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Vol. 19, No. 2

BHUTAN

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In Pursuit of Excellence

2002 PAFSO Awards

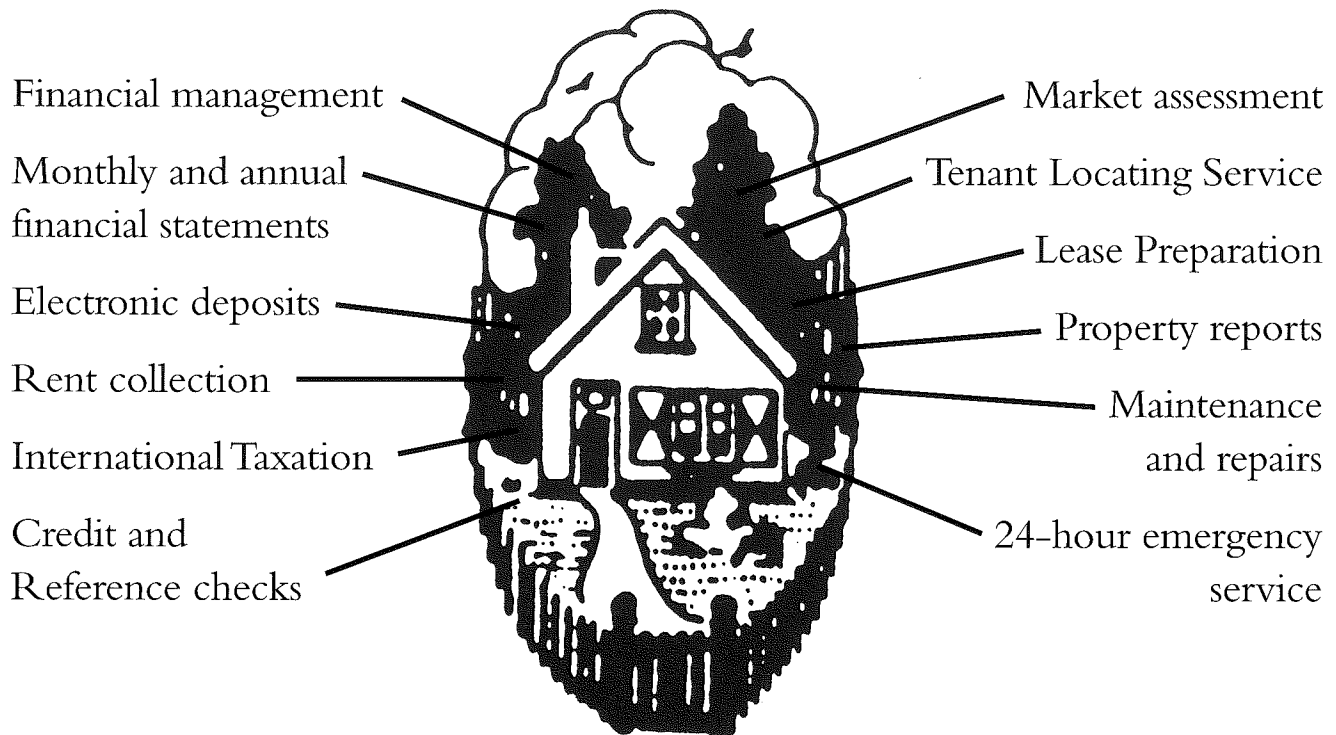
The President's Comments

The Sicilian Vespers —
A Case Study in Byzantine Soft Power



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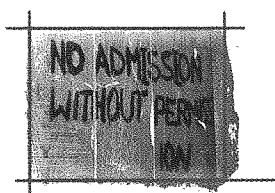
SUMMER/FALL 2002
ÉTÉ/AUTOMNE 2002

