrived in Thailand throughout 1979. Particularly difficult was the situation of Cambodians who began arriving in great numbers along Thailand’s eastern border from April onwards. Outside Thailand, large numbers of “Boat People” also began arriving in Hong Kong, the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia. Canada, among other resettlement countries, was under increasing pressure to accept more Indo-Chinese. By the end of 1979, Canada was committed to receiving some 60,000.

The Bangkok operation gradually expanded during the latter half of 1979, as both temporary duty and permanent staff arrived to respond to the commitment. Temporary duty officers came from the domestic service in addition to other overseas missions. Also, the Service de l’immigration du Québec (SIQ) established an office at the embassy to select Quebec-destined refugees, and we were assisted by RCMP representatives for security screening. At times there were up to 14 federal visa officers and three Québec officers serving in Bangkok who were good colleagues and friends.

Many truly remarkable people among the refugees settled successfully in Canada and have done very well. Others demonstrated their feelings about being selected for resettlement in Canada in unique and touching ways. One Laotian family named their daughter, born just prior to their departure, “Canada Prasouk (Canada Happiness)” and another family named their child “Verboven”, after my colleague Leo who approved their application.

Some early private refugee sponsoring groups had interesting expectations — ranging from a specific request for Lutheran Vietnamese to another group that wanted a computer programmer, right down to specifying the software and hardware with which the refugee should be familiar. We were unlucky in the former, but the latter request was successful. I made an initial visit to a newly arrived ship in Bangkok harbour containing some 400 refugees. Once on deck I asked for anybody speaking English or French to act as my interpreter, and later asked the volunteer

what he did. He replied that he was a computer programmer with a Masters Degree in Computer Science from San Diego State University. My next question was if he wanted to go to Canada!

In the camps, knowledge of Canada was limited to recognition that it was cold in winter. At one point, two of our officers who were cigar smokers, not common among the Vietnamese, were asked one day if all Canadians smoked cigars because of the cold!

I believe all members of the Immigration Foreign Service who were involved in the Indo-Chinese Refugee program found the experience to be one of the most rewarding and worthwhile of their careers. At one level we were directly responsible for getting people out of an impossible situation and where, in most cases, resettlement was the only viable solution. The work gave a rare opportunity to follow through on the immigration process from beginning to end. I have encountered people whom I processed between 1978-80 in the Thai camps after their successful establishment in Canada.

Bob Shalka is currently Immigration Program Manager in Kiev, Ukraine. He has been posted in Stuttgart, Bangkok, Moscow and Singapore.

Refugee and Humanitarian Programs for Former Yugoslavia

by Brian Casey and Martina Stvan

In the span of just three years, our mission in Belgrade has become the largest refugee office overseas. The number of refugees has increased from under 200 persons in 1992 to a 1994 record of 3096 arrivals. Under the Yugoslav special measures program, which allows Canadians to bring over their relatives affected by the conflict, our mission in Belgrade has admitted an additional 4000 persons to Canada.

These figures only hint at the strain and workload pressures confronting our immigration staff, from the program manager and Canada-based officers to the locally-engaged staff and countless temporary duty officers and emergency LES. Every day the staff hears difficult stories from people who have lost their homes and their livelihoods, whose neighbours have turned against them and who have been forced to flee in the face of an ethnic conflict which shows no sign of abating. With each interview comes the realization that these people have found an



Liza Linklater

Phanat Nikhom Refugee Camp, Thailand.

the two countries. The Vietnamese were viewed as a destabilizing factor within Thailand, and they were the subjects of the tightest security, with movement out of the camps virtually impossible.

Against this background, the Bangkok operation became operational very quickly, with Murray Oppertshauser and myself making trips to various “transit centres” or refugee camps within a month of our arrival. We also arranged the week long visit of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Ottawa, the

inner strength to overcome the ravages of war, the shelling of their villages, mistreatment, torture and worse. Seeing the overwhelming joy in people's faces as they are selected to begin a new life in Canada compensates in some measure for the emotional drain of conducting these refugee interviews. Our offices remain a beacon of hope for refugees prepared to leave everything behind to start anew.

Canada expects to receive well over 4000 government-assisted refugees from the former Yugoslavia in 1995. Our visa offices in Belgrade, Vienna and Budapest are processing the largest numbers, with missions around the world contributing to the resettlement of refugees affected by the conflict in former Yugoslavia.

The following account by Brian Casey reflects the first-hand experience of one "front-line" visa office behind today's headlines.

The violent disintegration of Yugoslavia, which began in 1991, presented immigration policy makers and foreign service officers in the field with unique challenges. A war in Europe producing hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons and accompanied by the horrors of ethnic cleansing was the last thing I expected when I began my posting in Belgrade in 1990. But soon after my arrival in Belgrade it became apparent that things were proceeding in the wrong direction. Still, nobody knew how far and how badly wrong they would go.

Today, there are over 30,000 people in Canada as a result of the immigration programs put in place to respond to the human dimensions of the Yugoslav crisis. The Former-Yugoslavia Special Measures Program was designed to assist relatives of residents of Canada and the refugee program provides for resettlement in Canada of refugees from Former Yugoslavia. The following are the stories of a few of the individuals who have benefitted from these programs.

Mr. B. was one of a stream of refugees who began to flow out of Sarajevo during the summer of 1992. His wife was killed by shell fragments as she sat at the dining room table in their apartment. He was left with three young children aged eight, six, and four. He was a mechanical engineer and spoke reasonable English so we thought his settlement chances were good, but because of the needs of the three children, we arranged a group sponsorship for them from a church in Halifax. He started a permanent job six weeks after his arrival in Canada and one year later he was taking out a mortgage to purchase his first home.

Mrs. T. came from the city of Mostar with her three children where her husband was killed in the shelling when she was

three months pregnant. She gave birth to a baby girl in the makeshift hospital in the still besieged town six months later. When the baby became sick she received permission to leave Mostar but to do so she had to cross the line of fire between the opposing forces in the town. The memory of crossing that line, clutching her baby and with her 10 and eight year old daughters running beside her, will remain forever etched in her mind. After reaching safety she made her way to Belgrade, where a friend gave them temporary shelter in her small apartment. The next day she came to the Canadian Embassy.

Our receptionist immediately referred her to our "Woman At Risk" counsellor,

torture he had endured. I saw them again last week — just before their departure — they were composed and confident and proud of the English they had picked up after two months of language classes in the Embassy.

These are but a few of the many people who have been helped by our refugee and humanitarian programs for Former Yugoslavia, programs that are being delivered out of the Embassies in Vienna and Budapest as well as in Belgrade. Although the European countries have granted temporary protection to far greater overall numbers of people, Canada has emerged as the number one choice of former Yugoslavs for permanent resettlement. This has happened



Class for refugees, Canadian Embassy, Belgrade.

whose job is to encourage and support severely traumatized refugees and persuade them not to give up hope. A few days later they were seen by a Canadian officer and little more than two months later they were in Canada under the care of a Mennonite church group. Things have not been easy for them in Canada — Mrs. T. and the two older children required further counselling and one of the children went through a difficult adjustment to school. However, little more than a year later Mrs. T. has learned English, is working part-time and is helping other refugees adjust to life in Canada.

Mr. and Mrs. S. and their six year old daughter Dijana left for Canada last week. They were a mixed marriage couple who lived in a town in eastern Bosnia. When the war came he refused to fight for any side and because of this and his ethnic background he was repeatedly imprisoned, beaten and tortured. His wife always somehow managed to get him out of prison and finally they were able to leave Bosnia and reach Belgrade. During the interview, his hands still shook uncontrollably because of the

because of the scope of our immigration programs, their accessibility to all and the quality of the settlement programs inside Canada.

Sadly, the need for refugee and humanitarian immigration from Former Yugoslavia shows no sign of abating. Continuing efforts and resources will be required to respond to the plight of at least some of the victims.

Martina Stvan is presently in ORH [International Migration, ISG] and was previously posted in Singapore and in Belgrade for temporary duty in spring 1995.

Brian Casey was Immigration Program Manager in Belgrade from 1990 until summer 1995. He has previously been posted in Belgrade, London, Bogota, San Francisco prior to his second assignment in Belgrade.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada recently awarded a citation to the locally-engaged staff at our Mission in Belgrade for their work on the immigration program.

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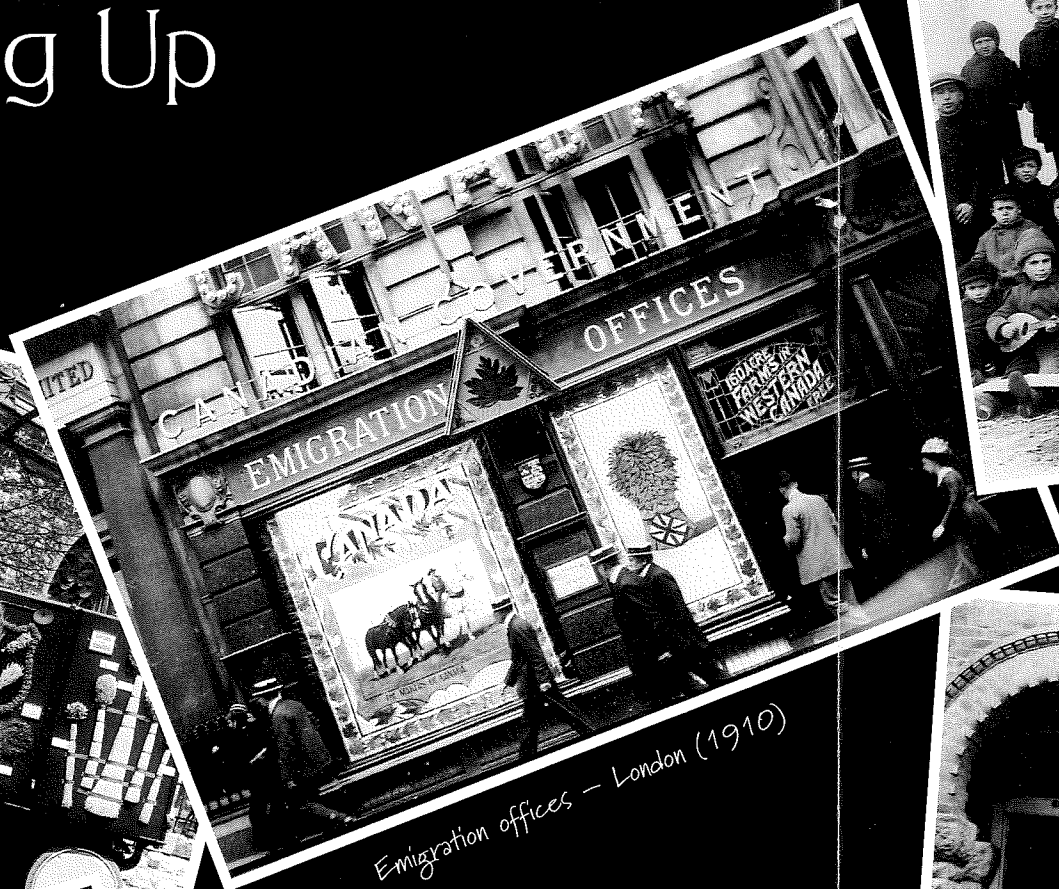
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bdp

Snapshots of a Country Growing Up



Immigration publicity wagon (1905)



Emigration offices — London (1910)



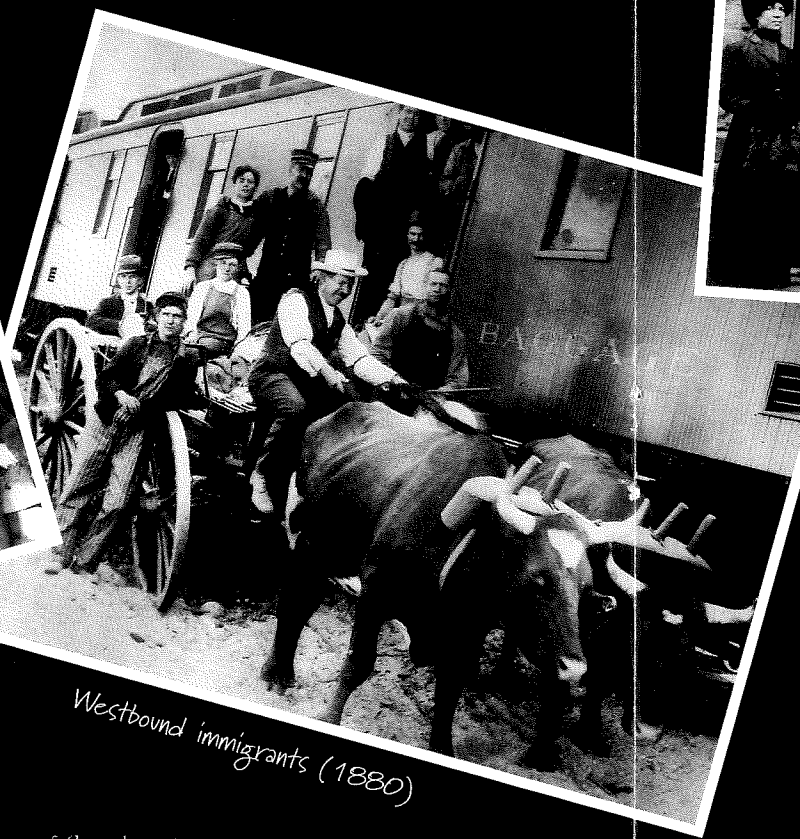
Newly arrived Jewish orphans (1927)



Gypsies at a camp near Lambton, Ontario (1918)



Immigrants du service intérieur — Québec (1911)



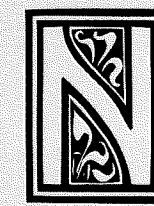
Westbound immigrants (1880)



Black immigrants at the YMCA, Toronto (1917)



Arrivants de Belgique (1916)



ouveau pays, le Canada avait besoin d'immigrants. Les agents du gouvernement canadien, précurseurs des agents des visas d'aujourd'hui, ainsi que les représentants du Canadien Pacifique — qui constituaient un vaste réseau — sont allés les recruter principalement en Europe. Entre 1900 et 1914, il en est venu 2 944 000. En 1913 seulement, 400 870 sont arrivés, soit un record pour une année dans l'histoire du Canada. Toujours en 1913, la population du Canada s'élevait à 7 682 000.



