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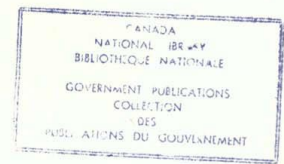


Canadian Immigration Policy

1966

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WHITE PAPER ON IMMIGRATION

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THE HON. JEAN MARCHAND
Minister of Manpower and Immigration

OCTOBER 1966

66-6650 0

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ROGER DUHAMEL, F.R.S.C.
Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery
Ottawa, Canada

Reprinted 1967

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose

1. There is a general awareness among Canadians that the present Immigration Act no longer serves national needs adequately, but there is no consensus on the remedy.

2. This White Paper is intended to assist public discussion, in and out of Parliament. It attempts both an analysis of the problem and a statement of the principles and policies which the Government believes should be embodied in new immigration legislation.

Issues

3. There is little dissent from the proposition that Canada still needs immigrants. The question is what number and kind of immigrants should be sought in the years ahead, and from what sources.

4. The Government's view is that it is in Canada's interest to accept, and if need be to encourage, the entry to this country each year of as many immigrants as can be readily absorbed. Subject to this limitation, we should accept or seek out people who have the capability to adapt themselves successfully to Canadian economic and social conditions. The only people who should be deliberately excluded are those who are likely to lack this adaptability or who represent a danger to public health or safety. There should also be provision, within this policy, for the movement to Canada of persons deserving of permanent admission for compassionate or humanitarian reasons irrespective of their personal abilities.

5. Immigration procedures must implement this general policy and at the same time provide for the necessary associated regulation of the temporary entry of the large number of people who visit Canada every

year on business or for pleasure. The procedures therefore have to provide practical resolutions of two basic issues:

- (a) Who specifically should be permanently admissible to Canada; and who should not?
- (b) What measures of selection and control are required to distinguish between the two categories fairly and effectively, and to provide at the same time for the entry of visitors?

6. The answers to the basic questions depend on a complex inter-relationship of economic, social and humanitarian considerations. However, it should be said, as a matter of principle, that the answers must involve no discrimination by reason of race, colour or religion, and consequently that they must be universally applicable.

II

CONSIDERATIONS AFFECTING IMMIGRATION POLICY

7. Immigration has made a major contribution to the national objectives of maintaining a high rate of population and economic growth and thus of strengthening our position of independence and our ability to follow a course of friendly co-operation with like-minded countries of the world. Without a substantial continuing flow of immigrants, it is doubtful that we could sustain the high rate of economic growth and the associated cultural development which are essential to the maintenance and development of our national identity beside the economic and cultural pulls of our neighbour to the South.

8. To remain of positive value, however, immigration policy must be consistent with national economic policy in general and with national manpower and social policies in particular, and it must be related to the conditions of national and international life in 1966 and the years ahead, rather than to past events. The desire of families to be together is important, as is the humanitarian instinct of Canadians to be of assistance to people of other lands who need a place of refuge and a chance to rebuild their lives. In the final analysis, however, there is unlikely to be general support for any immigration policy which appears to favour local or sectional rather than national interests or to ignore the economic and social facts of life as they are revealed daily to Canadians in terms of employment, educational opportunities, welfare programs and taxes.

Economic Factors

9. Canada is an under-populated country by most standards of measurement. It must appear almost barren of people to many of the countries of Africa and Asia with their teeming millions, and indeed to some of the densely populated countries elsewhere. Many Canadians are attracted to the theory that to fill up our empty spaces as rapidly as possible with any and all immigrants willing to cast their lot with us would serve not only the humanitarian purpose of helping to redress

the world's population imbalance but also the national economic goal of providing an enlarged market for domestic production.

10. A bigger population means increased domestic markets for our industries. A larger home market permits manufacturing firms to undertake longer, lower-cost production runs, and it broadens the range of industry we can undertake economically; for both these reasons, population increase in turn improves our competitive position in world markets. A bigger population also yields lower per capita costs of government, transportation and communications, and stimulates the development of more specialized services. These are the very important economic reasons why immigration tends to increase the real income per person available to all Canadians.

11. Some people conclude that we should open our doors wide to a very large flow of immigrants. Since most of our country is still thinly populated, they think it possible for Canada in the latter part of the twentieth century to benefit from an immigration movement comparable to that which, in the nineteenth century, helped to push forward the frontier and populate the great cities of the United States. The fact, however, is that economic conditions have changed. We do not have a frontier open to new agricultural settlement. Our people are moving off the land, not on to it. We are not a country of virgin lands and forests waiting to be settled by anyone with a strong back and a venturesome spirit. Despite its low population density, Canada has become a highly complex industrialized and urbanized society. And such a society is increasingly demanding of the quality of its work force. If those entering the work force, whether native-born or immigrants, do not have the ability and training to do the kinds of jobs available, they will be burdens rather than assets. Today, Canada's expanding industrial economy offers most of its employment opportunities to those with education, training, skill. The so-called white collar workers are now the dominant manpower group. They are over 40% of the total. This group is expanding at about twice the rate of the Canadian labour force as a whole, and at about four times the rate of the manual group. Within the manual group, a variety of skilled trades are expanding but the need for unskilled workers is declining. Indeed, despite the high rate of our economic growth, total employment for manual and primary workers together has hardly expanded at all over the past decade. This pattern of increasing demand for workers with a relatively high level of education and training, and of a static or decreasing requirement for the unskilled or semi-skilled, shows no signs of changing in the foreseeable future.

12. The Canadian economy has a large segment exposed to world competition. Industries in this segment, even more than others, require, by and large, highly qualified workers to achieve the level of productivity necessary to survive. The semi-skilled and the unskilled workers in the labour force, while stimulating demand, play primarily a supporting role in our productive activities. This is the economic fact to which the manpower supplies created by natural population increase and immigration have to conform. If they do not, unemployment will be a persistent problem and a substantial minority of Canadians will be unable to share in the living standards of an affluent society.

13. It has become almost a truism that in the new economy of an advanced technology, a great many people will have to master more than one occupation during their working lives. Continuing technological change will create new occupations, re-shape many existing jobs, and cause some types of work to become obsolete. This process will offer new opportunities to many workers, but will also result in the involuntary displacement of others. The productive worker in this changing environment will be the one with the basic education or training to adapt himself to new circumstances, to learn new skills, and to profit from new opportunities. The unproductive worker, exposed to unemployment, will be the under-educated one who lacks capacity for learning new, more complex skills.

14. It is hard for any educational system to keep pace with rapid changes in the world of work. The schools may turn out people who are well qualified for the jobs that exist at the time they leave school. But by the time those people reach their thirties and forties, many of them may be poorly educated and trained in relation to the more complex requirements of the new world of work. The modern economy thus requires large investments in adult education, up-grading the basic skills and technical training of the existing work force. Governments in Canada have developed extensive programs for this purpose, and it is generally agreed that more must be done. This national effort to improve the employability and the productivity of the work force should not be offset by immigration policy, as it would be if a large proportion of immigrants were unskilled. The requirement for economic efficiency and progress is, on the contrary, that manpower and immigration policies should be closely related parts of a single endeavour. We need people who will, by their skill and adaptability, complement, in the most productive way possible, the training, employment and movement of workers who are already here.

15. Most immigrants coming to Canada to work are therefore selected in accordance with carefully established criteria and are encouraged to settle in places where a known demand exists for their talents. Such immigrants tend readily to stimulate economic growth through the contribution of skills, ideas, new techniques, or financial investment. Others are able to fill specific shortages of professional or skilled manpower in the national labour force. The high cost of training professional and skilled people—engineers, doctors, skilled technicians, etc.—is a measure of the benefit derived from the arrival in Canada of appropriate numbers of already-trained professional and technical personnel. Much the same may be said of the advantages conferred on Canada by immigrants with capital or entrepreneurial skills.