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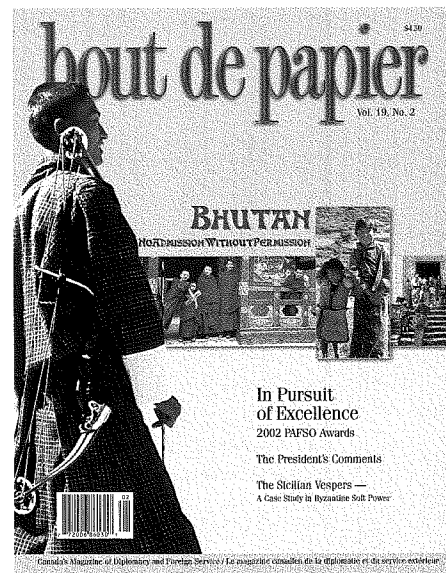
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A considerable proportion of this issue of **bout de papier** is devoted to coverage of the PAFSO Award in recognition of excellence in the Canadian Foreign Service. At first glance, this might seem a bit self-congratulatory, but after some reflection, perhaps even the most hardened of cynics among us might recognize that it isn't. I actually do believe that it isn't self-congratulatory to recognize the dedication and, corny as it may sound, the real sacrifices, that foreign service officers contribute to doing their jobs on a routine basis. And I think it's useful to remind those not part of the daily foreign service grind just what is involved in doing this technical, specialized and complex work.

A number of themes were common in the speeches made by all four award-winners (for details on their individual accomplishments, please see the article on page 29). One of them was the sense of teamwork that, I am delighted to say, is pervasive in the foreign service culture. The award winners may have epitomized the best of what Canada's foreign service has to offer, but all of the winners affirmed that they were part of a dense and interconnected network of foreign service practitioners (rotational, non-rotational, Canada-based, locally engaged) who together form a well-oiled (if, occasionally, idiosyncratically-designed) machine. It is this machine which permits us to represent all that is best about Canada to the world abroad, and to Canadians abroad.

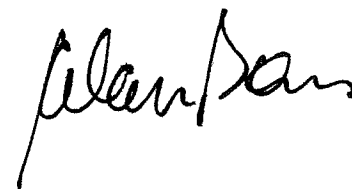
Another theme which ran through the remarks by the winners is the sense of sacrifice involved in foreign service — not in a whining, self-pitying sort of way (we all had a pretty good idea of what we were getting into when we signed up), but rather, as a mark of respect for our spouses, children, parents, friends and relatives, who are themselves dragged along as part of the package. To paraphrase two of the winners, we thank our families and friends for putting up with our responsibility to help other Canadians at times when our families need us the most. And whatever the motivations that propel us through a foreign service career, we sure aren't in it for the money.

Speaking of not being in it for the money, the PAFSO awards and annual dinner would not be possible without long volunteer hours being contributed by the organizers, among whom were Kathy Aleong, Vicken Koundakjian, Bob Peck, Debra Hulley, Susan Courville, Caroline Guimond, Geoff Gartshore, Larissa Blavatska, Ken Wong and George Grande,

who I mention here because this is probably the only place they are going to be publicly thanked in writing. I would like to echo the special recognition (on page 35) of the judges for the award, who put in many more hours than even they had expected in making the difficult decisions involved in winnowing the field of exceptional candidates down to four winners.

L'APASE a tenu son assemblée annuelle le 26 septembre, 2002, au cours de laquelle un rapport sur les activités de **bout de papier** a été déposé. Voici quelques points saillants de ce rapport pour ceux qui n'ont pu y assister. **bout** continue de fonctionner dans les limites de son budget, et ses recettes d'abonnement et de publicité augmentent (les annonceurs absorbent plus de la moitié du coût de production de **bout**). Nous espérons que les lecteurs pourront constater d'ici peu que nous avons adopté un calendrier de publication plus régulier et que la créativité inspirée de nos concepteurs, Acart Communications, continuera de soigner la présentation matérielle et l'âme du magazine. Malgré les lourdes charges de travail, les pressions familiales et l'attrait d'autres loisirs, **bout** continue de bénéficier de contributions bénévoles d'une qualité remarquable.

Le présent numéro de **bout** illustre bien ce dernier point. Les responsabilités et les privilèges du service extérieur y sont examinées — par Andrew Caddell, dans son article « On Being Canadian Abroad », et par James Trotter et Liza Linklater, qui nous offrent un rare survol du Bhoutan. Susan Elliott, pour sa part, apporte un émouvant témoignage à notre regretté collègue Mike Shah, sous la forme d'une bourse commémorative d'études supérieures. Hector Mackenzie a déniché un autre joyau dans les archives du ministère, et Roger Lucy prouve de nouveau que, tout comme l'histoire, on a plutôt tendance à réinventer la politique étrangère qu'à l'inventer. Kurt Jensen poursuit ses critiques de livres portant sur le renseignement, tandis que les inconditionnels d'Aalto resteront, comme toujours, médusés par sa plus récente énigme. Enjoy!