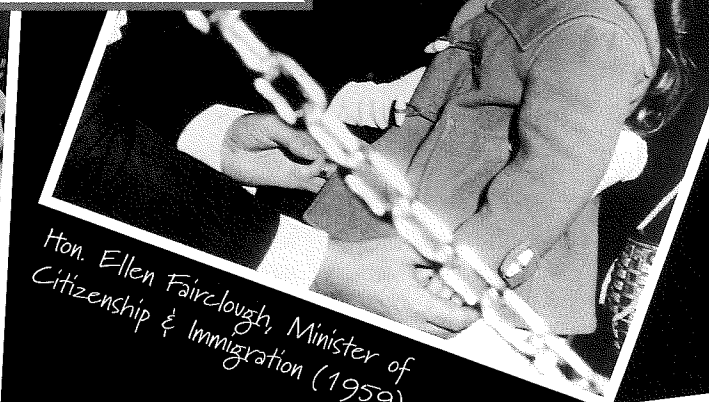
British farm labour immigrants at Windsor, en route to Winnipeg



Orphans from Dr. Barnardo's homes (U.K.)



Canadian government display, Newcastle, U.K. (1961)



Hon. Ellen Fairclough, Minister of Citizenship & Immigration (1959)



Danish children at school, Dalum (Alta.) — 1933



ollowing World War II, millions of Europeans were displaced or looking for a better life abroad. At the same time, the burgeoning Canadian economy required skilled workers from abroad. From 1945-1960 Visa Officers recruited just over 2,000,000 immigrants worldwide. During this period, Canada transformed itself from an agricultural and resource provider to a modern industrial economy.



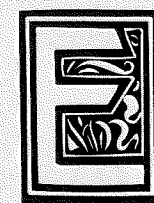
Agents d'immigration canadiens, Québec (1928)



Immigrants hollandais, quais de Montréal (1947)



Outside the Canadian Immigration office, London (1956)

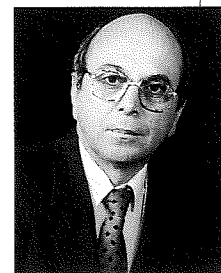


n 1986, le Haut-commissaire des Nations Unies pour les réfugiés a remis au peuple canadien la médaille Nansen pour service exceptionnel en faveur des réfugiés. Le 13 novembre 1986, le Gouverneur général, Madame Jeanne Sauvé, a accepté la récompense au nom de tous les Canadiens. La médaille Nansen est généralement attribuée à des particuliers ou des organisations qui viennent en aide aux réfugiés; pour la première fois, elle était décernée à un pays.

Immigration from the Top, the Inside and Abroad: Views from a Newcomer and a Veteran



Peter Harder



Raphael Girard

*Interviews with Peter Harder, Deputy Minister and
Raphael Girard, ADM, International Service*

Peter Harder, DM

bdp: I don't know how philosophical you are feeling this morning. We could start by talking about current immigration policy and then go on to the global migration issue.

PH: Let me perhaps give a bit of context to the immigration program. The immigration program over the last 126 years has been delivered in various configurations. It was in the Department of Agriculture at one time; it was in the Interior at one time. The most bizarre configuration was the Department of Mines and Indian Affairs. And it has been Citizenship and Immigration; it's been Manpower and Immigration; we have had the foreign service in the program; and we have had it out and we have had it back together. All that is to say, the program is the kind of program that links to other government programs or public policy issues, depending on its time. Citizenship & Immigration today is delivering the same program but it is delivering it in a different context.

There are only four countries in the world that have an immigration program. We are doing it in a world that has fundamentally changed in the last 10-15 years, one in which people are on the move. The globalization of the movement of people poses a different environment for Canada's Immigration Refugee and Citizenship program. The department is trying to focus on what is the public policy space to attach the issues of immigration and citizenship. And I think that they have both a domestic and international expression.

Domestically there continues to be political consensus for immigration and refugee

issues but it is a difficult consensus. We are not like California, nor do we have the attitudes of some of the western European countries. We have a public that is increasingly concerned about what are the implications of immigration for the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, for the changing face of parts of urban Canada. For example, immigration is very much viewed by British Columbians as having contributed to their economic well being, particularly with respect to the Asia-Pacific Rim. But I am sure that there is an element that says "What are the implications?". We have a responsibility to moderate and integrate the issues.

*There are 120 million
people on the move
in the world...*

On the international side, if we are pursuing an Immigration and Refugee program in a world which has fundamentally changed in terms of globalization, we have to both deliver our program in that context and also provide a new context for public policy thinking.

Let me just list a few of the implications. The 1976 Act, which is the fundamental Act of the Immigration Program, came into force at a time when we had 1200 refugee claimants in Canada a year. And they were all fleeing communism. It was pre-Charter (of Human Rights) so you didn't need a lot of rules to say yes or no. There was a lot of discretion in the system. Since then the

world is people on the move. The collapse of communism means that the sorting out of good guys and bad guys in a refugee sense is complex and non-ideological. It is human rights based, not ideology based. The numbers are greater. With the Charter, it is a more litigious atmosphere in which we manage the program. It means that we have to have more Charter-proof and Charter-sensitive procedures. You need legislation to say "no" and to pursue that in a meaningful way. "No" has to have some finality and there has to be some ability for the program to manage the consequences of a negative decision both here and abroad. We have had to adapt the law and our frame of reference significantly in the last number of years. And it is not just what we have to do but the numbers. We have had highs of 40,000-43,000 asylum seekers; we have been as low as 21,000. Managing those numbers has been challenging but that is not really the face of the refugee movement. It's the nature of the movement, the unpredictability; it's the mix of illegal and irregular movements; it's the need to have an ability to sort out those in Canada and abroad.

The globalization of the movement of people has accompanied the globalization of the economy or the globalization of the movement of money. It has had tremendous benefits for the world. We should celebrate that. But it has also globalized money laundering, globalized organized crime, globalized terrorism — those sorts of activities. Who would have thought that we would be investing to the extent that we are in our intelligence on triads and organized crime ten years ago or even five years ago?

Another point is that the movement of peoples does not happen in isolation.

There are 120 million people on the move, 120 million people who are not resident in their country of nationality. That is a phenomenon that is directly related to some of the other challenges of the world. North-South, East-East, East-West, Islamic fundamentalism, birth rates. So that we have to clarify what is it in our experience and expertise that we can bring to bear. Not in the sense of arrogance, but in the sense of really trying to find solutions to some of these problems. People move, not just because they happen to fit into the 1951 Geneva Convention. People move for a lot more sophisticated reasons than are found in the definition. It has a lot to do with human rights, and it has a lot to do with economic well-being.

We are going to require better co-ordination both at the national and international levels in terms of using all of our public policy instruments.

Look at a couple of facts — the demography of the Maghreb and the demography of Europe. It doesn't take long to extrapolate a certain challenge that the Europeans will face. Take the fact that Western industrialized countries have received in the last couple of years about one million to 1.3 million asylum seekers. We are spending as a Western world between 7 and 8 billion dollars a year on asylum systems. Those are huge numbers of people and resources. They create pressures. Look at Austria, the campaign in France, Belgium's national elections. The Dutch have gone to an identity card because of immigration. Look at all of these various manifestations. Our issues have turned into real politics — probably some of the most challenging issues of public policy.

bdp: You mention on the domestic levels the link between foreign policy and immigration and everybody working together. How do you see that working now?

PH: We have got to focus on some real practical steps here. For example, we have and we have had in the past years real problems dealing with the return to certain countries of people who have no legal status in Canada. We have benefited greatly from the kind of support we are receiving from Foreign Affairs where there is a greater recognition today of the issue than there has been in the past. If we are not going to be able to return to the People's Republic of China Chinese nationals who have no legal status in Canada, that is going to be a barrier to normalization of our relationships. A normal bilateral relationship includes the return of nationals.

Another example is Sri Lanka, which has been a major source country of refugee

claimants in Canada and many other countries. We have yet to find what is the right kind of policy intervention to mitigate this or at least try to deal with this more effectively. It probably includes some of the projects that are underway now, where we are seeking to invest in the human rights infrastructure rather than in some of the big development plans. That probably makes some sense. It's the trying to bring to bear the consequences of all of our public policy initiatives in a more coherent way to reflect the interests of Canada which are not necessarily narrow or equidistant.

One illustration of this is the kind of work that we are doing with the Americans. With the help of Foreign Affairs and our mission in Washington we are negotiating an agreement with the Americans on border facilitation and also a memorandum of understanding on asylum. We have also discussed our respective visa policies in a more coordinated fashion. Not that we are going to give to the Americans our sovereign right to decide on visa policy, but we are prepared to discuss our mutual interests and the impact of our decisions between our two countries. I think that makes good sense. That's building some of the practical infrastructure of bilateral and multilateral co-operation that the issues of migration require.

bdp: Could you tell us a bit about how you see immigration and domestic economic policies complementing each other?

PH: The immigration program in Canada is no longer linked to specific job demands. That was the rationale for Manpower and Immigration and then Employment and Immigration. Immigration is linked to a more generally stated objective that "we

are in the immigration business for the economic interest of Canada." The framework that was announced in November 1994 very clearly committed the program to try to increase the mix to ensure more economic contributions over the ten year framework period. The program should, in a deliberate manner, demonstrate to Canadians that it continues to make an enhanced economic contribution. The family component of the

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program — family class immigrants — contributes to the economy also. It is the element of the immigration program that has its basis in family linkages. Spouses and dependent children are the fundamental core of this movement and then there are parents and grandparents. We need to concentrate on providing the opportunities for sponsorship without incurring some of the public expenditures of sponsorship failure which

we have had in the past. That is the balance and the challenge.

We, as a country, pursue our refugee mandate not because of our economy, but because of our international obligations and our particular stance on human rights. We also have other international obligations apart from the Geneva Convention, such as human rights instruments. However, they are circumscribed by our ability to pay —

our ability to sponsor and support overseas convention refugees for resettlement. In the past, we have not made those linkages as clearly as we are making them now — we are making them because there is an affordability test here.

The third element of the economic issue is that immigrants themselves are increasingly bearing the burden and contributing to the cost of the program.

We generate in cost recovery about 130 to 150 million dollars. Together, the landing fee and the citizenship fee will generate about another \$150-170 million. That is a very significant economic contribution.

I believe the final and most profound economic benefit is the work that immigrants do over their contributing years. All of the studies — C.D. Howe, the Economic Council of Canada, and our own work in the department — demonstrate that immigrants outperform Canadians in terms of their economic contributions as a group. What we want to do is to enhance the continuation of that type of contribution wherever possible.

bdp: The link with trade?