16. In parenthesis, it must be recognized that the value to Canada of the skilled immigrant depends in part on how he is received. Some professional associations, trade unions and provincial licensing authorities are not as ready as they might be to recognize qualifications earned in another country. Consequently some immigrants are not able to follow their own occupation on arrival here and must accept alternative employment at least until they are able to meet the applicable Canadian standards. In most cases such difficulties do turn out to be only a temporary obstacle to their successful establishment. In principle, it is the same problem which many native-born Canadians face in moving from one province to another. It must be hoped that this problem will be overcome as the leaders of public opinion come to recognize the economic advantage of more mobility, particularly among professional people and skilled workers, both nationally and internationally. Meantime this problem lessens the immediate economic benefits of immigration, but fortunately does not destroy them; for the educated or trained person is usually capable of turning his hand to more than one productive activity.

Migrant Patterns and Supply

17. Under the present Immigration Act and Regulations, there are essentially two admissible classes of immigrant:

- (a) The unsponsored, or selected, immigrant who by virtue of his education, training, skill or other special qualification has the personal attributes to establish himself and his family successfully in Canada without significant assistance from anyone else;

- (b) The sponsored, or unselected, immigrant who is eligible to come to Canada because he has a close relative here who is ready and able to assist him in becoming established.

18. Since the end of the Second World War, Canada has received more than 2,500,000 immigrants, over 900,000 of whom were sponsored. During the past two or three years, there has been an encouraging annual increase in the total number of immigrants arriving in Canada, approximately 40% of them sponsored. The unsponsored immigrants have come mainly from the countries of northern and western Europe. The majority of the sponsored have been drawn from southern Europe, primarily as a result of the influx of immigrants from the underdeveloped rural parts of this region in the early post-war years, the strong family relationships in those areas, and the economic pressures to emigrate from them.

19. The existing sponsorship system has a bias in favour of immigrants from Europe and the Americas. There is a further bias within this group. Unsponsored immigration from Communist countries has been held to a negligible level in the interests of national security; and for the same reason successive Governments have thought it prudent also to restrict sponsored immigration from such countries to a limited range of dependent or very close relatives. The impact of this unfortunate necessity has been felt mainly by Canadians wishing to bring relatives from eastern Europe. Another influence on the sources of immigration is that only recently have the Department's staff resources in southern European countries become sufficient to seek out qualified unsponsored immigrants as well as deal with the heavy volume of sponsored applications.

20. The existing pattern of immigration seems bound to change in some degree even without any positive action on Canada's part. Europe by and large has become fairly prosperous. Professional people, the well educated and the highly skilled are as much in demand there as in Canada. Other countries, notably Australia, are in competition with us for immigrants. Many of the best qualified are attracted by the opportunities open in the United States.

21. This is not to say that the supply of migrants has dried up, or will do so. It does mean that more effort will be required in future to attract the immigrants most needed by the economy. It also means that, increasingly, we will have to explore new sources of well-qualified immigrants and, where the explorations are encouraging, develop them into a definite and continuing program, and that the counselling,

assistance and general welcome given to immigrants must be of an order calculated to encourage others to follow them.

22. Perhaps the most fundamental point is that, in a world in which immigrants of the quality required by Canada are relatively scarce, we cannot expect to recruit them on an erratic basis. If we were to promote immigration one year and discourage it the next year, turning the tap on and off in response to short-term economic conditions in Canada, we could not expect to get much high-quality immigration. For qualified people, who are reasonably assured of success in their original countries, migration is a complex and highly personal decision, compounded of economic inducements, political circumstances, social pressures and dissatisfactions, family traditions, ambitions, adventurous spirits. The successful promotion of immigration requires capitalization on these factors as they affect skilled people. This cannot be achieved by sporadic action. A selective immigration policy today must be planned as a steady policy of recruitment based on long-term considerations of economic growth.

23. This factor is rather easy to overlook when the economy is particularly buoyant and there are, therefore, serious labour shortages even in many unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, particularly those which pay low wages or are otherwise unattractive. There is, naturally, a strong desire to bring in immigrants for such jobs. In the short run, production would be increased; everyone would benefit. But it is highly probable that, with technological developments and economic changes, the work for which such immigrants are recruited will in time slacken off. The damage is not undone by closing the tap when that time comes. The under-skilled immigrants are here. At that point, they are not an economic asset. They are, on the contrary, an addition to the very difficult problems of human adjustment posed by our flexible economy and the need for up-grading skills in order efficiently to meet the requirements of new technology. In short, if large numbers of unskilled immigrants come to Canada when the economy is particularly buoyant, the problems of poverty exposed by any economic readjustment will be more severe.

Selection and Sponsorship

24. The considerations advanced in previous sections do not mean that immigration of workers should be strictly confined to those who are highly skilled. That would be an over-statement even of the purely

economic considerations. Moreover, it would be neither humane nor practicable. What the economic considerations do mean is, firstly, that we should vigorously recruit educated and skilled immigrants on a steady basis; and, secondly, that we have to be on our guard against admitting large numbers, or greatly fluctuating numbers, of uneducated and unskilled immigrants.

25. The immigrants who enter our labour force without qualifications of education or skill are those who are sponsored by relatives in Canada. There is, even in strictly economic terms, an important positive aspect of the sponsorship system. The immigrant who joins relatives already established in Canada has someone to whom he can turn with confidence for guidance and assistance in adjusting himself to new surroundings and in finding suitable work. There is bound to be a period of adjustment for every migrant, however well qualified he may be, and the help of relatives is undoubtedly of material and significant advantage in making the adjustment. The value of such assistance cannot be measured quantitatively, but there is no doubt that it is often an offset, in some degree, to the lack of education or training which would otherwise hamper an immigrant's establishment. Thus, the potential economic and social adaptability of a prospective immigrant can reasonably be assessed not only in terms of his own personal qualities but in terms also of the kind and amount of assistance available to him from relatives already established in Canada.

26. This balance is reflected in the fact that the great majority of the sponsored workers who have come to Canada in the post-war years have not experienced serious difficulty in finding useful employment in a buoyant economy. What is required for a sound balance is not, however, fixed and unchanging. It is as certain as any economic prediction can be that, with accelerating technological change, proportionately fewer and fewer jobs will be open to people with little education. This is the demand side of the economic equation. The cause for concern is that, on the supply side, the sponsorship system at present contains a powerful growth factor.

27. The problem of sponsorship does not—it must be emphasized—apply to dependents of the immigrant, most of whom will not—immediately at any rate—be entering the labour force. We cannot expect to bring workers to Canada without also welcoming their dependents. The family in this sense normally means wife and children, but dependents may also be elderly parents or grandparents, or they may be younger relatives who are orphaned. The economic problem

relates to the sponsorship of non-dependent relatives, seeking an immediate place in the labour market. These are mostly adult sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters. Such sponsorship has a potential for explosive growth. One skilled immigrant comes to Canada and quickly establishes himself. Very soon, he can sponsor the immigration of his brothers and sisters and his wife's brothers and sisters. They do not have to meet any standards of education or skill. They bring their wives and husbands. Possibly quite soon, the wives and husbands of the brothers and sisters of the original immigrant and of his wife can sponsor *their* brothers and sisters, again without any requirement of education or skill. Then it is the turn of the brothers and sisters of the husbands and wives of the second group of brothers and sisters; and so on, in ever-widening circles. All this movement can take place without being related in any way to the qualifications that the people concerned are going to need in order to hold a steady and productive place in the labour force of the future Canadian economy. Whatever view may be taken as to the appropriate solution, no one can deny that here, obviously, is a developing economic problem which, in the interests of the immigrants themselves as well as of Canadians generally, we have to recognize and deal with.