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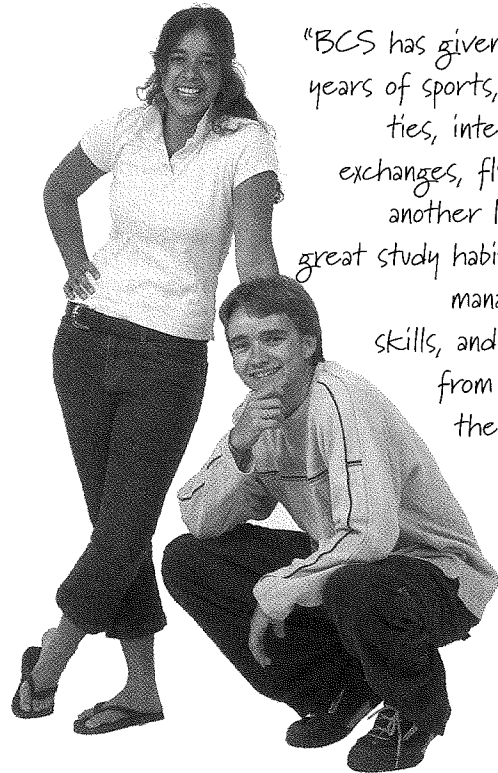
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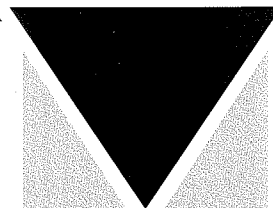
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The President's Comments

by James F. Gould

bout is PAFSO's premier publication, providing an outlet for issues of concern and interest to Foreign Service officers — the FSs. So when it was proposed that I, as President, write an occasional column — this being the first example — I jumped at the chance. At least for this one, there is something positive to talk about: our collective effort to address a collective agreement.

The signing ceremony on August 13 was the final step in a fifteen-month process (I suppose that for most people the receipt of the cheques will really be the last step) that brought us our new contract. I believe I have thanked all those who should be thanked, but in case I forgot anyone: to the Ministers, the Deputies, the ADMs, our friends in the Retired Heads of Mission Association, the members of the fourth estate, brothers and sisters in PSAC and most especially to our spouses and families, please accept the deep and abiding thanks from all the members of PAFSO for the encouragement, the support and the understanding.

How did we do it? What made Treasury Board blink?

I have been asked many times: How did we do it? What made Treasury Board blink? To these and other, but similar questions, there can be no other answer than that which I have used as my mantra: unity and resolve. In good weather and bad the FSs of the two Departments stood together and demonstrated that they would do so again and again until their demands were met. If Treasury Board ever thought that PAFSO didn't have the resolve and the grit to press its case, then they were proven wrong.

We, the members of PAFSO, must congratulate ourselves — we have never been as united as we were this summer. It didn't matter what stream one was in nor where one was assigned, we stood shoulder-to-shoulder and were counted when it was necessary. Everyone give themselves a pat on the back! Ron Cochrane, the members of the bargaining committee and the Executive itself also deserve kudos from the

members. They led the campaign that brought us our new contract.

Was there a plan? Yes, there was. Will we talk about the details? No, we won't. (We may need to use it again — we give notice to bargain next spring!) But really all we did was apply the lessons taught to us by our employer. If you have ever taken the bargaining or advocacy courses, you would have recognized the basic principles at work: take your time, find the right buttons and push them! Thanks, CFSI.

[We've] never been as united as we were this summer.

But our new contract, welcome though it was, can only be seen as a first step on a long, long path. PAFSO has stood up for itself and fought for its own best interests. This cannot stop. PAFSO members, especially at the lower end, are still the most poorly paid professional group in the Canadian government. This means that compensation will again be on the table and it will again be the major issue — but this time in a more complex environment. The pay issue will be in a new context.

The impact of the steps is not yet clearly understood by many, but they have gone a long way to rectifying the compensation question for our colleagues.

For too long PAFSO members have looked at compensation as something that could be dealt with only at the top — this must change. In the bargaining just ended this process began and the first application, annual steps for our lower and mid-range FSs, may yet prove to be the most impor-

tant achievement of the new contract. The impact of the steps is not yet clearly understood by many, but they have gone a long way to rectifying the compensation question for our colleagues.