PH: Yes, there is a significant linkage. Human capital that has come to Canada in the past is now increasingly entrepreneurial and from parts of the world which are themselves growing

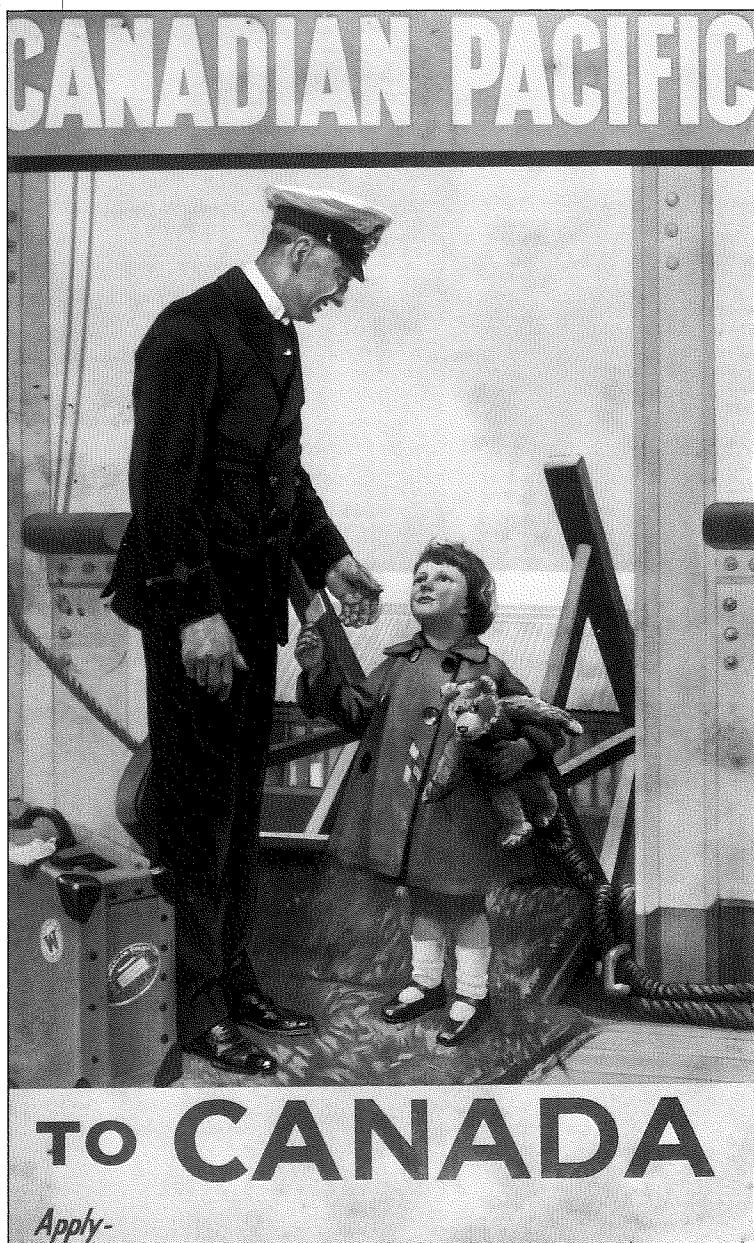
rapidly. That is contributing to our trade relationships. I don't think it's simply a coincidence that Canada has experienced trade growth in the Asia-Pacific and significant growth in our immigration relationship with the Asia-Pacific region. The Prime Minister, during his Asia-Pacific trip, frequently referred to the incorporation of immigrants from Asia-Pacific into Canadian society.

I am a little chagrined when I sometimes hear foreign service officers or trade commissioners say "Oh that's all coincidental." I don't believe that you can be in Hong Kong and speak to Canadians of Hong Kong origin who are active in the economy there or in south China and not think that their relationship is of benefit to Canada. I am delighted to see some of the events where trade commissioners and the immigration officers have marketed the advantages of Canada together — using the immigration program to make Canada attractive and create jobs in Canada for Canadians as a result of the investments. We need to do more targeting of that nature. Realistically, people in Asia-Pacific don't choose Canada because of our comparatively buoyant economy. That is not the truth. They choose Canada for our comparative advantages in certain other areas.

*The globalization
of the movement
of people has
accompanied
the globalization
of the movement
of money.*

I casually mentioned earlier the whole business of selection. There has been a profound change for our front lines. We no longer want to simply put up a shingle saying "Immigration Canada" and process a line-up. We want to use the expertise that we have in the field to identify targeted areas and clientele for immigration to Canada, which means working with our trade colleagues. Whether it's developing immigration opportunities potential in south-east India or whether it's dealing with what we know is a substantial demand for emigration in Taiwan. A study last November showed 23% of university graduates in Taiwan believed that emigration was in their personal future. Canada was the (number one) point of destination followed by Australia and then the United States. There are opportunities for us to focus on and in a way which benefits Canada.

bdp: Do you have any comments on the imposition of visas and the impact on our bilateral relations?



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a financial capacity issue that we are recognizing more and speaking about more clearly. The humanitarian work that we do in this program is very important but it is limited by our ability to pay for it. We need to be creative with the resources that we have. We need to demonstrate to the interested community in Canada that there is a relationship between our ability to afford a domestic refugee determination system and

PH: Visas are a tool of immigration control. Visas are not an expression of affection or disaffection. They are an instrument by which Canada exercises its sovereign responsibilities to control its borders. We work very closely with Foreign Affairs on visa issues and are very much supported by the responsible geographic divisions. To the best of my knowledge, there have not been issues on which we have disagreed. Certainly some countries for which we impose visas would construe visas as an expression of Canada's political bilateral relationship. I think it is useful for the Foreign Affairs Department to be able to say, "It was a decision by the Immigration Department." When officials of these countries visit here, we then articulate the rationale for the visa. The rationale can be anything from our concerns with the integrity of their passport documentation, the irregular movement of other nationalities through their country, their lack of cooperation at major airports or the historic experience of the absence of the visas causing illegal migration to Canada (Portugal, for example, a few years ago).

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bdp: When we are not dealing with bilateral issues what would you say is our major policy thrust?

PH: I would say that our major policy thrust is to pursue the need for multilateral approaches to the migration issue. This is not a unidimensional issue. To simply approach migration as something that can be mitigated through good enforcement is naive. To assume that it's only development and that if only development worked we wouldn't have people on the move is equally naive. To assume that you can preach to the

Europeans that immigration is good is naive. We have to have a multifaceted approach to the challenge of migration. We have to demonstrate that migration has a benefit and remind people of that. I can link this up with citizenship. In Canada we have not equated ethnicity with the nation state; citizenship is not defined by ethnicity but by values that we share. We have been a bit shy in articulating these values and we have been pursuing this in the last year.

That is something to tell our international colleagues. The former Yugoslavia is probably the best European example for that. There is some very exciting work being done in the former Soviet Union as well on the whole notion of what is dual citizenship and what is non-ethnic based citizenship. We and the IOM are working together on some citizenship projects helping countries come to terms with modern progressive citizenship legislation. Canada leads in the developing of the ICO (Immigration Control Officer) network and now we want to cooperate with other countries.

I am delighted to see the development of the globalization theme within the Department of Foreign Affairs because I think we can work together on this. We are not building competing empires and we are not poaching. I think we are integrating our capacity.

The foreign service in this department is bigger than the International Service Group. In an era where globalization issues are increasingly having an impact on domestic policy, a department that has both a foreign service and a domestic service is

an inspiration. It allows us to build a knowledge base, an intelligence base, to be a learning organization that is international and that can have career development opportunities with a national and international dimension. It will make program delivery better but also our contribution to the tough work of thinking about these issues more focused. It is not a threat to the foreign service.

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bdp: So you see this as something that is likely to grow and expand?

PH: Yes. For example, I can't think of a better contribution than somebody coming out of Delhi on a first or second posting than spending their Canada-based time as an appeals officer or a case presenting officer. They have the richness of experience to articulate a particular approach before

an independent decision maker. By using those gifts and trading them as well, we should have appeals officers and Case Presenting Officers (CPO's) abroad and do it in a deliberate way. Just as we have decided we are going to have an international migration policy section that has a foreign service core but others as well. We should have almost the reverse on the appeals unit. Its core is the domestic

policy doesn't. It's for the best objectives of good public policy that we need to do some of this.

Raphael Girard, ADM International Service

bdp: How do you view the many changes in the Immigration Service, based upon your experience in the past 25 years?

RG: There certainly has been a pronounced evolution of the Service since I joined. I came in with a group of 12 people in 1963. We were, I think, the first university graduates who were hired to work as career Foreign Service officers in Immigration. Our group was made up of people recruited with the same qualifications as the other streams of the Foreign Service.

The early years were quite significant in that we were different from most of our Immigration colleagues, some of whom regarded us as elitist. Our colleagues at most offices abroad came from Immigration stations at the borders, from the airports and from the inland Immigration offices. They served abroad on single assignments for one or two tours. With our arrival that regime came to an end. Similarly when we arrived at missions abroad we were not seen as full-fledged Foreign Service officers; we were a new breed of people. We worked for another Department. We,

as a group, found ourselves in a camp having broken one tradition and aspiring to another. Over the years this has changed dramatically. I think we now have a Social Affairs stream with a clear identity, a clear place in the Foreign Service of Canada. We have a record of achievement not only in terms of the Immigration program but also in international affairs that relates to immigration and refugee issues affecting Canada

both internally and in its relation to other countries. The men and women joining today compete very well on a whole range of different functions both in the Foreign Service and domestically. Their commitment to the Foreign Service is as great as those of us who joined in the early years. We have our place in Citizenship and Immigration and in the Foreign Service as a whole.

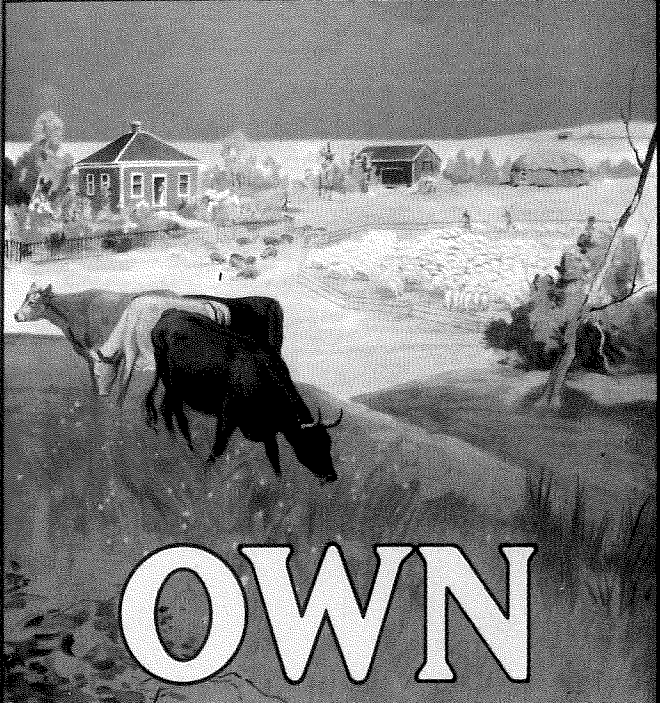
bdp: Now a new emphasis is being placed on training and development. How does all this training and development today compare to what was given yesterday?

RG: There are favourable and unfavourable comparisons. When we joined we had an intensive training course that lasted as long as two years before we were turned loose on the world to perform as a visa officer abroad. We had to learn the basics in Canada, to see how the Immigration Department functioned in Canada before applying the rules and systems overseas. But it was a much narrower focus. Immigration in the 60s was a very different business from Immigration in the 90s. We didn't have as formal an enforcement role abroad, we didn't have a well defined role in reporting and liaison and representation. We didn't have as many specialized functions. The money we now invest in enhancing the management skills of officers, in doing specialized functions such as the Immigration Control Function abroad, in the selection and promotion of business migration ... training has dramatically improved over what we had before. I hope we can recapture some of the old basic training without losing the better part of the intensive specialized training.

bdp: This year we are embarking on an Immigration promotion and recruitment campaign in selected foreign markets after a hiatus of 25 years. Can you tell us how this new campaign is different from the previous efforts of the 1960s?

RG: The basic difference is the market. We are in the global market. We weren't in the 60s. In the 60s independent migration was sought after in Europe and in the United States. We had very few points of service anywhere else. There was no effort to attract independent migrants to Canada from other than the traditional sources. In the 90s Europe's population is ageing and there is not a great deal of interest among Americans in coming to Canada, although there is certainly a large number of foreign students and other visitors in the United States who would like to come.