Cultural and Social Factors

28. The social and cultural impact of immigration is more difficult to assess than its economic influence. But there is no doubt of its general significance. The Canadian population has become much more cosmopolitan in the last twenty years, and thereby there has undoubtedly been a qualitative improvement in the variety and richness of our cultural life.

29. The contrary fears that are sometimes expressed have no basis in post-war experience. Any serious social malaise created by immigration would be reflected in the usually sensitive social indicators of crime, mental illness and suicide. It is significant, therefore, that criminality among the foreign-born in the 1950's was only half that among the native-born. The rate of mental illness among immigrants, as well as among Canadians generally, is low. The suicide rate in Canada is the lowest of any advanced industrialized state.

30. It is also a fact that the majority of immigrants have adapted themselves well to their new surroundings, have fitted readily into our general standards of behaviour and have accepted our major institutions as worthy of their support. This is reflected in the fact that, as the

1961 Census showed, Canada retains 75% or more of its immigrants, six to eight per cent move to the United States, and the remainder go back to their own countries. Many of these repatriates are motivated by personal or family reasons rather than dissatisfaction, and some hope eventually to return. The real failures—those who are not reasonably satisfied with life in this country—are a small minority.

31. The immigrants who have come to Canada since 1946 have settled more widely throughout the country than in any previous period of immigration history. They contributed 26% to the Yukon's growth from 1951 to 1961, for example, 53% to Toronto's and almost 100% to that of isolated Kitimat. Nonetheless, there has been a strong tendency for immigrants to congregate in the large cities, notably Toronto and Montreal, because of the inter-relationship between the concentration of economic opportunities in those places and the sponsorship system. By its nature sponsorship brings migrants to live with and to be helped by relatives, and therefore intensifies the economic pull of the large urban areas.

32. The concentrations of immigrants are not necessarily bad, so long as they result from choice or family relationships rather than neglect or discrimination. But they do raise problems of housing, education and welfare. Such problems, to date, have not been unmanageable, but they could become so if the rate of immigration should get out of balance with the development of our social facilities.

33. Migrants have found initial security in neighbourhoods occupied largely by people of the same ethnic origin. These neighbourhoods serve as natural reception and orientation centres. As a general rule the deterioration of properties in such areas is checked and even reversed as the immigrant succeeds economically. There is a constant movement of population as individuals or groups move out to better neighbourhoods and more immigrants arrive; and the sustained demand has its effect on the maintenance of property values. There is a fine balance to be maintained in this process, however. It depends on a low proportion of economic failures. The migrant who lacks the skills or competitive qualifications to establish his economic position will tend to become a permanent inhabitant of the ethnic concentration area to which he has first migrated. If many fail to move on, the balance will be upset and we will find ourselves with ghetto-like slums, with all they entail in human misery and increased welfare costs. This danger would be increased if there were a rate of immigrant movement into urban areas seriously out of proportion to the availability of housing or educational facilities.

34. There is a broader consideration affecting the distribution of immigrants. While it has been spread more widely since the war than often in the past, it is still true to say that immigration effectively begins at the island of Montreal and goes west. The rate of immigration to areas east of the Ottawa River is generally low. Thus, disproportionately little of our immigration increases our French-speaking population. This is largely because France, for many years now, has felt for itself a problem of relatively declining population and therefore has been much more discouraging of emigration than a country such as Britain. However, it also appears that some potential immigrants have felt that Quebec has provided a less favourable environment for immigrants than have most of the English-speaking provinces. Accordingly, while a good many immigrants arrive with little knowledge of either of our official languages, English is the language that is most often learned. This is an imbalance which the Government is anxious to correct by any practicable means.

Humanitarian Aspects

35. More than 300,000 refugees have been admitted to Canada since 1946 without regard to the normal conditions applicable to immigrants. Many sponsored relatives have been accepted for humanitarian reasons, despite their inability to comply in one way or another with ordinary requirements, for the sake of keeping families together or re-uniting them.

36. There will be a continuing humanitarian obligation to accept individuals or families who have fled their own country for one reason or another. However, neither the extent of the obligation nor our capacity to fulfil it can be predicted with any accuracy. The former depends essentially on conditions from time to time throughout the world or in particular countries. The latter is contingent on the Canadian economic, social and political structure remaining strong and healthy. Similarly, there is no way of determining in advance how many incapacitated members of families otherwise desirable as immigrants ought to be admitted from year to year. Such cases can only be determined on their own merits. The important thing is to retain the capacity to make exceptions in deserving circumstances without having the exceptions become the rule.

37. Our past policies on refugees have tended to be unplanned in the sense that by and large they have been reactions to emergencies,

such as the Hungarian revolution, or to appeals for aid by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. If Canada is to accept its fair share of international responsibility for refugees, including the sick and handicapped, more formal arrangements than now exist are required, including the annual appropriation of funds on a continuing basis.

International Implications

38. Canada's willingness to participate generously in refugee programs has important international implications. So also does our basic immigration policy, which can be a means of fostering friendly relationships with other countries or can produce bitterness and resentment. While it is primarily a matter of domestic concern to decide the number and types of immigrants to be received, the country of origin rightfully wishes to ensure that its citizens are not deceived or exploited and that its own interests are not adversely affected by promotional activities within its borders. Any discrimination, in the selection of immigrants, creates strong resentments in international relations.

39. Only the individual can decide whether to leave one country for another willing to accept him. There is little scope for bilateral or multilateral governmental agreements designed to regulate what is essentially a natural movement stemming from a multitude of individual choices. It is the Government's policy to refrain from such agreements, which would introduce an element of rigidity and formality into an otherwise largely spontaneous movement. More will be done to maintain and improve international relations by removing the last vestiges of discrimination from immigration legislation and regulations, by continuing to respect the wishes of other countries as to the extent of our promotional activity, and by ensuring a high standard of protection and a ready welcome for all acceptable immigrants of whatever origin.

III

ADMISSIBLE CLASSES

Immigrants

40. Canada has been built by people with the courage to move to a new land. Today new blood, new ideas, new enthusiasms refresh and invigorate our land and people. We are still a flexible society whose development—social, cultural and economic—needs and can richly absorb the contributions of immigrants. The annual arrival of substantial numbers of immigrants with qualifications suited to our developing economy will stimulate further growth, increase productivity, make our economy more flexible and responsive to change, generate employment and improve the competitive efficiency of our industries. It is because immigration is such a vital factor in Canadian growth and development—because it affects so many lives—that immigration must be carefully planned and administered. It must be closely related to truly national objectives. This does not mean that the planning need be inhuman or the administration unfeeling. On the contrary, it means that, to the best of our ability, immigration policy and procedure should accord with the basic principles of humanity and justice which Canadians demand in their national endeavours.

41. Beneficial though immigration is, there obviously is an upper limit to the rate at which immigrants can be absorbed and make their maximum contribution. This absorptive capacity is not, however, a statistic. The number of immigrants who can be absorbed depends on the level of their qualifications and how adaptable to Canadian society they are. Our complex, urbanised, affluent economy, operating with rapid technological change, imposes on people a need to respond to economic changes, to learn and re-learn skills, to re-train for new jobs, quite unlike what was required in the past. The modern problem of poverty is, very largely, the problem of people who for one reason or another are unable to make these adjustments. Immigration will not

add to this problem—on the contrary, it will strengthen our ability to overcome the problem—provided that most immigrants are adaptable to economic changes. And while there is no perfect measure of adaptability, the best indication we have is a man's basic educational level: it is this that best enables him to learn the changing specific skills that are in demand at different times.