PAFSO will also have to focus its efforts on those issues that have always been deemed peripheral: pensions for our spouses who have given up careers to follow their partners; a more reasonable probationary period for the new recruits; opportunities for employment stability for the term FSs; and full employment benefits for those FSDPers on language training, the so-called *ab initios*. A final redressing of these questions may well be as monumental as the long-promised reforming/modernizing of the Foreign Service. We will have to change the way we look at some matters and we may have to accept situations that break with long-standing PAFSO policy. In the end this is nothing other than change and we, as individuals and an association, can handle this. As fully rotational staff of departments dealing with the dynamics of the modern world — change is what we do.

The employer has begun to respect PAFSO and its mem- bers. But we can't rest on our laurels.

It would be nice to be able to say that the next year will be as exciting as the one just past, but that implies that we can see an end to the problems that face us. I believe that the future for PAFSO will be "interesting" (remember the famous Chinese curse) for years to come. We have to take on issues that are myriad and complicated. But PAFSO has over the past few years begun to mature as a bargaining agent. The employer has begun to respect PAFSO and its members. But we can't rest on our laurels. All members of PAFSO must work to preserve and reinforce the unity and resolve that we demonstrated over the summer. We can improve our lot — but we can only do it together. ☺

On Being Canadian — Abroad

by Andrew Caddell

Canada Day (or Dominion Day) is always a good time for Canadians to take stock of themselves, if they are not too busy barbecuing or jumping into the closest lake, river or stream. Or that is how I imagine it, living in Europe and confined to a small celebration of Canadian expatriates and diplomats.

Canadians, it is often said, can rarely provide a definition of themselves — aside from the catch-all “NOT American”, like the popular beer rant that dominates Canadian television and e-mails from Canadian friends. Having lived outside of Canada for the past five years, I have gradually developed a different perspective.

Although I have lived from Calgary to St. John's and studied our history in depth, it has only been since I left that I can gen-

 **“Your country, sir?” Whenever I responded “Canada”, a big smile would appear, and the statement “good people”.**

ple for his own country's trilingual and federalist dynamic. International aid workers told me they put Canada at the top of their list for requests for support — because we were always seen as making commitments to good causes and setting a good example for others.

Our linguistic abilities are always taken for granted — with sometimes

a country that could be trusted, although they also did not relish the idea of going there: “Too cold”, they said. Others, living in refugee camps in Macedonia, could not be more effusive in their praise of Canada — both for joining in the war for their Kosovo homeland and with the ambition of moving to a place where peace and ethnic harmony were taken for granted.

In Bangladesh, the rickshaw pullers know one phrase in English — “Your country, sir?” Whenever I responded “Canada”, a big smile would appear, and the statement “good people”. I met a Bangladeshi bank manager eager to emigrate, and “although he was doing well in Dhaka” he desired a better life, free of corruption, and pollution. For him, Canada represented a sort of paradise.

I learned about patriotism from my father on his first trip back to the battlefields of Italy in half a century. He worked his 82-year-old back to attention and saluted the Maple Leaf flag at Casa Berardi, where many of his comrades lay buried. I cycled through Vimy Ridge, Beaumont Hamel, and Juno beach and heard the voices of men who never came back. I wept unashamedly when I found a cousin whose life was cut short two weeks after D-Day. The potential he never met was the sacrifice he and others made for a

Our hockey abilities are also assumed: every time I missed an open net, my Swiss old-timer hockey teammates rode me unmercifully.



uinely appreciate it, seeing Canada and Canadians through different eyes. The great Scottish poet, Robert Burns, wrote “Wad some great Pow'r the giftie gie us to see oursels' as others see us”. This is the last Canada Day I will spend abroad, so allow me to recount how Canadians are seen — from a kaleidoscope of memories gathered living and travelling on three continents.

First of all — one big disappointment — we are *expected* to be Americans — and why not? We look the same, dress the same, eat the same food, and to the untuned ear, sound the same. Once the word Canadian is mentioned, or the passport offered, however, the conversation changes.

A French-speaking Swiss border guard delayed my entry for several minutes the night before the Quebec referendum to tell me how much he hoped Canada would stay together — because it was a good exam-

plimentary results: Europeans expect every Canadian to be fluently bilingual. Our hockey abilities are also assumed: every time I missed an open net, my Swiss old-timer hockey teammates rode me unmercifully.