The new promotion activities will go into places where there are well trained people



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service but we should have some international participants. There are really exciting opportunities for doing that type of planning. We are only beginning to appreciate that after three years of living together. I am really quite excited about this because I think it provides the foreign service officer with the real links to the domestic program and the reality of delivering a domestic program that general foreign service

who are willing to give Canada a try. It's now mainly in Asia, in the Middle East, in some of the developing democracies in Eastern Europe and to some extent in North Africa. Our advertising therefore has to be much more specific. We are not interested in volume, we are interested in quality people who are self-starters, who can arrive here and find their way into the labour market without financial assistance. In the old days we sought people with a sense of adventure and an ability to settle without an awful lot of resources behind them. Today, independent migration is seen as a premium program for self-starters and if you need financial help you are going to have to find it elsewhere, not from the Federal or Provincial Governments.

*We now think
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bdp: In the next ten years, let's say until the year 2005, how will the role of the International Service change in Canada and abroad? We have been through a lot of change in the last two or three years.

RG: Well the rate of change is accelerating, it's not slowing down. The recent budget and program review has introduced a fundamental change in how Canada thinks about immigration. We now think of immigration in terms of a system that largely pays for itself, driven by the fiscal reality. The function of the visa officer will continue to change and the involvement of officers early in their career in actually doing the processing and making processing decisions will continue to shift towards managing the process using more locally engaged staff and having technology do the work of screening and documenting people who want to come here. The functions that have matured over the years are strategic enforcement, recruitment and promotion, reporting and analysis. They will continue to grow and will have an impact on our policies. Overall, the job package will be richer and will be more challenging. It will require even better use of the skills of our officers.

bdp: There is another question I'd like to ask you about the IRB and the role of visa officers. There is a debate in Canada about refugees who are selected by the IRB and refugees who are selected abroad by our visa officers. Could the visa officers play a role in supplying information to the IRB on conditions in certain countries, on selection decisions, or maybe give information on refugee movements?

RG: Yes indeed. This is where we will invest some of the savings we make. There are limitations. Obviously we can't do intensive case research on 20,000 cases a year, but we can be instrumental in clarifying questions such as whether certain minorities are vulnerable in certain places as is alleged by a number of claimants or whether the documents that are being presented are valid ones. We'll probably invest in this kind of enterprise before this year is out, because there is much interest in enhancing the quality of decision-making at the IRB. With a little more effective coordination between us and the board, I think we can provide the information that will enable better decisions to be made.

bdp: On a more personal note, can you tell us what would be the high point of your career so far?

RG: The events that have occurred in my career and that give me the most satisfaction are normally related to situations where we've gone out of our way to help people. None of them are terribly dramatic. I was managing our Rome office during the Italian earthquake — with the cooperation of talented support staff and Canadian visa officers on the team, we landed 1500 earthquake victims in Canada in a very short period of

time, over Christmas and the New Year's period of 1979 to 1980. We organized the immigration process down to three hours. A typical day would mean that a number of people from the devastated area would gather at our front door first thing in the morning. We would document them, arrange accommodation, airfare, and a seat on an aircraft the next day. It worked like a charm. This gave me a great deal of

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satisfaction. It was a remarkable example of the progress you can make when people are positively motivated to achieve a clear objective. Similarly, we worked on some refugee protection programs in El Salvador where we successfully brought 200 political prisoners out of the local jails while I was director of Refugee Affairs. These kinds of activities have given me a great deal of satisfaction.

ANIMAL CRACKERS

An Anagrammatical Zupelz

by A Aalto

The seaplane banked sharply, set down on the lake and taxied to the wharf in front of Liebnitz's summer cabin. The door on the starboard side opened and Chief MacBannoch, face buried in a file-folder, stepped out into the twilight onto what he thought was the dock. Unfortunately, that was on the other side of the seaplane. Liebnitz and the pilot watched in some amazement as the Chief walked, still reading, along the broad back of a smoothly swimming moose, until finally tripping over its antlers and performing a creditable triple pike into the lake.

Ten minutes later, a somewhat confused moose was lost in the sunset and the Chief was sitting in Liebnitz's cabin, a blanket around his dripping shoulders and a double scotch in his hand. "It's another of Jimmy the Turk's damned reports," he growled.

"The mission was simple. The local branch of the pan-Pacific environmental group *Midori no Heiwa* called us in because they were convinced that a certain European power, which has just resumed nuclear testing, had placed a double agent in their ranks to sabotage the protest the group plans to make. Given the *Rainbow Warrior* precedent, we felt we had to take steps, and Jimmy was sent in. He soon telephoned to say that he had narrowed the suspects down to six. This is the list he sent in later."

MacBannoch passed a somewhat soggy piece of paper to Liebnitz, who read out the contents: "All the members of the group here have changed their last names to the names of living things, as a political symbol. And each person's first name plus last name add up to ten letters. Clues to the suspects names follow, with the last names listed in alphabetical order: (a) Gödel or Weill, miner's watch-bird; (b) Darwin or Ives, Wilde's "uneatable"; (c) Priestly or Haydn, Mary's pet; (d) Feynman or Strauss, Minerva's mascot; (e) Pauli or Mozart, Bunyan's bovine; (f) Newton or Stern, Blake's flame; and (g) Bettelheim or Walter, Melville's cetacean."

"Well that's easy enough," said Liebnitz. "The first part of each clue pairs a famous scientist and a famous musician with the same first name. The second part gives the animal name. But why are there seven clues, when he said there were only six suspects? Ah, I see — he threw in a ringer. One of them is the name of a real historical person, one with a diplomatic connection. Trust Jimmy. But how are we expected to choose among this lot?"

"That comes in his second report," said MacBannoch. "On this one, I have no idea what's going on." So saying, he handed Liebnitz another sheet, with the following notations:

KEYWORD ONE: CANAPE FAIR (chimp for example: two words) minus HAIG FAN (Kabul type) plus EFO (enemy) plus TYE (still).

KEYWORD TWO: CHEST SAUNA (prickly plants) plus RED DEFEAT (unified) plus DIETING (set aflame) plus RAGES (cogs) plus ANAGI (once more) plus GAME (big).

"That's a bit more complicated," admitted the ace logician, "but I recognize the type. It's a Fluegelmann-Playfair cypher, and it works like this. First, you take each of the separate words or phrases in the two keyword strings (four in the first and six in the second) and treat them as separate anagrams, with the definitions that follow them as clues. CHEST SAUNA with a reference to prickly plants, for example, can only be ACANTHUSES."

"Secondly," Liebnitz went on, "you convert the solved anagrams into numbers by the old A=1, B=2, C=3 method. This would make ACANTHUSES 1-3-1-14-20-8-21-19-5-19 or 131142082119519. (If the anagram turns out to be two words, you treat it as one when you convert it to a number.) Then you follow the directions (plus or minus) in each case to come up with a new number. You then convert this number, using the same A=1, B=2, C=3 system, into the keyword you are looking for — two keywords in this case."

"Now comes the Playfair part, a very old cypher method. You take the keyword (or the two keywords in this case) and write the letters out in a line, *dropping any repeats of letters you have already written down*. If the keywords were MARCH HERRINGS, for example, you would write down:

M A R C H E I N G S

(You would leave out the H and the Rs in HERRINGS because you had already written them down from MARCH.) Then you write down the other letters of the alphabet, the ones you haven't used in the keywords, in *reverse* alphabetical order after the keyword letters:

M A R C H E I N G S Z Y X W V U T Q P O L K J F D B

Finally, you write down the full alphabet underneath this line:

M A R C H E I N G S Z Y X W V U T Q P O L K J F D B
A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

And that gives you the cypher. If you get an encrypted message, you just find each letter in the upper line of the message and read the real letter off the line underneath. PRVORN, for example, would become SCOTCH using this keyword — although probably something completely different with Jimmy's keywords."

"This is a joke, right?" said MacBannoch querulously. "It would be easier to write the report on the head of a pinnipad."

Liebnitz looked a little embarrassed. "Actually, Chief, you may have a point there. Fluegelmann worked out this variation after he had been notified that he was being downsized out of the Service, then burned all the other options. No-one else but Jimmy ever uses it. He loves it, of course. Can I assume that he sent a third report, this one in cypher?" MacBannoch silently handed him over a slip of paper inscribed: AHQOL LGVYC LLCQO VAPKL TVQOW PXCOX PZCPL CWYCL LCQPW PMQPX VAJHY YPHWO PYHPO.

Liebnitz worked awhile in silence, looking up only once to say, with a chuckle, "Jimmy's such a card. The keywords are in Latin — the name of a famous scientific treatise." He soon had Jimmy's answer, which he turned over to MacBannoch. The Chief looked at it, sneezed and climbed wearily down the hill and back onto the seaplane. In the evening across the lake, a lonely moose bellowed.

Can you duplicate Liebnitz's feat by (a) giving the names of the 7 names on the first list; (b) indicating which one is the diplomatic ringer; (c) providing the two key-words; (d) giving the deciphered text of the final report; and (e) identifying the double agent?

Freelance prestidigitator A Aalto has lately been seen in the market-places of Tahiti, checking for coconuts that glow in the dark.

Masque of Red Death (Revisited): Answers

- Alice Liddell, "Hester Prynne", Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1850: *The Scarlet Letter*
- Frank Ray, "Percy Blakeney", Baroness Orczy, 1905: *The Scarlet Pimpernel*
- Martin Coyne, "Jose Ferrer", Toulouse Lautrec, 1952: *Moulin Rouge*
- Alice Winters, "Marlene Dietrich", Catherine the Great, 1934: *The Scarlet Empress*
- Samuel Converse, "Henry Fleming", Stephen Crane, 1895: *The Red Badge of Courage*
- Hart Liddell, "Josiah Amberly", Arthur Conan Doyle, 1926: *The Adventure of the Retired Colourman*
- James Tuffnell, "John Steinbeck", Jody Tiflin, 1938: *The Red Pony*
- Alice Coyne, "Dorothy Sayers", Peter Wimsey, 1931: *The Five Red Herrings*
- Richard Lowe, "Ts'ao Chan", Pao Yu, 1791: *The Dream of the Red Chamber*
- Edgar Winters, "Julian Sorel", Stendhal, 1830: *Le Rouge et le Noir*

Victims: Alice Liddell and Frank Ray murdered by Hart Liddell, who then committed suicide. Murderer's motive: Jealousy of his wife, who was having an affair with Ray.

Explanation: The flower beside the first body was a scarlet pimpernel (*Anagallis arvensis*), identifying the victim as Frank Ray, the man who had seduced all the women at the table. The chess piece on the pillow of the second victim was a red queen, a character appearing in Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass*. Although all three women were named "Alice", Alice Liddell was the name of the young girl for whom Carroll wrote the story. The anagrams in green paint in front of the third victim decipher as HOLMES ADVENTURE RETIRED COLOURMAN, referring to the 1926 Conan Doyle story "The Adventure of the Retired Colourman", in which a man named Josiah Amberly murders his wife (never named) and her lover (Ray Ernest) and then challenges Holmes in effect to uncover his crime. At one point, Dr. Watson finds Amberly at his house clutching a brush dipped in green paint. While Hart Liddell probably hoped that the subsequent police investigation would cause trouble for several of his guests (one reason for the enigmas with which he surrounded the event), it is clear that his main motive was a more personal one, and his suicide a nod to his sense of justice (small enough, considering that he was dying anyway). The trick with the gloves was easy: Liddell used them to murder the others without leaving his own prints on the first two stilettos, but he could place them well outside his room before he killed himself there, since his prints were supposed to be on the third stiletto. There are other possibilities, but this seems the simplest that fits all the facts.