42. These considerations set limits to the number of sponsored immigrants who can be absorbed without regard to their qualifications. The limitation does not, of course, apply to sponsored immigrants who are not entering the labour force, who are coming as the dependents of other immigrants or of Canadian citizens. True dependents normally accompany the head of the family migrating to Canada. Whether they do so or not, there should be no restriction on the time of their arrival. The head of the family will be responsible for his dependents wherever they may be, and it is for him to decide when to have them join him in Canada. If the head of a family qualifies for admission, his dependents should—with rare exceptions for special reasons—be accepted as part of a social and economic unit. Such dependents are normally wives and minor children, but they may also be elderly parents or grandparents and, occasionally, orphaned children who are grandsons or granddaughters, or nieces or nephews, or brothers or sisters of the head of the family or his wife.

43. There is a clear distinction between these dependents and other relatives who are coming to Canada to enter the labour force themselves. As was pointed out earlier, such relatives do have an advantage in adapting to Canada. But, in order to provide them with worthwhile assistance, the sponsor should be well established himself, economically, socially and culturally, and should have identified himself as a person who has made Canada permanently his country. In becoming a Canadian citizen, an immigrant demonstrates that he has decided to sink his roots here, that he is prepared to accept responsibility, and that he thereby is entitled to the privileges of a citizen.

44. It normally takes five years to qualify for citizenship. After this period, a sponsor should be able to give to non-dependent relatives wishing to join him in Canada a degree of assistance sufficient to offset any difficulties they might otherwise encounter by not having the education, training or skill of the unsponsored immigrant. Even assistance of this order, however, will be of little avail unless the prospective immigrant himself possesses at least the minimum qualifications required

by native-born Canadians to participate usefully in our social and economic life. Hence, the non-dependent relatives sponsored by Canadian citizens should be literate in their own language and, if potential workers, should have some minimum educational or occupational qualification.

45. A sponsorship system of the kind suggested by these considerations has the advantage that it can practicably be made non-discriminatory. That is, Canadian citizens can enjoy the same rights whatever the countries of origin of relatives they wish to sponsor. It also becomes practicable to round out the admissible classes by permitting sponsorship of some relatives—such as unmarried nephews and nieces—who are not now allowed but for whose admission there are sometimes strong humanitarian reasons.

46. If citizenship is a condition of sponsoring non-dependent relatives, the sponsored movement will lose its potential for explosive growth. If each successive link in the chain requires five years to forge—while the immigrant becomes a citizen before he becomes a sponsor—we will not continue to face the dilemma that unskilled workers may be an increasing part of the immigration movement although the proportion of jobs that require little education or skill is declining. In other words, it will be much more likely that the immigration movement will accord with the kinds of work for which the economy's absorptive capacity is high. In achieving this objective it will, of course, be important to have a transitional period during which immigrants already in Canada will be in the same position as citizens.

47. In accordance with the various considerations described above, the Government intends to divide the admissible classes into three groups: the unsponsored immigrant; the true dependent; other eligible relatives. Under the planned new arrangements:

- (a) Unsponsored immigrants will continue as at present to be admissible on their own personal merits from any country, together with accompanying spouse and unmarried sons or daughters under the age of 21. The admissible unsponsored immigrant will be defined as a person who, by reason of his educational or occupational qualifications, personal history and employment record, is likely to be able to establish himself permanently in Canada in a profession, trade, self-operated business or agricultural enterprise, and who is capable of supporting himself and his immediate family while he is so establishing himself, or who has sufficient means to establish himself as a retired person.

- (b) Any person legally admitted to Canada for permanent residence, irrespective of his country of origin will be entitled to sponsor as of right:
 - (i) husband or wife;
 - (ii) unmarried son or daughter under 21;
 - (iii) fiancé or fiancée, with accompanying unmarried son or daughter under 21;
 - (iv) parent or grandparent not entering the labour force;
 - (v) orphan grandson, granddaughter, brother, sister, nephew or niece under 16 years of age who has lost both parents, subject to provincial laws governing child welfare.
- (c) Any Canadian citizen of five years' residence, irrespective of his country or origin, will have the privilege of sponsoring in addition to the relatives in (b):
 - (i) son or daughter of any age with accompanying spouse and unmarried children under 21;
 - (ii) brother or sister with accompanying spouse and unmarried children under 21;
 - (iii) parent or grandparent (irrespective of entry to the labour force);
 - (iv) unmarried nephew or niece under 21;
 provided the prospective immigrant over 12 years of age is literate in his or her own language and, if male, has or can attain by age 16 the equivalent of seven years' schooling in Canada, or is qualified in an occupation designated by the Deputy Minister of Manpower and Immigration to be in demand in Canada.
- (d) Any person who has been legally admitted to Canada for permanent residence on or before the day on which this White Paper is tabled will, for a period of six years, be considered a citizen for the purposes of sub-section (c).

Non-Immigrants

48. The people who come to Canada each year as non-immigrants will continue to outnumber by a large margin the annual flow of immigrants. In 1965, for example, nearly 34,300,000 non-immigrants entered Canada. Approximately 57,000 were citizens or residents of the

United States on their way home from abroad or other persons traveling through Canada to the United States. Of the remainder, as might be expected, some 33,800,000 came from the United States for one temporary purpose or another. The substantial residue of over 400,000 came from almost every other country of the world, but mainly Europe.

49. The non-immigrants who are admissible under existing legislation include diplomatic or consular officials, military personnel, tourists or visitors, travellers in transit, clergymen, students, entertainers, businessmen, seasonal workers, seamen on shore leave, persons requiring medical treatment. This is a comprehensive list. The great majority of non-immigrants, however, come simply as tourists or visitors.

50. The problem is not that there are too few or too many admissible classes of non-immigrants but rather that there has been an unfortunate tendency on the part of some would-be immigrants to misuse the non-immigrant procedures by entering Canada ostensibly as visitors and then refusing to go home. As was announced on July 8 last, special steps are being taken by the Government to deal with the abnormally large number of visitors already here who have sought immigrant status. The challenge for the future is to prevent a recurrence of the problem without restricting the categories of non-immigrants or discouraging genuine visitors from coming to Canada.

51. The reasons which prompt people to by-pass the normal immigration system may be as simple as an unwillingness to wait for an examination overseas or as calculated as knowledge or fear of inadmissibility. Whatever the reason in individual cases, such irregularities are unfair to the majority who follow the rules and they could result in a complete loss of control over the number, quality, and source of immigrants.

52. Some of those who come to Canada legitimately, for some temporary purpose, decide for a variety of reasons to settle here, and the privilege of doing so ought to be recognized both in law and practice. It is the Government's view, however, that a non-immigrant who is seeking to by-pass normal immigration procedures ought not to be accommodated, unless some exceptional circumstance prevented him from applying as an immigrant in the normal way. The grant of immigrant status should therefore apply only to visitors who would have been admitted as unsponsored immigrants if they had applied as such originally, or who were—before they came—the spouses of Canadian residents, or their children. It is proposed that, while such people may be granted immigrant status, their "landing" will be deferred for one

year from the date on which permanent admission is approved, and this approval may be revoked if the year should produce reason for doing so.

53. This administrative policy is already being introduced in practice, but it would be further facilitated by some small amendment of the Immigration Act.