In a small village in Côte d'Ivoire, hours away from the closest telephone, I met people who knew that Canada was

 **The rest of the world knows what the word “Canada” means. Let us celebrate it ourselves.**

Canada respected as a small country with strong values.

There were days when embarrassing "family" issues arose — like our treatment of the native peoples, or Quebec separatism. But they were always raised in a civil and respectful way, as if Canada, while not perfect, could be expected to solve its own problems.

So as I prepare to return home, what is it that makes me proud to be a Canadian? The best answer lies in the words of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who said "My parish is the world, and my religion is to do good." If ever there was a genuinely international, open society, it is ours. And rather than breaking down our traditions or ignoring them, we should recognize our heritage as a people and a country, as something that makes us good and great. The rest of the world knows what the word "Canada" means. Let us celebrate it ourselves. ☺

Andrew Caddell is a foreign affairs spouse who now works in the Trade Policy Liaison division of DFAIT. He recently graduated from the Master's program in Journalism at Carleton University. He has worked for WHO in Geneva and UNICEF in Macedonia and Bangladesh.



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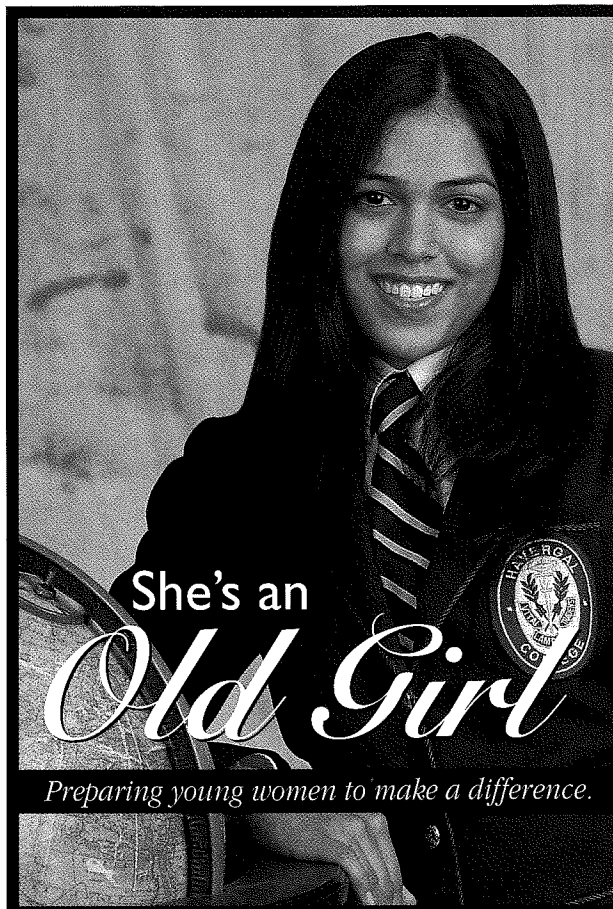
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BHUTAN

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Story and photos by James Trottier and Liza Linklater

In the Himalayas, bordered to the north by Tibet, to the west by the former kingdom of Sikkim (now absorbed into India) and to the east by the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, lies mysterious and enchanting Bhutan, kingdom of serendipity, where the King has decreed that GNH (Gross National Happiness) is more important than GNP, where Buddhist rite and ritual permeate every facet of daily life, where large white religious/secular fortresses (dzongs) and Buddhist monasteries dominate every town and where the national sports of archery and darts are pursued in village greens by citizens wearing traditional national dress (resembling, in the sunshine of a cheery October day, medieval English archers). While only males normally pursue the national sport of archery, there is an exception. Bhutan has a woman's archery team which competes in the Olympic games.

In June 2002, just as Brazil and Germany were preparing to battle it out for international football supremacy at the World Cup, another less epic battle was unfolding in Bhutan's capital, Thimphu, between Bhutan and Montserrat, ranked respectively 202nd and 203rd by FIFA — football's governing body. The two lowest ranked and most recent members of FIFA played their own game in the shadows of the Himalayas, more for the love of the game than anything else — happy and proud to be part of the global football community.