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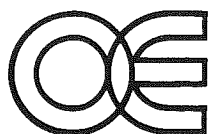
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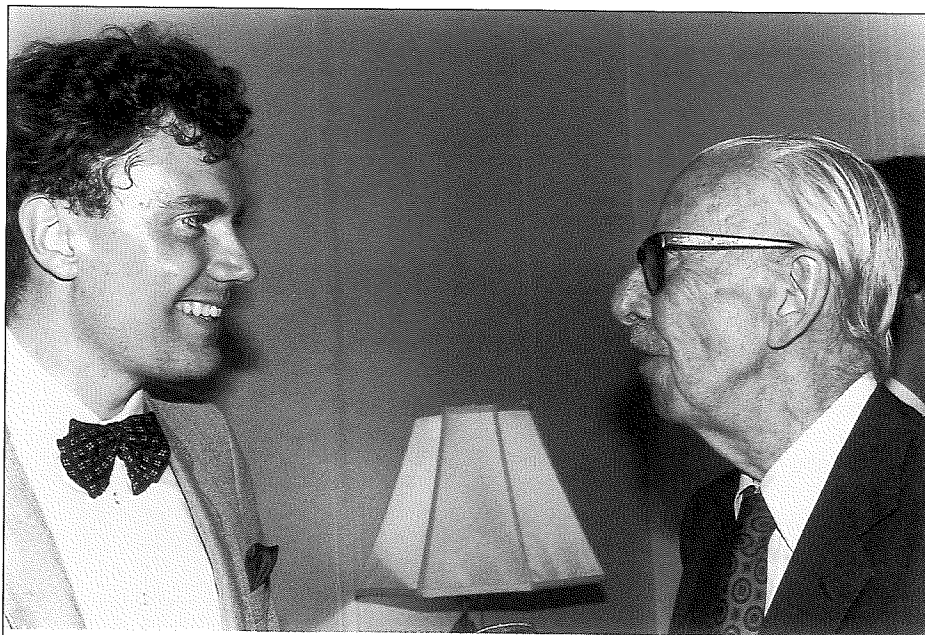
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To Colin — with all good wishes — who is that monstrous
old man you are talking to?
Charles Ritchie

Charles Ritchie 1906-1995

In that fabled golden era of post-war diplomacy when, through chance and sheer dint of intellect, Canadians really did make a difference in creating the institutions that have held the peace for half a century, the foremost man of letters and chronicler of his era was Charles Stewart Almon Ritchie. Ritchie, as Victoria Glendinning described him, was one of those North Americans to whom background, education, travel and elegant physical type give all the patina of the diplomat: learning easily worn, stylishness, *finesse* and *savoir-faire*.

I was at university trying to decide whether to go into law school or teach. Neither had much appeal. One of my professors included in his reading list Harold Nicholson. He meant Nicholson's famous treatise on Diplomacy. By the time I got around to going to the library the four copies were on loan to my more industrious colleagues. The only books by Nicholson were the diaries. I had been keeping my own journal off and on for a couple of years and it seemed like a good idea to see how someone else did it. And I read and read and read. I recall that I didn't do very well on the 'diplomatic practices' portion of the test but diplomatic life sounded great fun.

And then I read Ritchie. *The Siren Years* had just been published. It was his account of life as a young foreign service officer, first in Washington and then in London. It was like living on the set of a Nick and Nora Charles 'Thin Man' film. In what other profession could you read *Henry V*, cultivate rococo Romanian princesses and baroque dilettantes, bed ballerinas, and then be paid to write 'impressionistic' despatches on what you learned at dinner! There was no better advertisement for a career in the foreign service than Ritchie's diaries. This wasn't work. This was fun!

I first met Ritchie about a year after *An Appetite for Life*, selections from his diaries of growing up as a teenager in Halifax and then as a student at Oxford during the twenties. He was already a legendary figure within the service but with *The Siren Years* he had become a preeminent man of letters with a Governor General's Award and critical ovation on both sides of the Atlantic. One of my colleagues, who played the piano, had taken an apartment in the Duncannon, where Ritchie and his wife, Sylvia, lived when they weren't off to London or spending summers in Chester. She would tell us about talking with the great man

while they walked up Metcalfe Street. Shortly before I was posted to New York I met him at a cocktail party given by the son of another of The Greats.

'Angular, beak-nosed and narrow-chested' was how Ritchie accurately described himself in *Appetite for Life*. Fifty years had not made much difference. I watched and waited my turn for an introduction. I had recently read Elizabeth Bowen's *The Heat of the Day*. So this was Stella's Robert! He balanced a glass of white wine in one hand and a cigarette, which he appeared to suck the life out of, in the other hand. The voice was high, nasal and marked by that mid-Atlantic twang of the Canadian who has gone 'up' to Oxford or Cambridge. From across the room, with his toothbrush mustache and languid manner he even looked like an aging William Powell. When I finally got my turn I muttered some inanity like 'I enjoy your books sir'. He gave a practiced smile and returned his attentions to ladies.

The diaries kept coming: in 1981, *Diplomatic Passport*, and in 1983, *Storm Signals*. *Diplomatic Passport* picked up where *The Siren Years* had left off. Posted to Paris, he approached it in the spirit of the Renaissance Pope who said "God has given us the Papacy, now let us enjoy it." There are delightfully wicked passages about those who failed to receive invitations to the ball in honour of Princess Margaret. Then there was Ritchie's characterization of the most hateful of vices — long extempore prayers, this one at the Protestant temple in Possey.

On to Bonn, his first head of mission assignment, where he learned to develop "an anonymous public face which expresses only cautious benevolence, controlling the spasms of nervous exasperation or high spirits, getting into the groove, the ambassadorial groove." It was a game, like learning German through recitation of Little Red Riding Hood to the "wives of German high officials, stout bodies, reddish faces, not a word of English."

Then it was New York and the United Nations during the Hammarskjöld years. Fascinating but "not good for the diaries". For Ritchie there was no question when it came to boring away at yet another disarmament resolution or rereading Horace Walpole. Finally there is *Storm Signals* and the crown postings of Washington and London. There is a delightful vignette of the Kennedy household, when during Ritchie's presentation of credentials, the President "half rose from the walking chair, stretched out his arms, and said 'Shoo, Shoo'. For a moment I was frozen in my place. The thought passed my mind that I might be

the first ambassador in history to be shooed out of the White House.” But it was Caroline on her pony who had wandered into the room.

The last chapter of *Storm Signals*, which he titled ‘Diplomatic Attitudes’ is the Ritchie version of Nicholson on Diplomacy. It is elegant and accurate even if it lacks the Ritchie wit. He captures the essence of Canadian foreign policy as possessing a “moralistic preaching tone which strives, somewhat inadequately, to express a real strain of idealism. Yet this idealism is inevitably strongly diluted by the realism of a great trading nation with the material interests of its people to safeguard.”

He makes the case for cultural diplomacy, remarking that it is easier for the camel to enter the eye of the needle than to get a well-informed Canadian political story or considered editorial in the columns of Paris, London or New York. Rather, it is our actors, singers, and poets who contribute enormously to a fuller view of Canada.

Equally elusive is the goal of a ‘representative’ foreign policy. Foreign policy, by definition, is the playing field of the elite. “The fact is”, Ritchie observes, “is that most people, most of the time, are not much interested in foreign policy except when it touches their pockets or involves some special interest organized for a particular cause.”

He rightly concludes that a successful ‘diplomatic’ career is made at home rather than abroad. “For the foreign service officer who is interested in policy and the mechanics of power, service at home is more important than service abroad. If he hopes to exert any influence on affairs he must make good his position in the department. The longer he remains abroad, remote from political and departmental infighting in Ottawa, the more his influence tends to decline. He must first have established a base of trust and friendship at home in order to count on continued support, and this must be steadily maintained. He who forgets this does so at his peril.”

In 1984, I interviewed Ritchie over lunch and drinks for *bout de papier*. He was finishing another book, *My Grandfather’s House*. He was well informed on departmental gossip and over martinis (more gin than vermouth) we chatted. He was intrigued by *bout* and its possibilities and he encouraged me to use the old hands as a sounding board. Thus was born the senior editorial board which has given the magazine a solid foundation of experience and ideas.

After that I would see him regularly at *bout de papier* board meetings and walking up Metcalfe. Occasionally, I would invite

myself over for ‘tea’. His appetite for life and events was unwavering. He put great store by loyalty (if not fidelity!). Trust your instincts and your experience, he advised. He told me that looking back on life what he chiefly regretted was the time spent anguishing over whether he ought to do something he knew he was going to do anyway. He agreed with Janet Flanner: living well is the best revenge.

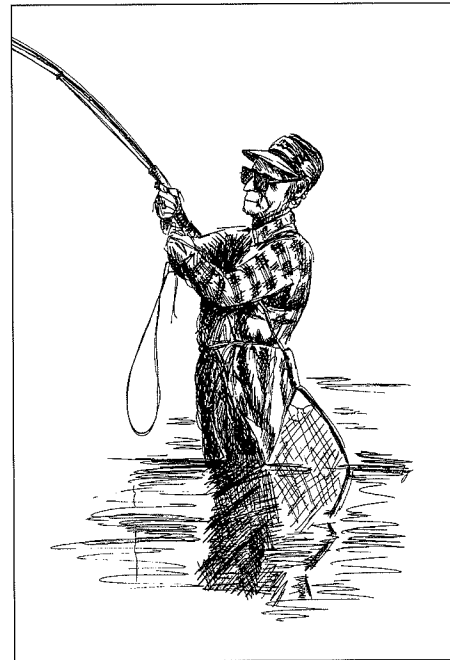
I last saw him in February when I took him to what would be his last meeting with the senior editorial board of *bout de papier*. He was frail and joked about being nothing but skin and bones.

Afterwards we had a glass of white wine in the tiny study where he had edited his diaries. When I told him that I had been less than faithful to my own journal he was gently reproving, saying, “they give you a wonderful perspective you know. What’s the problem? Work! Not worth it you know! The diary is much more important. Perspective. That’s the thing! Not enough have it. People get too self-absorbed. Look at some of your colleagues. I’m sure it hasn’t changed. Probably worse. But your diary! Look back at it a week, six months or a year later. That thing that seemed so important at the time. Really mostly inconsequential. And remember, just a few impressions jotted down. Doesn’t have to be long. Besides,” in veiled reference to his own condition, “you can still write!”

He would have been proud of his funeral. Elegant and restrained in the best tradition of the Anglican Church. All of the old hands were there. It was like, said one of his young officers, the gathering of the clan. One of his godsons, who had just lost the premiership of the province, came and in a moment of gallantry helped back to her feet she who read the lesson from St. Paul. I sat beside a trio of elderly ladies. In their day they would have been quite something. I wondered if ... no ... well ... perhaps! Ritchie would have been flattered.

As I left the chapel I remembered a story told to me by one of my journalist pals who had taken Ritchie to lunch months earlier. Ritchie told my friend that he had, at best, a couple of years left. The doctor recommended an operation. “Did the operation have risks?”, asked Ritchie. Well, yes, for a man of his age the chances of complications were high. And if the operation were successful? Well, the doctor told him, perhaps five years. Ritchie thanked him for his considerations, dressed himself, lit up a cigarette, went home and made himself a martini. Living well ... that was Ritchie’s revenge.

Colin Robertson



Sidney A. Freifeld

Sidney Freifeld, who died in Ottawa on June 23, 1995 in his 85th year, enjoyed a long, varied and productive life. Educated at the University of Toronto and the London School of Economics, he went in the 1930s to Italy where he worked as an economist and statistician, preparing monographs on banking and agricultural trade for, in particular, the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome, the forerunner of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. By 1938 he had moved into journalism, reporting from Rome for the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *London Times*, and then from New York for the *Toronto Star*. During World War II, Sidney refined his press and public relations skills with the American Jewish Committee and the War-time Information Board. In 1947, he joined the foreign service, starting as Information Officer at the Canadian Consulate General in New York; later he would serve with distinction as Press Officer at our United Nations Mission there. Sidney’s background was of great help to him in the foreign service. As a rare specialist in press, information and public relations, he understood the fourth estate and could handle with confidence even the most sensitive questions.

Sidney wrote clearly, quickly and perceptively. Never at a loss for words, he was adept at finding *le mot juste* and encouraging others to do the same. Being his co-worker was a stimulating experience. Sidney also had good political sense and was a shrewd judge of character; and he was fascinated by all aspects of international affairs. These qualities nourished his intellect and

reinforced his dedication during assignments in Ottawa and on postings in Dublin, Mexico City, Montevideo and, ultimately, as Ambassador to Colombia and Ecuador. After retirement, Sidney continued to write. Articles appeared over time in the *Globe and Mail*, the *Gazette* and, of course, **bout de papier** which he served for years as an active member of the Senior Editorial Board. Thirty-two of his articles, old and new, were brought together in his book entitled *Undiplomatic Notes*, a lively and entertaining collection of tales from the foreign service about people, places and diplomatic predicaments.

Sidney combined his foreign service career with that of the fly fisherman. Both demanded skill, patience and a well developed sense of direction. Sidney Freifeld, a man of integrity and compassion, was a true professional, devoted to his work and to those who worked with him. His interest in and support for the foreign service never flagged. He was a loyal colleague and a good friend.