Refugees

54. Because of the peculiar problems of refugees, and to permit the ordinary standards and procedures applicable to immigrants and non-immigrants to be set aside or relaxed on their behalf, it is proposed to introduce separate legislation to help refugees. This would set forth the financial and other arrangements for receiving refugees and the responsibilities of the various departments and agencies of government concerned.

55. It is also intended that Canada should accede to the 1951 International Convention on the Status of Refugees and become a party to the 1957 Hague Agreement on Refugee Seamen, thereby accepting the internationally recognized standards for dealing with refugees. It may also be desirable to establish a Refugee Eligibility Commission, with authority to decide whether an individual applying for asylum is entitled to refugee status. This Commission would work closely with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

IV

PROHIBITED CLASSES

56. A person eligible to enter Canada as an immigrant or non-immigrant may in fact have to be excluded because he is a danger to public health or safety. The problem is to describe precisely the categories of persons who represent such a threat and to ensure that the reasons for prohibition remain an accurate reflection of true dangers. In both respects, the present Immigration Act is in need of some revision.

57. The existing prohibited classes, broadly speaking, include mentally or physically defective and diseased persons, criminals, members of subversive organizations, spies or saboteurs, and a variety of morally or socially undesirable persons, including public charges. The immigrant and the non-immigrant are equally prohibited on most counts. This is neither practical nor realistic. It is impossible to screen in a thorough way the great number of non-immigrants who come to Canada each year. In any event, with a few exceptions, the person who intends to stay here only a short time does not create the same dangers as the immigrant of comparable health or character. Moreover, it frequently happens that a non-immigrant wishing to enter Canada for a perfectly respectable purpose under reliable auspices is found to be prohibited for, say, a criminal offence many years ago or membership in an organization labelled subversive. In such circumstances, a blind eye must be turned to the law, or the individual must be denied entry to the embarrassment of all concerned.

58. Scientific knowledge and medical skill have reduced substantially the element of risk once inherent in certain illnesses. The present grounds for prohibition do not altogether reflect this advance. Nor are they altogether in line with modern medical and sociological concepts, particularly in respect of mental illness and epilepsy. Persons actually insane or suffering from contagious or infectious diseases ought not to be admitted as immigrants or non-immigrants, unless they are coming to Canada by previous arrangement and under proper safeguards to

take treatment. However, an illness that has been cured or brought under control, to the point where no danger to public health or safety exists, should not be a bar to either temporary or permanent admission. Nor should mental or physical defectives be excluded for that reason alone, but only if they represent a danger to society or are not assured of private care.

59. The grounds for refusing admission to criminals, on the other hand, need to be broadened. International crime is so organized today that the leaders frequently escape conviction or even detection for the crimes they instigate and profit from. Moreover, Canada is altogether too convenient a place of refuge for criminals of all kinds who find it prudent to avoid the law enforcement agencies in their own countries. It seems essential, therefore, to include in the prohibited classes the person who is known or suspected on reasonable grounds to be associated with criminals or who is a fugitive from justice, even though not actually convicted of any specific crime.

60. Subversion, in various aspects, constitutes grounds for refusing a person admission. These provisions are difficult to administer and in some respects are repugnant to the cherished beliefs of many Canadians. In the world as it is, however, there is an ever present threat to national security from extremists who are favourably inclined towards, or acting as the paid agents of, unfriendly countries. Real security risks may not turn up very often among persons seeking admission to Canada, but there must be legal provision for their exclusion when they are discovered. Moreover, the mere prohibition of such persons, if not a major deterrent, at least avoids the appearance of an open invitation to those who are disposed to subvert Canadian institutions and democratic processes or to spy for a foreign power. At the same time, it is important that recognition be given to the fact that the holding or expression of unpopular opinions, or sympathy with such opinions, is not in itself indicative of subversive activity.

61. Persons who are undesirable on moral or social grounds ought to be excluded as immigrants but not necessarily as non-immigrants, although any such flexibility must be balanced by a compensating provision for their prompt removal should they attempt to remain permanently or give other cause. The homosexual, the professional beggar or vagrant, and the chronic alcoholic are at present specifically prohibited. Though not particularly desirable as immigrants or non-immigrants, such people are not true dangers to the national interest by virtue simply of their personal failings. To the extent that they represent an unacceptable risk

because of factors associated with their weaknesses, they will be excludable on health, criminal, or subversive grounds or as public charges. They therefore could safely be deleted from the specific list of prohibited persons. On the other hand, the addition of professional gamblers and confidence men to the list would seem to be in the national interest as a means of protecting the public against sharp practices by people who come to Canada for the purpose.

62. There is also need to include in the prohibited classes persons who gain or seek to gain permanent or temporary admission to Canada illegally. This will improve our ability to curb such activity and will make it possible to give substantive and readily understood reasons for refusing to land a person who has entered the country by devious means, or for deporting him if necessary. At present, various technical provisions of the Immigration Act provide the only basis for dealing with many of the people who enter Canada illegally, and this has been a cause of much complaint.

63. In summary, without going into legal detail, the Government's general intention is that the following should be prohibited from admission to Canada as immigrants:

- (a) Persons suffering from any disease, mental or physical, which constitutes a danger to public health or safety;
- (b) A mentally or physically defective person unless he is a member of a family otherwise admissible and well able to look after him;
- (c) Convicted or self-confessed criminals, associates of criminals, or fugitives from justice;
- (d) Drug traffickers and drug addicts;
- (e) Subversives, spies, and saboteurs;
- (f) Prostitutes, procurers, pimps, professional gamblers, confidence men and habitual public charges;
- (g) Persons attempting to circumvent immigration procedures, seeking unlawful or unauthorized employment, or giving false or misleading information about themselves or their intentions;
- (h) Seamen who have deserted their ships.

64. Provision will be included, of course, for relief from these prohibitions when approved medical treatment has been pre-arranged or when an individual is able to satisfy the Governor-in-Council that he has rehabilitated himself. In this respect the wording of the present Act requires no great change.

65. Non-immigrants will be subject to the same prohibitions, but in most instances only to the extent that the reason for prohibition is likely to bring about a harmful result during the period of stay in Canada.

Persons certified by a medical officer to be suffering from a dangerous disease, criminals and drug traffickers known or believed on reasonable grounds to be active, and anyone attempting illegal entry, will be absolutely prohibited as non-immigrants. Discretionary authority will be given to officials at ports of entry to waive the prohibition on non-immigrants in other categories if the examining officer, considering all the circumstances, is satisfied that the granting of temporary entry for the time and purpose requested will cause no appreciable harm to the country or any of its people. However, the failure of a non-immigrant to comply with the terms and conditions of entry will in itself be grounds for deportation.

SELECTION AND CONTROL MEASURES

66. Traditionally Canada has relied primarily on a system of external selection and control measures to distinguish between admissible and prohibited persons. To this end immigration offices have been established in the principal source countries, and arrangements for pre-examinations elsewhere have been made with Canadian or British diplomatic and consular offices. People arriving from abroad without prior examination, mainly non-immigrants, and all persons entering the country from contiguous territory are subject to full examination at immigration offices along the Canada-United States border, at seaports and at international airports.

67. Canada is one of the very few countries which does not maintain strict supervision of aliens within its borders. Landed immigrants may travel anywhere without restriction of any kind and may engage in any lawful pursuit without hindrance. Non-immigrants are expected to confine their main activities to the purpose stated at the time of entry but are otherwise restricted or controlled only superficially. Unless an immigrant or non-immigrant wishes to avail himself of some service provided by the federal Government, gets into trouble with the law, or has accepted as a condition of admission some specific obligation to report periodically to immigration authorities, he is under no compulsion to keep anyone informed of his whereabouts or activities.

68. In recent years, as travel has become easier and cheaper, the flow of people to Canada has increased remarkably. To stimulate the tourist traffic, foster cultural exchanges, and improve our international relations generally, there has been a gradual easing of visa and other requirements for short-term visitors, and a relaxation of examination procedures at ports of entry. This erosion of external controls has made it increasingly difficult to enforce immigration law effectively, and this in turn has created the impression abroad that we are unable or unwill-

ing to do so. Not a few criminals have succeeded in entering the country and remaining hidden for substantial periods of time, and there has developed a tremendous volume of illegal immigration through ship desertion and the virtually unregulated tourist traffic. The number of ship deserters in 1965 approached 1,000, and seems likely to be greater in 1966. There seem to be several thousand "visitors" in Canada who in truth intended to be immigrants when they arrived.

External Arrangements

69. The only proper place to determine the acceptability of an immigrant is his own country, before he uproots himself and his family. Indeed, a country seeking immigrants has an obligation to provide such service. Not everyone who wishes to come to Canada is able to comply with immigration requirements. For a person to discover that he is not admissible as an immigrant only when he reaches this country may be costly and embarrassing to him. To refuse admission to a person physically present on Canadian soil and require him to return to his own country is a difficult and distressing task at best, particularly if a wife and children are involved. It frequently entails public debate about the qualities of the individual and the merits of the decision to refuse admission. Someone must bear the cost of return transportation; and if it is not the airline or the shipping company, it is usually the taxpayer.

70. The unsponsored immigrant is required to submit a formal application, be interviewed, pass a medical examination, and in most countries be cleared for security. When found to be admissible, he is given formal documents authorizing his admission to Canada, subject to a final examination at the port of entry. The documentation varies to some extent with the country of origin, but to be landed in Canada each unsponsored immigrant must have in his possession at least an immigrant visa or letter of pre-examination, a medical certificate of good health, and a valid passport or equivalent travel document.

71. The sponsored immigrant is subject in principle to much the same external selection and control procedures, but there are a few important differences. The application is submitted initially by the sponsor in Canada. The acceptability of a sponsored immigrant is contingent on only a few factors. In addition, the discretionary authority available to the Minister and the Governor-in-Council to admit prohibited persons is quite frequently employed on behalf of sponsored

immigrants, particularly wives and children, for compassionate or humanitarian reasons.

72. A substantial documentary record of the immigrant, whether sponsored or unsponsored, is compiled before, during, and in some instances after arrival in Canada, which makes him relatively easy to identify and trace if necessary. Moreover, the system guarantees, as well as any such system can, that when the immigrant reaches Canada, barring some unfortunate event en route, he will be accepted, admitted with a minimum of additional formality, and given every possible assistance in proceeding to his destination and getting settled.

73. There is no intention of altering these external services to prospective immigrants, beyond strengthening and somewhat expanding them as personnel and financial resources permit. The recruitment of more and better qualified staff for overseas immigration offices has been under way for some time and already has produced encouraging results. New offices have been opened in countries which traditionally have contributed large numbers of immigrants to Canada, and also in some not previously served directly. More will be done in this direction as quickly as possible.

74. In contrast, the external selection and control procedures once applicable to non-immigrants have broken down. Ideally, non-immigrants should be examined abroad for the same reasons as immigrants, but the practical difficulties are insurmountable. They number in excess of 30 million a year. The trend in the world today is away from restrictions on travel between countries and towards the promotion of cultural exchanges, tourism, and freedom of movement for people—a trend solidly reinforced by the efforts of transportation companies, travel agencies, international organizations, and national governments interested in promoting a tourist industry, including Canada's.

75. A non-immigrant visa still is required by the citizens of many countries proposing to stay in Canada longer than three months, but British, French, American and some other visitors are exempt from the requirement. Short-term visitors (less than three months) from most countries in Europe outside the Iron Curtain, and from Japan, may come to Canada without a visa. Hence, the vast majority of non-immigrants arrive at a Canadian port of entry without prior notice. To re-introduce the non-immigrant visa as a control instrument would be a retrograde step and impracticable. The intention, rather, is to waive entry visas for all visitors from all friendly countries on a reciprocal basis once alternative arrangements for the control of non-immigrants are put into operation.

76. Immigration offices at seaports, international airports and along the border have an increasingly difficult role in the control system. Returning Canadian Citizens and permanent residents, who account for approximately half the annual volume of traffic, must be identified and given precedence. Immigrants must be given landed status after examination and completion of their documents; sometimes new medical examinations must be arranged, and occasionally the whole immigration examination must be carried out at the port of entry. With all this, there is little or no time for a detailed examination of the large number of non-immigrants presenting themselves daily, especially in a jet age which finds the travelling public understandably impatient of administrative delays. The problem is particularly acute at border crossing points, where only the most cursory examination is practicable.

Internal Arrangements

77. It is evident that ports of entry must now be regarded principally as initial reception points for immigrants. Beyond this, they can be expected only to undertake a preliminary scrutiny of non-immigrants primarily for record purposes. A system of internal control must be created to curb illegal immigration and to ensure the detection and removal of criminals and other prohibited persons constituting a threat to society, most of whom gain entry as non-immigrants or surreptitiously.

78. The main problem in devising effective internal controls is to avoid measures which smack of police surveillance or are unduly irksome. The notion that all aliens in Canada beyond a stipulated period might be required to register, notify Immigration of changes of address, and so forth, has been rejected. Such registration would be repugnant to Canadians and has not proved altogether effective in other countries. It would be expensive, burdensome, and annoying. Instead, the following control system has been decided upon:

- (a) Transportation companies will be responsible for seeing that non-immigrants coming to or departing from Canada complete arrival-departure documents. These documents will conform with accepted international standards and be completed by most travellers en route. The entrance document will be checked and recorded by immigration officials at ports of entry and if necessary completed for people travelling by car. The responsible transportation company will be expected to collect exit documents of non-immigrants departing by sea or air, and it is hoped to

make a reciprocal arrangement with the United States for the gathering of exit documents from those leaving by land across the border. Citizens and permanent residents of the United States will be exempt from this system; the number who come each year as visitors is too great for such documentation and few of these have any interest in staying permanently.

- (b) The various federal agencies in frequent contact with the public will be required to report to Immigration the names of persons seeking assistance from those who are unable to identify themselves satisfactorily as citizens or permanent residents. Provincial and municipal agencies will be asked to co-operate in the same way. To facilitate this reporting system, and to avoid embarrassment to legal residents, a new form of immigrant identity card will be issued to all future immigrants and to all those previously landed who want one.
- (c) There will be prompt investigation of people coming to the unfavourable attention of Immigration officers, especially suspected criminals, ship deserters and other prohibited persons, but including non-immigrants who fail to depart on expiry of the period of entry authorized. The Immigration field staff is being strengthened to carry out this investigative work, and it is planned eventually to install an electronic data processing system to provide a constant flow of accurate, up-to-date information.

79. Consideration also has to be given to the difficult question whether immigrants or non-immigrants who are suspected to be prohibited persons, or to have violated provisions of the Immigration Act, should be finger-printed. There is a natural repugnance to this type of identification. Yet the fact is that the failure always to detect criminals entering Canada stems in some degree from the present inability of examining officers to demand finger-prints.

80. Many Canadians joining the Public Service or the Armed Forces, or taking employment in sensitive commercial or industrial work, have their finger-prints taken. For persons entering Canada it may be unwise to rule out this means of identification, which is particularly useful in the absence of reliable documentary identification. Many countries use finger-prints extensively in their immigration control systems. Nevertheless, there must be considerable reluctance to contemplate such a procedure unless appropriate safeguards against any possible misuse can be ensured.