Vernon G. Turner

Cleeve Francis Wilfrid (Bill) Hooper

Born in Toronto, Bill attended Victoria College at the University of Toronto (B.A.), Harvard University (A.M.), St. Catherine's College, Oxford (B. Litt.) and was a fellow of Nuffield College. He served with the RCNVR 1944-45, joining the Department of External Affairs in 1950 where he had a distinguished career serving in Venezuela, Argentina, India, Great Britain and, as High Commissioner to Jamaica, Belize and Bahamas. Less well known, even among his peers, was the considerable contribution he made to Canada's intelligence and security activities over a number of years. He was an acknowledged expert in the abstruse, difficult arts of communications and signals intelligence and in applying those skills to the conduct of Canada's international relations.

He was the External Affairs intelligence liaison officer in London in the late 1960s and Director General Bureau of Intelligence Analysis and Security, Ottawa from 1978-83, then becoming an Assistant Undersecretary of State for External Affairs. Because of his warm personality, intellectual integrity and wide interests he was admired and liked by all who worked with him, including many non-Canadians.

John Starnes

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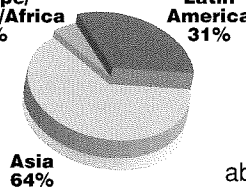


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The Case of the Matching Number by / par Mike Molloy

During the operation to admit Ugandan Asians to Canada all applications were submitted by hand — no-one trusted the mail and time was tight. Each form was number stamped and a chit bearing the number was given to the applicant with an admonition to watch the local papers or the lists posted in our office windows for the date of interview. This simple system protected people's security but let us communicate with them through the media with surprising effectiveness. The numbers became powerful talismans and two decades later I've rarely met a Ugandan Asian who can't recall his or her "number".

In one case the number actually opened prison doors.

Several weeks into the operation Moe Benoit, who ran the front counter, interrupted an interview I was doing with the words "Mike, there is someone I want you to see RIGHT NOW". Moe was not what you would call a flappable man and the chalky cast to his normally ruddy face made me nervous.

Sure enough two minutes later Moe appeared with a very large Ugandan policeman, immaculate in pressed khaki and Sten gun. The policeman had a very bedraggled Asian man literally in tow. The Asian obviously hadn't shaved, bathed or changed clothes in several days. A quick four way consultation revealed that:

1. Mr. X (the Asian) had been in the process of taking his new wife out of the country when the Ugandan border officials took exception to the amount of jewellery she was wearing.
2. Mrs. X was allowed to depart, sans jewellery, but Mr. X was trucked back to Kampala and chunked into prison for smuggling.
3. Mr. X's family tried to get him out with no success.
4. After four or five days the family appeared at the prison triumphantly waving a copy of the "Uganda Argus" with the latest Canadian interview numbers list. Officials compared the numbers in the newspaper with the number on the now tattered chit Mr. X had secreted. God knows where. Lo and behold there was

the match and the family argued successfully that, if the Canadian Embassy was summoning Mr. X, it stood to reason the Ugandan authorities must produce the body.

I noticed that the policeman wore World War Two ribbons on his shirt and told him my Dad had the same ribbons. That put us on a friendly footing and I explained it was my duty to conduct a private interview with Mr. X and could he be released from handcuffs and chains? No, that would not be possible said the policeman politely. It was then agreed that two chairs would be arranged in front of my desk, one behind the other. Mr. X sat in front. The policeman sat behind holding the end of the chain in one hand and the Sten Gun, rather awkwardly in the other.

Interviews under these circumstances can be trying. I almost wept with joy when I learned that Mr. X was a mechanic (TEN POINTS!). In addition he had a relative somewhere near Chilliwack who sounded an awful lot like an Aunt (FIFTEEN POINTS!) if you didn't look too close. I was not looking too close because my new police friend was having a hard time holding both the chain and the machine gun. He kept putting the gun on the floor and then, remembering himself, picking it up again. Each time this happened I got to peer down the barrel for a second or so. I noticed on the second pass that the gun was cocked and the fascinating details of Mr. X's genealogy engaged less and less of my attention as I reviewed all I'd learned in cadets about the quirky behaviour of Sten Guns.

Somehow I did the math and found Mr. X qualified. I noticed as well that my fellow interviewers and their clients had gotten through their formalities with impressive speed and exquisite politeness and were drifting off to other places.

I explained to Mr. X and his guardian that we would now step over to the Medical Section for the Medical Examination. The head of the Section, Dr. Piche, discovered he had a small gap in his busy schedule and could accommodate us without an

appointment. Mr. X ducked behind the curtain with Dr. Piche, while the policeman, the Sten Gun, the end of the chain and I remained on the other side discussing World War Two. Then off we went to visit the Medical Technicians, Dr. Piche having promised the Policeman free medical examinations for the whole family once Mr. X was safely out of the country. I remember Mr. X's X-Ray but cannot and do not wish to remember what was done about the stool test.

I happened to know the kid who ran the air transport section and Mr. X was booked on the next morning charter flight to Canada with an unusual display of efficiency. Our police friend was instructed that the Government of Canada expected Mr. X to be delivered without fail to Entebbe Airport the next morning.

Delivered he was. Mr. X and the policeman were met at the top of the ramp at the door to the airliner by our boss Roger St. Vincent. Roger explained that inside the plane was Canadian territory. Mr. X must enter Canada a free man. The chains were taken off. Mr. X walked into the plane. The policeman wanted to take a peek but Roger was in the way. They shook hands and the policeman went down the stairs.

Epilogue

Mr. X and his wife were eventually reunited in Canada.

Moe Benoit established a successful auto dealership in Detroit.

Dr. Piche retired to Montreal.

Roger St. Vincent lives in Slovenia.

The transport kid became Gerry Campbell, Director General, International Migration and Refugee Affairs.

The policeman, his wife, and eight children appeared for medical examination and were awarded "Certificates of Good Health" by the Government of Canada.

Mike Molloy is presently Director-General, Ontario Region Citizenship and Immigration Canada. He has been posted in Tokyo, Uganda, Beirut, Minneapolis, Geneva, Amman, Damascus, Nairobi in addition to HQ assignments. 

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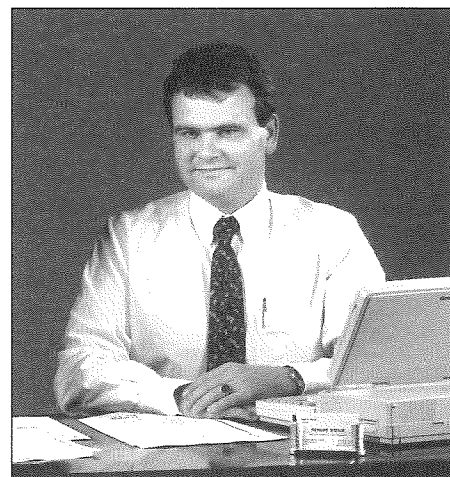
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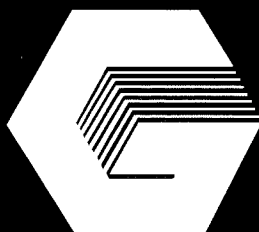
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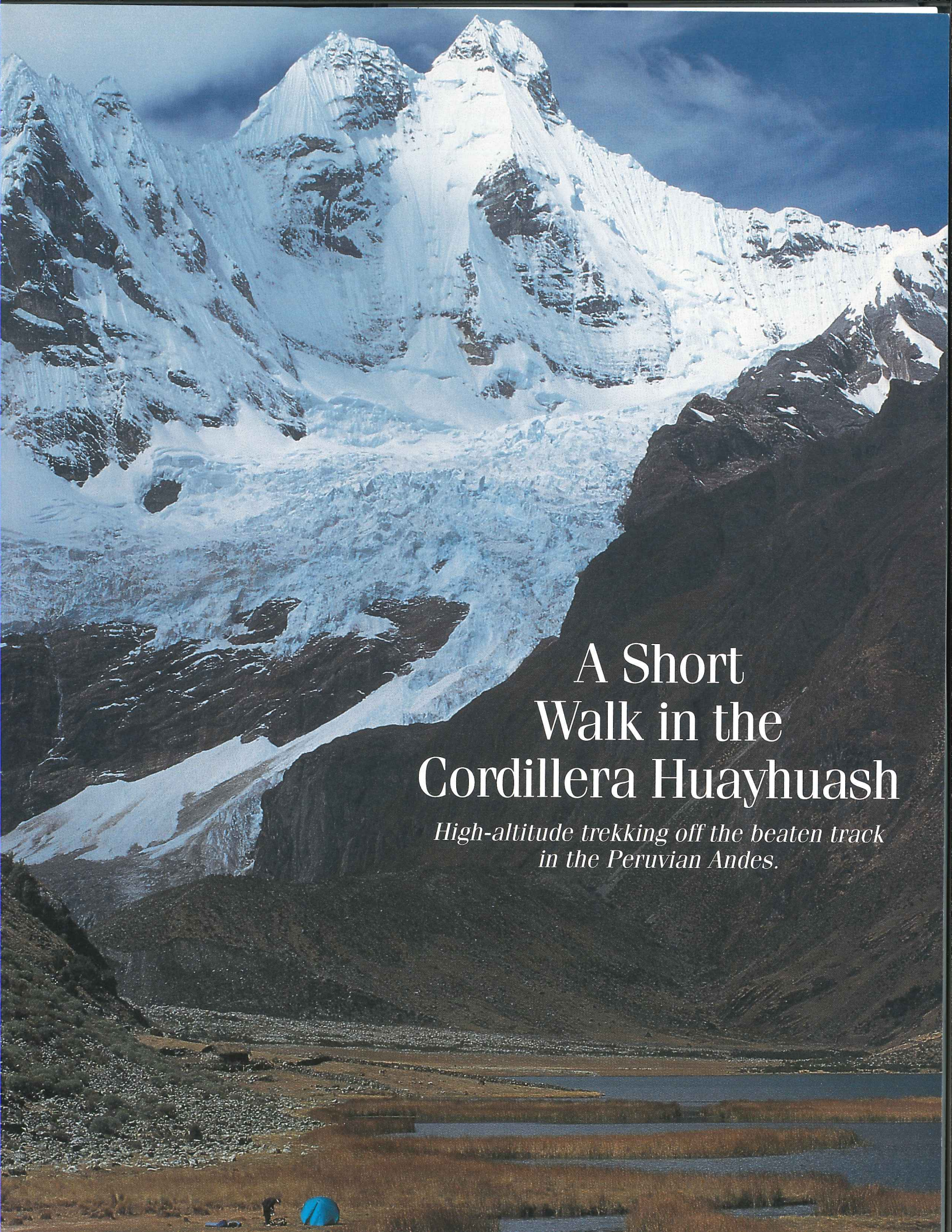
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A full-page photograph of a high-altitude mountain landscape. In the background, a massive, jagged mountain peak is covered in snow and ice, with dark rock faces visible. A large, flowing glacier descends from the mountain. In the foreground, a dark, rocky slope leads down to a valley. A small lake or wetland area is visible in the middle ground, surrounded by brownish vegetation. In the bottom left corner, a small blue tent and a person are visible, providing a sense of scale.

A Short Walk in the Cordillera Huayhuash

*High-altitude trekking off the beaten track
in the Peruvian Andes.*



story and photos by Nicholas Coghlan

Two hundred and fifty kilometres north of Lima, the *Cordillera Huayhuash* (pronounced Way-Wash) is a remote corner of the Andes that contains some of the most spectacular peaks on the continent. Long a mecca for European climbers in the Southern winter (when skies are clear), it has been off-limits for some years because of *Sendero Luminoso* terrorist activity. Until January 1994, that is, when the Peruvian government

Left: Technical problems on an Andean bus (note interested passengers on the roof).

Two small girls and boy with woodpecker — Llamac.

declared that this sector of Ancash Department was no longer categorized as a "Red Zone" and that it was therefore once again open to visitors.

My wife Jenny and I knew we had packed too much when we had to hire two taxis just to get from our Lima hotel to the bus station one July morning. The owner of the *Pensión San Miguel* in the hill town of *Chiquián* (grandly known as "Gateway to the Huayhuash") confirmed our doubts when she advised us against taking our packs upstairs — "because the floor isn't very strong". But, we thought, we were fit and we'd have no problem with the heavy loads — after all, we'd been jogging most days for the last few months at the high altitude of Mexico City.