Deportation

81. The new internal control system is designed primarily to identify persons who ought not to be in Canada and to facilitate their removal, if warranted, by due process of law.

82. The existing grounds for deportation, like the present prohibited classes, tend to make no distinction between the immigrant and the non-immigrant. They do make an outmoded distinction between a citizen and a person who has acquired domicile by five years' residence but who has not become a citizen; and this makes it possible both in theory and in practice for a person unable to secure citizenship nevertheless to gain automatic immunity from deportation after five years. Another weakness is the absence of any legal protection for the immigrant who becomes liable to deportation involuntarily through illness or indigency, although the administrative practice in recent years has been to refrain from deporting people for causes beyond their own control.

83. It is proposed that a new Immigration Act should incorporate the following provisions:

- (a) A non-immigrant ordinarily will be deportable at any time on any of the grounds making him a prohibited person and for failure to abide by the terms and conditions of his entry.
- (b) A landed immigrant will be deportable only on grounds of criminality, subversion, disloyalty, sabotage and voluntary or willful indigency, provided his admission to the country involved no illegality; he will remain deportable on these reduced grounds until he becomes a Canadian citizen.
- (c) No immigrant will be deportable for a cause beyond his own control.
- (d) A legally landed immigrant who leaves Canada for a temporary purpose will have the right to return unless while outside Canada he commits an offence which if committed in Canada would make him deportable.
- (e) A person who has been deported and who returns to Canada without the Minister's consent will automatically be subject to deportation again without any further hearing.

84. The procedures leading to an order of deportation, involving arrest, detention and inquiry, are inseparable from any law enforcement activity. For justice to be done, however, it must be seen to be

done. For this reason some procedural improvements seem desirable, apart altogether from the creation of a new appeals system on which legislation already has been introduced in Parliament.

85. The provision in the present Act that an Immigration Inquiry should be "separate and apart from the public" was intended to protect the individual's right to privacy. It has been misconstrued as a measure to enable the Immigration Division to hold its hearings in secret. It is intended that this arrangement be changed so that any individual called before an Inquiry may have with him not only a person to act as counsel but such other advisers or witnesses as he may wish.

86. The definition of counsel will be made more precise. Some lawyers have argued that only a member of the legal profession can be considered counsel at an Inquiry within the meaning of the present Act. Any such narrow interpretation would be unfair to the subject of an Inquiry. He is entitled to a lawyer if he wants one, but he is equally entitled to rely on the advice of a relative or friend if he so desires. The Government could not be party to any system which forces a person to retain legal counsel, possibly at considerable expense. The administrative practice has been to advise individuals of their right to non-legal as well as legal counsel and to assist them in securing it if necessary. This practice should be made binding in law.

87. The provision of interpreters at Inquiries is at public expense, and this is the only satisfactory arrangement for official purposes. The competency of some interpreters has been questioned on occasion, however, and it seems reasonable that the individual brought before an Inquiry should have the privilege of providing his own interpreter, at his own expense, if he wishes to do so.

88. Most Inquiries are conducted by highly-trained, experienced Immigration Officers. Members of the Bar are employed on a part-time basis to preside at difficult or potentially controversial hearings, especially when a lawyer is retained by the accused. It is a moot point whether a full-time staff of lawyers should be recruited to conduct all Inquiries under the direct supervision of a Chief Counsel in Ottawa, leaving Immigration officers responsible only for arrest, detention, gathering and presenting evidence. A change of this magnitude appears unnecessary at the moment, in view of the responsibilities and authority to be vested in the new Immigration Appeal Board. However, it may have to be given serious consideration at a later date, depending on how the revised appeals system works in practice.

89. Another subject of possible debate is whether deportation should be the one and only way of dealing with prohibited persons who succeed in entering Canada, legally or illegally. To deport them is unquestionably a drastic measure. A fine or jail sentence might appear to be a more appropriate remedy in some instances. The difficulty is that a fine or even imprisonment might be considered a small price to pay for permanent entry to Canada, especially by those of criminal bent; and if such alternatives were to be introduced, great care would be required in formulating their application. On balance, therefore, it seems that deportation, subject to a fair hearing and the right of appeal, is the most appropriate provision.

Appeals

90. Legislation on Immigration Appeals has already been introduced in Parliament; it may nevertheless be desirable to summarize the reasons for it and the results expected from it.

91. The present Immigration Appeal Board has authority to allow or dismiss an appeal against an Order of Deportation on matters of law, but no authority to consider an appeal on its non-legal merits. It can make recommendations to the Minister as to the exercise of his discretionary authority, but these are in no way binding. The Board's findings are subject to review by the Minister and by senior departmental officials acting under delegated authority. The Board thus has no truly independent status. The public has become aware of this and of the fact that the Board's view may be reversed by the Minister or departmental officials. The Department in effect decides the outcome of appeals against the actions of its own officers. This is the unavoidable fact under the present Act; those charged with enforcing the Act have been no happier with the appeals system than the public.

92. Under the legislation now before Parliament a reconstituted Immigration Appeal Board will have authority to deal conclusively in all respects with an appeal against any Order of Deportation. The only exclusion proposed is in security cases. The Board's jurisdiction will otherwise be limited only by the right to appeal its decisions on questions of law to the Supreme Court of Canada with leave of that court. The Board also will be charged with hearing and making a final decision on appeals from Canadian citizens arising from sponsorship applications. The Minister will have no discretionary authority to act in place of the Board or to upset its decisions.

Ministerial Discretion

93. A great deal of the unlimited discretionary authority now available to the Minister under Section 8 of the Act, to "issue a written permit authorizing any person to enter Canada or, being in Canada, to remain therein", will be eliminated if Parliament enacts the new appeals legislation. Whether the remainder should be retained without restriction is a point on which there are differing opinions.

94. There must be sufficient flexibility in the selection and control of immigrants and non-immigrants to permit the entry of prohibited persons when on balance this seems the sensible thing to do. A Minister's Permit is administratively the most efficient method of accomplishing this desirable end, since it avoids recourse to the formalities and delays of action by the Governor-in-Council or Parliament. On the other hand, it exposes the Minister to strong pressures to exercise his discretion to admit prohibited persons. It appears desirable, therefore, that the remaining part of the Minister's discretion to issue Permits should be more closely defined by law. It should apply where there are demonstrated compassionate or humanitarian considerations. This would mean, for example, that an unsponsored immigrant would not be eligible for a Minister's Permit if he were found on examination to be a prohibited person. On the other hand, if a man is himself admissible but his wife or a minor child is a prohibited person, relief on compassionate grounds should be available by Permit.

Security Screening

95. The most troublesome feature of selection and control procedures over the years has been the security screening of immigrants. The purpose is simple and necessary: to determine whether an individual is prohibited by law from admission to Canada by reason of a criminal or subversive background. It involves interviews, checking official records, and making inquiries about people seeking to come here. The problem is that in many countries, notably those within the communist part of the world, it is not possible for Canadian authorities to carry out inquiries or to place any reliance on such information as may be obtainable. Consequently, immigration from these countries has been narrowly confined—to close relatives in the case of sponsored immigrants and to negligible numbers so far as unsponsored immigrants are concerned.