Next morning, equipped with a sketchy map, a fifteen-year-old trail description and three contradictory sets of advice from helpful locals, we were off — 600 metres down to the river bed and an eight-hour hike to the village of Llamac, which would be the last "civilization" we'd see for nine days. Resting in Llamac we found, hidden in the small print on the map, an intriguing but less-than-satisfying explanation of the word *Huayhuash*: "the *quechua*

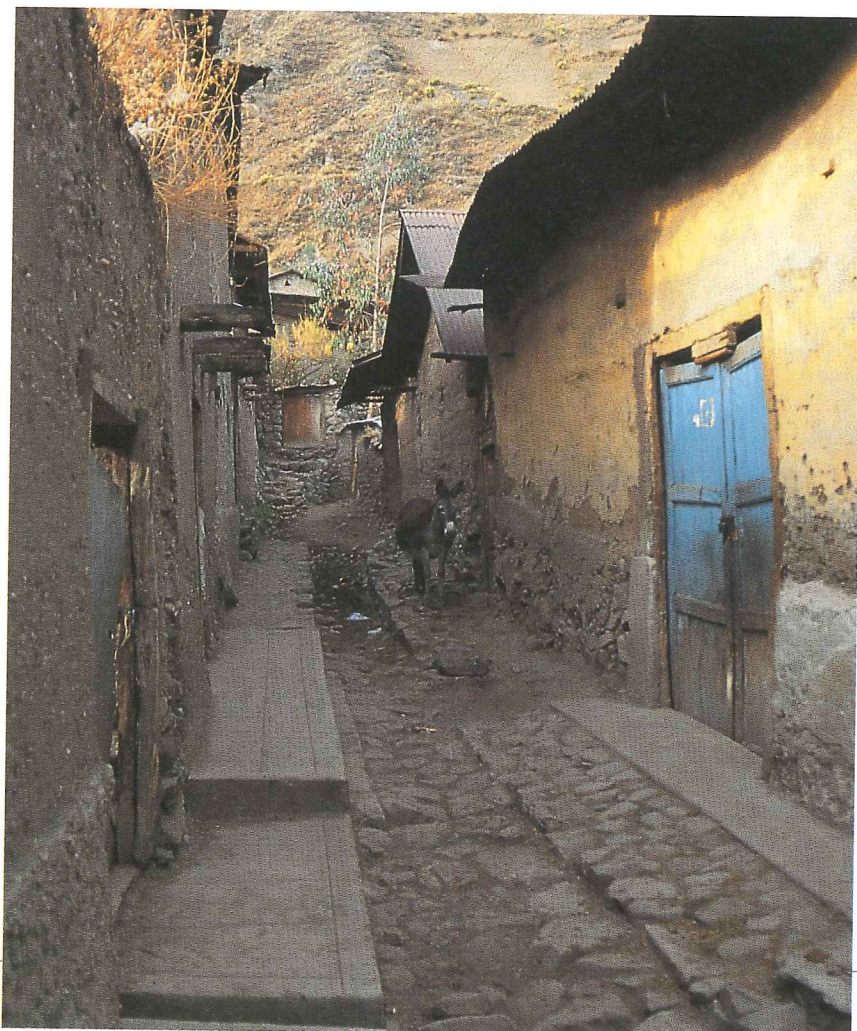
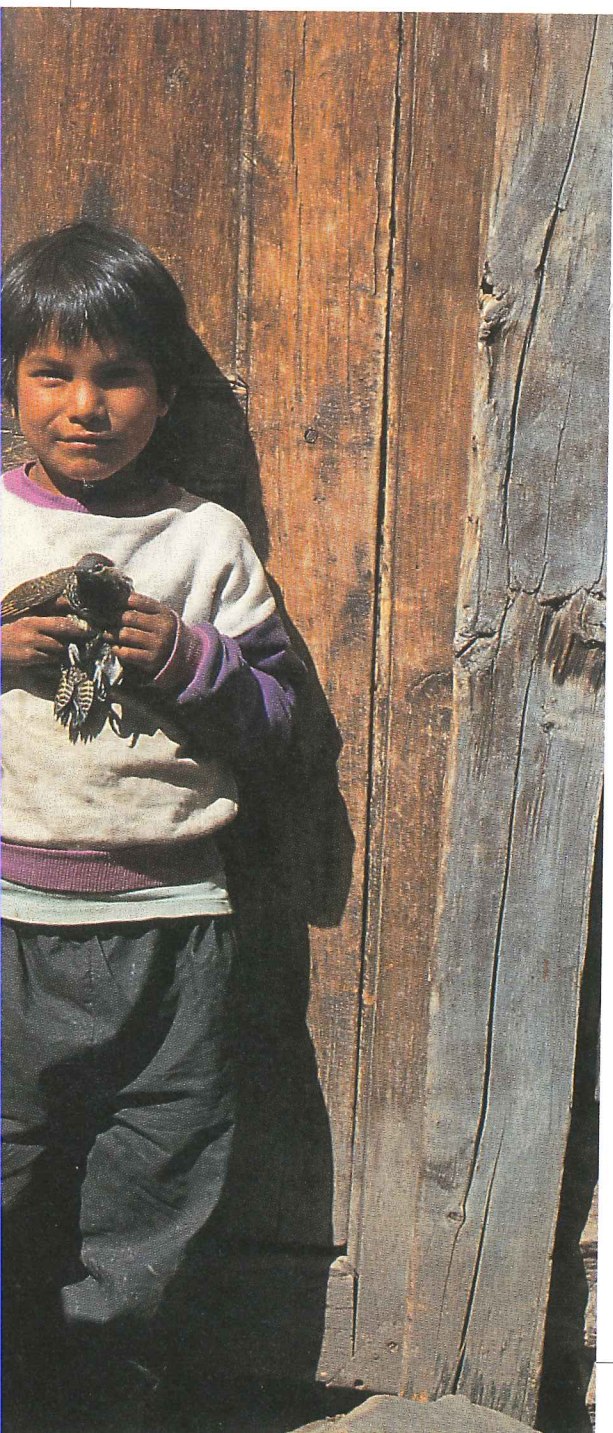
name for the humpbacked animal whose silhouette the *Cordillera* resembles".

We needn't have worried about the *Huayhuash* being overrun with gringos — we didn't see another foreigner during our entire trek — but it was nevertheless obvious that white men had been this way before. Ninety per cent of our conversations with locals were variations upon the following:

- *¿De donde vienen?*
- *Canadá.*
- *¿Caramelos?*
- *No tenemos.*

Jenny had been hopeful of buying a last "Cristal" beer in Llamac, but it was not to be. The entire village had locked up its doors and gone to have a volleyball tournament on the field by the river. Virtually every Peruvian we met in three weeks in the country told us, unsolicited and perhaps lest we were scornful of Peru's failure to qualify for the World Cup, that Peru had the best women's volleyball team in the world. Such was the enthusiasm of the villagers for the sport that the only people we could find were two small girls (presumably rejects from the under-6 team) and a boy with a tame woodpecker.

Below: Parking lot for pregnant donkeys — *Cajatambo*.



At Llamac there began a daily pattern that put our physical fitness severely to the test: steep ascents to passes of at least 4500 metres in altitude followed by equally steep and knee-wrecking descents to our campsites. I could never get used to these ascents: the jogging in Mexico City had been to no avail. An indigenous shepherd woman described one particularly arduous climb of 1300 metres as "*triste*", and this was an apt description of our mornings — typically, I would collapse at the top of each pass feeling sick, with a headache and tingling feet and hands (all classic symptoms of altitude sickness). Jenny, annoyingly, suffered from no such problems and, as I lay comatose, would enthuse over the admittedly remarkable views or point out condors and other rare forms of wildlife (but no *huayhuashes*).

Gradually, as we ate our food supplies and consumed kerosene, the weight of our packs diminished and our leg-muscles hardened. But every day it seemed harder to cram everything in. Jenny ended up hanging so many items to the outside of her pack with bootlaces that I christened her "the walking brothel" (it doesn't sound as bad in Spanish ...).

Typically, we camped on the shores of bright turquoise "*cochas*" — lakes formed by glacier meltwater — at the foot of

astounding snow and ice walls that, as the sun set, would change from dazzling white to orange, pink and, finally, a ghostly grey against the night sky. When, at around 4:30, the sun sank behind the high peaks to the west, the temperature would drop within a few minutes from 10 or 15 celsius to below freezing. On two nights it snowed and we glumly sat in the dark, watching the snow-flakes settle on our meagre portions of soy meat.

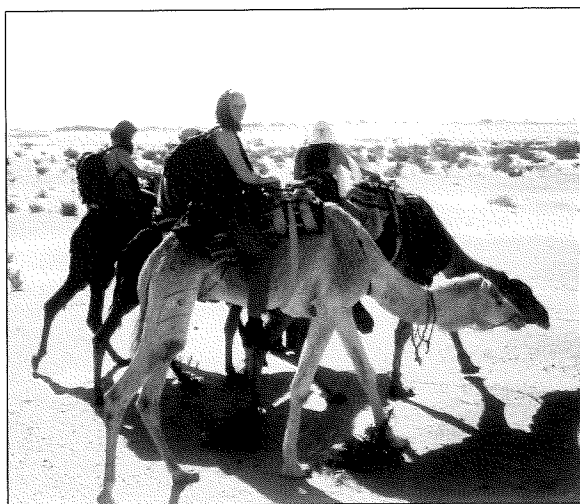
Ninety kilometres out, near Mitacocha Lake, we came across a small adobe shack. Today was the date of the World Cup finals in the USA. "Who's playing?", we asked of the friendly family who lived here. Sweden and Germany, we were assured (incorrectly, it turned out), but did we have any batteries for their radio, which had just given out? Unfortunately we didn't, but we made everybody happy by donating ten matches and buying a couple of litres of fresh milk, some cheese and some potatoes. Antonio — the man of the family — came down later to our campsite and caught a pair of rainbow trout for us. When we settled our account at the end of our stay, Antonio took the change from a dried-up cow's udder.

The family owned a cat called Pedro and four sheepdogs, one of which, with the odd name of Mauser, bit me in the ankle. I asked how the unpleasant Mauser had got his

name, but nobody really seemed to know. Antonio joked nervously that it was probably a corruption of "Mao-Tse-Tung" — not the kind of joke we were keen to hear in *Sendero Luminoso* territory. One of the other dogs was always asleep, and never seemed to do any work. Antonio said he was very old but the family loved him more than any of the other dogs: once when Antonio and his three brothers had been up on the glacier at 6000 metres retrieving climbing ropes, this dog had saved them all by physically pushing them out of the path of an imminent avalanche that only he (the dog) had sensed.

For the last two days of our expedition, we hurried along. This, we were told, was the heart of *Senderista* territory, and the fresh graffiti on a ruined building seemed to indicate that the Government's declaration that the area was now "clear" may have been premature. Finally, after 160 kilometres, back to civilization and a Cristal at the village of Cajatambo. But the warm shower was not to be. Jenny's scream as the glacial water of the *Residencial Miranda* hit her could be heard half way around the *Cordillera*....

Nicholas Coghlan is head of the Mexico Section of the Mexico and South America Relations Division of DFAIT. He remains distrustful of all Peruvian dogs.



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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

Reluctant Exiles? Migration from Hong Kong and the New Overseas Chinese
reviewed by Joanne Pawluk

Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising, and the Arab World
reviewed by Jim Gould

Just a Diplomat
reviewed by Benjamin Rogers

RELUCTANT EXILES? MIGRATION FROM HONG KONG AND THE NEW OVERSEAS CHINESE, edited by Ronald Skeldon. University of Hong Kong Press, 1994. 352 pages, \$25.00 US.

Reviewed by Joanne Pawluk

Joanne Pawluk, Second Secretary, Commission for Canada, Hong Kong. She is presently on her first assignment in Hong Kong.

Are they reluctant exiles or bold pioneers? That's the question writer and editor Ronald Skeldon asks about the record numbers of Hong Kong residents seeking foreign residence and citizenship. In his recently published book *Reluctant Exiles*, this Hong Kong academic and migration specialist has assembled a collection of essays of migration experts from Hong Kong, Canada, the United States, Australia and other immigrant receiving countries.

As a record of Hong Kong emigration, the book is unsurpassed in its scope and detail. It successfully examines different facets of the complex picture of migration from Hong Kong by analyzing the immigration policies of receiving countries, the role of immigration consultants, the effect of emigration on Hong Kong, the overseas settlement of Chinese emigrants and return migration to Hong Kong.

Although *Reluctant Exiles* includes chapters on migration to Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Singapore, and Britain, a large section of the book is devoted to Hong Kong migration to Canada, reflective of the fact that more Hong Kong emigrants go to Canada than any other country. University of British Columbia academics Graham Johnson and Diana Lary put Hong Kong migration to Canada in a historical context by examining changes to Canadian immigration policy and outlining the evolution of Chinese migration to Canada. Lary and Johnson's largely descriptive and non-critical approach is in contrast to the chapter by University of Calgary Anthropology professor Josephine Smart, who takes a

more critical and detailed look at Canada's business migration program. Smart reiterates some of the common criticisms of the program (ie. that the program is being abused and that Canada is selling visas). She also looks at the perception of the investor program on the part of immigrants, who complain that they have no control over how their money is spent and believe that they are being taken advantage of since Canadian immigration policy requires that the funds be invested in risk ventures that will benefit the Canadian economy, not the investor.

The business immigration program, according to Smart, is on the surface a perfect marriage of capital, labour and migration. However she concludes that there are inherent contradictions between a business immigration program and the business immigrant's economic behaviour, given that business requires mobility while migration requires settlement. She contends that the contradictions become apparent through the astronaut phenomenon, the frequent closure of businesses after conditions on permanent residence have been met and high return migration. "Immigration, in the sense of settlement, and business are separate issues, each with its own logic, and they should be respected as such. Forcing these two incompatible issues into a marriage of convenience, as they are in the business immigration program, creates a structural flaw that abuses both the program objectives and the immigrants' best economic interests in Canada."

Smart's conclusions do not take into account the many successful business immigrants who take advantage of Canada's flexible residency requirements to continue carrying on their businesses in Hong Kong or elsewhere in the world and at the same time establish a successful business in Canada. However, even for those business immigrants who are unable to maintain their businesses overseas while residing in Canada, Smart's observations may only be valid for a limited number of business immigrants who are motivated primarily by their business concerns. She does not seem to

acknowledge the fact that many business migrants have more diverse motives in seeking permanent residence abroad. Some seek a better more secure life for themselves and their children, even at the expense of their business interests. Others who seek permanent residence in Canada in order to secure a safe haven after 1997 have no intention of remaining in Canada after they obtain Canadian citizenship. As a result, return migration, the closure of businesses and the astronaut phenomenon may have nothing to do with what she calls the inherent contradictions in the business immigration program and the interests of business migrants, but instead are the result of immigrants' intentions upon arrival in Canada.

Skeldon's theme of reluctant exiles versus bold pioneers emerges in all the essays in *Reluctant Exiles*. Most of the writers echo Skeldon's thesis that migration from Hong Kong is part of a regional pattern in an increasingly international world and that many Hong Kong migrants are willing exiles. Skeldon maintains in his introduction that the chapters in the book neither confirm the paramountcy of 1997 as a reason for migration, nor point to a reluctance to leave Hong Kong.

While it is important to examine Hong Kong migration in an international context and even to challenge the well-accepted notion that 1997 is the driving force, the significance of 1997 is understated in the book. One of the few places in the book where the importance of 1997 is recognized is in a chapter on the characteristics of Hong Kong migrants to Toronto by historians Diana Lary and Bernard Luk. Lary and Luk conclude that Hong Kong emigrants are 'reluctant exiles' and that most left Hong Kong not for economic reasons, but because of 1997. However, the book fails to offer a more detailed examination of the uniqueness of the Hong Kong situation with the impending return to Chinese sovereignty and the implications this has had for the nature of migration from Hong Kong. In doing so, the book does not adequately deal with the possibility that 1997 has created a



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distinct migration dynamic in Hong Kong which is unparalleled elsewhere in the world. Instead, the Hong Kong migration experience is largely interpreted in a way to support a pre-existing theory of migration that visualizes the emergence of transnational citizens in an increasing international world.

Despite these shortcomings, *Reluctant Exiles* is an important work on Hong Kong emigration which can assist in assessing future emigration trends from Hong Kong. Skeldon believes that the future of migration from Hong Kong will depend upon what happens in China. If the present pace of economic reform continues, he expects emigration from Hong Kong to continue at a reduced level. While he acknowledges that 1997 will affect migration from Hong Kong in the short run, he indicates that this will be a relatively minor fluctuation in a long-term shift from emigration in the 1980s to increasing immigration in the 1990s as Hong Kong's population ages, demand for labour increases and its economy moves toward a regional service centre. However he makes it clear that this prediction is only valid if economic reform continues in China; if the economic and political situation in China deteriorates, Skeldon predicts there would be substantial outflows of people from both Hong Kong and China.



CRUELTY AND SILENCE: WAR, TYRANNY, UPRISING, AND THE ARAB WORLD by Kanan Makiya. W.W. Norton & Company, New York. 327 pages, \$13.99.

Reviewed by Jim Gould

Jim Gould, presently Deputy Director in Middle East Relations Division (GMR), has spent most of his career and, indeed, his pre-Department academic life involved with the Middle East. He has served in Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Iraq and Egypt and holds degrees in Arabic studies.

I have read this book three times; twice in the course of preparing this review and once, earlier, when the author was awarded the Gelber prize. Mr. Makiya addresses questions that were troubling for those of us that worked in the Arab world before and during the Gulf War of 1991. The emotions engendered by pictures of Palestinians dancing as the Scuds landed in Israel were nothing compared to the dismay felt by this reviewer and others when friends and acquaintances, (intellectuals, liberals and humanists all) applauded Saddam's invasion of Kuwait because he was supporting "the cause". Did they really believe that Saddam was the

leader the Arabs had been looking for since Nasser? Does the cause justify the means?

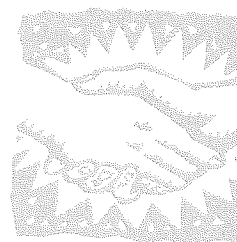
After two sections, the first devoted to personalizing the brutality of the Iraqi regime and the second to outlining the forces that have kept democracy out of Iraqi politics and will continue to do so, the final, third section is the most interesting. It is also the most wide-ranging because Makiya, in trying to explain the *Silence* expands outward from Iraq into the rest of the Arab world. While continuing to focus on Iraq, he draws for examples upon events and policies found elsewhere in the region.

Makiya argues that covering up the cruelty and violence of the Iraqi regime was not just a mistake but a "deep-rooted failure" that must be acknowledged before the Arab people can move on. Violence is widespread in the Arab world. It is also becoming more cruel in its nature. Before the 1967 war the Arab world was no worse than much of the third world in its attitude toward basic human rights. But by the beginning of the Lebanese civil war in 1975 this was changing. The glorification of violence, armed struggle and revolution was growing slowly throughout the region, was increasingly seen as part of the identity of the Arab nation. By the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 90s situations such as that pertaining in Iraq no longer seemed as horrific to the indigenous intellectual community as they did to outsiders. "Ever-increasing denial of ever-growing cruelty has created a completely untenable gap between the way these intellectuals talked and the way their world really is."

After 1967 the debate about the makeup and meaning of Arab cultural nationalism became the only form of political activity to the detriment of human rights and democracy. The West was alleged to be accountable for the ills besetting the region, all focussed upon the continued existence and expansion of Israel, because the West had caused them by bringing Israel into being. The cruelty that was becoming more evident throughout the region was met with silence on the part of the intellectuals, the very persons who should have been most outspoken in rejecting it. Makiya sees this as the true moral collapse which has allowed leaders like Saddam Hussein to exist and grow in power.

Makiya believes that the situation is not irreversible. But Arab intellectuals must stop seeking to place the blame elsewhere, not just for the State of Israel and the plight of the Palestinians, but for every evil that seems to come upon the Arab nation. This must be followed by a revolution against cruelty and its continued existence. 'Arabness' is not an excuse for silence in the face of evil and should not be seen as such.

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Kanan Makiya is not a stranger to controversy. His first book, *The Republic of Fear*, was a critique of the Iraqi regime, its rise to absolute power and its methods of retaining power once gained. It was published under a pseudonym for fear of retaliation. *Cruelty and Silence* has been critically reviewed in recognized academic journals. But, many of these reviews have been written by the very persons whom the book highlights, those Arab intellectuals who see every event in the Arab world through the prism of "the Arab cause". To an outsider their reaction reinforces the arguments of Makiya.

I must acknowledge that the arguments of Makiya are not completely convincing. They are somewhat lost in the verbiage. He repeats himself on several occasions and explains his reasons for writing the book at least twice. One could also have hoped for a clearer expression of the basic thesis. He demonstrates a lack of expertise in his generalizations on culture and psyche. But since Makiya has attempted to stand against a prevailing view and will be castigated for having done so, he deserves enormous credit for having taken on this daunting challenge. Equally the Gelber Prize Committee deserves credit for having recognized the merit of the book. It is unfortunate that the ideas of

the author, while sincerely and articulately put, will almost certainly not be heeded.



JUST A DIPLOMAT by Zeki Kuneralp. The Isis Press, Istanbul, 1992, \$28.00 US.

Reviewed by Benjamin Rogers

Benjamin Rogers is a former Canadian Ambassador to Peru, Turkey, Spain and Italy.

At a reception in Buckingham Palace the Duke of Edinburgh asked the Turkish Ambassador if he had ever been anything other than a diplomat. "No, Your Royal Highness", replied Zeki Kuneralp, "I've done nothing else, I've just been a diplomat". Hence the title of his memoirs. The original Turkish version was published in 1981. Geoffrey Lewis's polished English translation was published in 1992.

After the murder of his father, who, instead of supporting Ataturk, had favoured working with the victorious allies after World War I, Kuneralp and his mother lived in exile, mainly in Switzerland, where he received most of his education. He returned to Turkey in 1938, did his military service, and entered the Foreign Service in 1941. He had a bril-

liant career, in which he served as Ambassador to Switzerland, twice as Ambassador to Britain, twice as Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and, in failing health, as Ambassador to Spain. A year before his retirement in 1978 his wife and her brother were assassinated in Madrid by Armenian terrorists. He resides in Istanbul.

Just a Diplomat is a superb book of diplomatic memoirs, in which the author reveals himself as a modest, highly civilized and very wise man. He gives a fascinating account of his distinguished career, replete with amusing anecdotes, astute comments on Turkish foreign policy and the affairs of the countries in which he served, on the role of a diplomat, and even on the organization of a ministry of foreign affairs and a foreign service.

A few examples give the flavour of the work.

The author tells of a tailor in Berne who called the police to tell them of a suspicious character claiming to be the Turkish Ambassador who had just ordered a suit, speaking perfect schweitzer deutsch.

He recalls that, when his wife was having a baby in Prague, the friend who never left her side was the wife of the Greek First Secretary, and comments:

"This is not to be wondered at; that is how we Turks and Greeks are. As individuals we love and embrace one another; as nations we quarrel and fight.... How sad that in our mutual relations the artificial many a time prevails, inhibiting the natural inclinations."

At another point he recalls that as a senior official he had been intimately involved in foreign policy, but had never inspired it, adding:

"A country's policy runs on rails. These rails are laid by national character, geographical situation and the state of the world. The duty of the people in government is to stop the policy from coming off the rails, that's all."

At the end of the book Kuneralp tells of a lecture that he had given in Madrid on Turkey's current problems and past feats, successes and failures. He had concluded by saying: "No es fácil ser turco". Then he adds: "Yes, it is no easy thing to be a Turk, but is not the privilege of being one all the greater for that?"

Just a Diplomat (paper-back only) may be obtained by sending a money order for \$28.00 US to The Isis Press, Semsibey Sok.10, Beylerbeyi, 81210 Istanbul, Turkey. The publishers say that parcels sent by book post take four to six weeks to reach North America.



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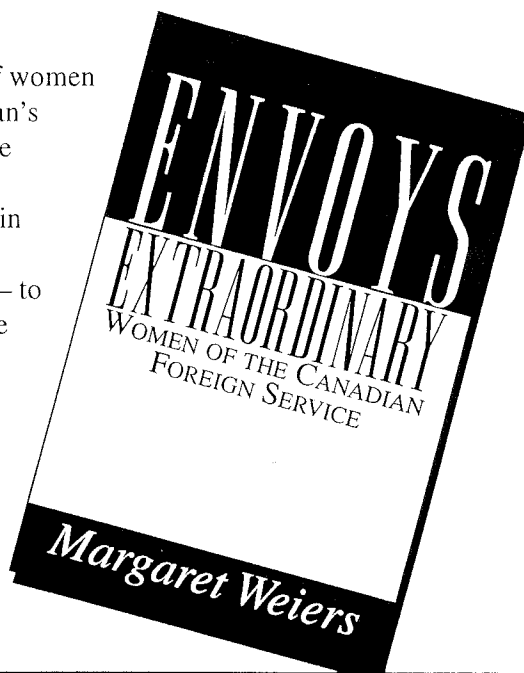
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