96. National security is a general problem and the immigration aspect of it cannot be treated in isolation. The forthcoming inquiry by Royal Commission into the whole field of security will no doubt include a study of the screening of immigrants for subversive activities. Major changes of policy or procedure are not proposed meantime. However, it has been decided to adopt administrative arrangements which will permit the processing of applications for the entry of sponsorable relatives, wherever they may live. It is most unsatisfactory that some Canadians should be denied the use of the sponsorship system because of geography, and the Government regards it as urgent to end this discrimination. It should be emphasized, however, that the new procedures will not apply where the rights of Canadians are not involved; that is, they will not apply to unsponsored immigration from countries where normal security screening cannot be carried out.

VI

FINANCIAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE TO IMMIGRANTS

97. It is frequently suggested that Canada would have more success in attracting immigrants, and that their problems of adjustment would be less difficult, if more financial and other assistance were made available to them and to the communities where they settle.

98. There has been in existence since 1951 an Assisted Passage Scheme which provides an interest-free loan to unsponsored immigrants from Europe who require assistance in meeting the cost of transportation to their destination in Canada. On the whole this scheme has been a considerable success, at the very low cost of approximately \$20.00 per person. (It is worth noting, in comparison, that the average immigrant brings nearly \$1,000 to Canada.) However, the scheme needs revision to reflect the universal and non-discriminatory selection policy outlined in this White Paper. Therefore, subject to Parliamentary approval of the necessary funds, it is proposed that loans be made available on a universal basis to qualified unsponsored immigrants, including their wives and minor dependent children, up to a maximum of \$1,500 for a family unit.

99. An outright subsidy for immigrants would be very costly if applied universally and discriminatory if it were not. A migrant subsidy is essentially a promotional device. Used only to attract specific kinds of immigrants who are urgently in demand, it could be effective and show an excellent economic return. Used universally, it would involve a heavy expenditure largely devoted to a fairly small number of migrants from distant lands whose transportation costs are high; the return would then be marginal. The Government therefore believes that, at any rate at present, we should continue to rely on the supply of suitable immigrants that can be tapped by means other than costly or discriminatory subsidies.

100. The counselling of immigrants and their families on job opportunities and the conditions they will encounter in Canada is a vital

part of the overseas selection process. They must be given factual advice about living and working conditions, about opportunities and pitfalls, about our laws, customs and system of government. The immigrant who finds Canada not to his liking, and who feels he has been misled, is the worst possible advertisement. If the task is to be performed properly, comprehensive literature in the language of the immigrant and trained counselling officers are needed. Neither has been available always in the past to the extent required, mainly because of lack of funds, but steps have been taken in the last year or two to begin to correct the deficiency.

101. In Canada, newly arrived immigrants are encouraged to look to existing services and facilities for any necessary material assistance, in order to avoid the creation of special programs. This is more particularly so in respect of welfare and medical care, for which federal aid is limited to truly emergency measures designed to prevent any immigrant suffering actual privation. This policy generally has been successful and is in keeping with normal provincial responsibilities.

102. Unfortunately, some immigrants fail to settle down not for want of material aid but because they lack personal guidance and counsel in the first few weeks of their life in Canada. Often it is not that such counsel is unobtainable but that they do not seek it. In the new Department of Manpower and Immigration, the Immigration Division will remain responsible for the initial reception and guidance of immigrants up to the time they reach their inland destination. Thereafter the Manpower Division will assume responsibility for the counselling and placement of workers and such family counselling as may be needed in addition.

103. People who come to Canada should receive the kinds of services they need to start productive employment as soon as possible. They may need language training, short courses in Canadian techniques and standards in their occupational field, labour market information and counselling, and even internal mobility assistance. These are manpower services. Immigrants must be made aware of them and be put in touch with the manpower organization which can provide them. Conversely, the manpower organization will be in the best position to assess labour shortages in industry and to advise immigration authorities about these. Thus there will be a close working relationship between manpower and immigration officials in assisting immigrants both before and after they arrive in Canada. Sufficient financial and personnel resources will be made available to ensure that no immigrant will lack

any help he may want in getting established or fail to realize that such help is available.

104. Once an immigrant has been settled in a home and placed in employment, he and his family still face the problem of social adjustment. Responsibility largely shifts to the community at large, to the provincial and municipal authorities, and to the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State Department. There are numerous public and private agencies interested, and active to varying degrees, in the problems of immigrants; but there has not been the co-ordinated activity to resolve these problems which present circumstances seem to demand. Nor possibly have sufficient resources been devoted to this purpose in the past. A major co-operative effort to deal with this aspect of immigration is needed. To assist in achieving this purpose, the new Department proposes to establish consultative machinery so that concerned individuals and organizations can play a fuller part in devising improved methods of assisting immigrants to feel at home in Canada. Above all, satisfactory ways of improving language teaching facilities will be sought.

VII

CONCLUSION

105. Canada will need as many well qualified immigrants as it is likely to be able to attract during the foreseeable future. The economy will gain from an increased supply of people able to adapt to the demands of an increasingly complex society in which accelerating technological change is reshaping the world of work more and more rapidly. On the other hand, Canada cannot expect to provide employment for increasing numbers of unskilled, semi-skilled or unadaptable workers.

106. Accordingly, the Government believes that the unsponsored immigrant should remain admissible on more or less the same terms and conditions as at present. The sponsorable classes, however, need revision to make sponsored immigration more consistent with manpower policy, while continuing to recognize the social and humanitarian advantages of the sponsorship system. The key to this revision is the concept of adaptability, which can be measured in terms of a balance of personal qualifications and of the assistance available to a prospective immigrant from relatives in this country. At the same time, it is important to remove the discriminatory aspects of the present sponsorship system.

107. Under the proposed new system, all Canadian citizens will be able to sponsor from all countries all of the classes of relatives who may now be sponsored from Europe and the Americas. Additionally, they will be able to sponsor nephews and nieces under the age of 21 (who at present are unsponsorable unless they are orphans), the unmarried children of a fiancé or fiancée, and orphaned grandchildren and orphaned brothers and sisters under the age of 16. The only restriction will be that relatives outside the immediate family must be literate and, if men and thus likely members of the labour force, must have the equivalent of Canadian primary education or have a skill in demand in Canada. Also, one peculiar sponsorship privilege, for a son-in-law separately from the daughter he is or was married to, will disappear.

108. Permanent residents of Canada who have not secured citizenship—normally immigrants who have been residents for less than five years—will have the same sponsorship privileges as citizens for the

next six years. Thereafter, immigrants who are not citizens will be able to sponsor their true dependents from all countries, including fiancé or fiancée with accompanying unmarried son or daughter under 21, and also orphaned grandchildren, brother, sister, nephew or niece under 16 years of age. This represents some reduction of the privileges of future immigrants, before they become citizens, to sponsor relatives from Europe and the Americas but a gain for non-citizens seeking to sponsor relatives from Asia or Africa.

109. These proposed changes in the admissible classes will be accompanied by a revision of the prohibited classes designed to remove outdated barriers while strengthening defences against criminals and persons trying to enter the country illegally. Overseas examination will continue to be relied upon as the principal means of selecting admissible immigrants, but new internal control measures will be introduced to regulate the large annual flow of non-immigrants. Greater protection will be afforded both immigrant and non-immigrant through the new appeals system and the several improvements to be made in procedures governing inquiries. The Minister will have substantially less discretionary authority than he now has to let people come to or stay in Canada under Permit. At the same time, no legally sponsorable immigrant in any country will be refused admission simply because there is no way to examine him under all the procedures available in other countries.

110. Financial assistance to immigrants will be continued through an extension of the Assisted Passage Loan Scheme to unsponsored immigrants from all countries. Counselling, reception, and placement services will be strengthened and improved. Consultative machinery will be used to assist in additional efforts to help immigrants to learn our official languages, to adjust to the ways of Canada, and to become personally well established as they make their important contribution to the growth and progress of our country.