Bhutan joined FIFA in 2000, shortly after the country had begun Internet transmissions and television broadcasts one day apart in 1999 as part of a measured, very controlled emergence of Bhutan to the outside world. Bhutan still only has very limited local broadcasting — a couple of hours a day — delivered by the Bhutan Broadcasting Service (BBS) and it resembles a cross between early CBC and public access television; typical was an earnest discussion one night with a panel and studio

audience — all dressed in traditional clothing — on the relative merits of Bhutanese and Indian cement production, a topical subject as it happens, as cement is a major export to India. Nor was there fierce competition to win one of the few spots on air, reading the news. (The culture of celebrity has been mercifully

slow to arrive in Bhutan. Even distinguished artists do not sign their work.) One of the first newsreaders was Richin Chioden "whose deep brown eyes and ruddy, windblown cheeks suggest a younger and more Mongolian Diane Sawyer" according to the New York Times.

Actually, television broadcasting had been preceded by satellite dishes bringing in programming from India and elsewhere for affluent Bhutanese and up-

market hotels (in a Thimphu hotel bar we had a choice between a women's beach volleyball tournament on one station and a National Geographic special on the Canadian Arctic on the other) and video; therefore the advent of public broadcasting did not come as a complete shock to the Bhutanese. Nor has it profoundly changed life to date. This is partly due to the fact that the overwhelming proportion of the population is rural and very many do not yet have electricity, never mind television.

Despite the common Bhutanese expression "What to do," the Bhutanese are making a determined and noble effort to come to grips with globalization on their own terms. Under the benevolent stewardship of Bhutan's esteemed fourth king, King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, Bhutan is attempting to gradually expose its people to the global community while sheltering them from global shock. He is assisted in doing so by the Tshogdu (the National Assembly), made up of elected representatives from Bhutan's 20 dzongkhags (districts), monks elected by regional monk bodies and senior civil servants. They meet twice a year and, on an ad hoc basis, as the need arises. They pass legislation by majority vote. On the initiative of the third king, the legislature by a two-thirds vote could replace the King.

* Taken from a sign in a police guardpost in Trongsa in Central Bhutan, the phrase could well be applied to travel both into and within Bhutan — the Land of the Thunder Dragon.



...Where the King has decreed
that GNH (Gross National Happiness)
is more important than GNP...

As of September 2002, Bhutan has six embassies in the world — four bilateral (Thailand, India, Bangladesh, Kuwait) and two multilateral (UN Missions in New York and Geneva). It has diplomatic relations with 18 countries plus the EU. It does not have formal diplomatic relations with either China or the United States. Canada has a small Canadian Cooperation Office run by a long-time and respected Canadian resident of Bhutan, Nancy Strickland, who manages the Canada Fund and also acts as the Field Coordinator for the University of New Brunswick which has been closely involved in the education system in Bhutan for many years. Actually, teachers from Canada — sent by the World University Service of Canada (WUSC) — have played a pivotal role in the Bhutanese educational system. Bhutan's only college — Sherubtse College in Eastern Bhutan — was founded by a Canadian Jesuit, Father Mackay, in the late 1960s, who also assisted in establishing secular schools.

Bhutan is as big as Switzerland, with a population of only 600,000. While this figure is now accepted as accurate and is based on an official census, confusion stems from the fact that when Bhutan applied for membership in the UN in 1971, there had never been a census and the population was estimated and rounded off at one million. Based on subsequent population growth figures, that figure mushroomed in intervening years to as high as 1.5 million.

Bhutan's tourism policy illustrates the cautious approach of Bhutan's leaders. Alarmed by the mass tourism that has swamped Nepal and the former Himalayan kingdom of Sikkim, Bhutan's King has deliberately and drastically limited the number of tourists through an extraordinarily high tariff which can be as much as (US) \$230 per day per person, which includes accommodation, food, transport in Bhutan, guide and driver. As a result, tourists are limited to approximately 6000 per year and most

Bhutan is attempting to
gradually expose its people
to the global community
while sheltering them from
global shock.

come in the best weather periods of September/October or March/April/May. This allows Bhutan to earn high tourist dollars with a limited number of high-end tourists. The largest numbers are from Japan, United States and Germany. When we flew out, the woman beside us was reading the New England Journal of Medicine; she was typical of the traveller Bhutan is aiming at. During 2 weeks in Bhutan, we did not see a single backpacker, quite unique in our experience in Asia. (One of the few exceptions to the high tariff is if one is lucky enough to be employed there or invited by a resident of Bhutan; each foreign resident is allowed to invite five people a year.)

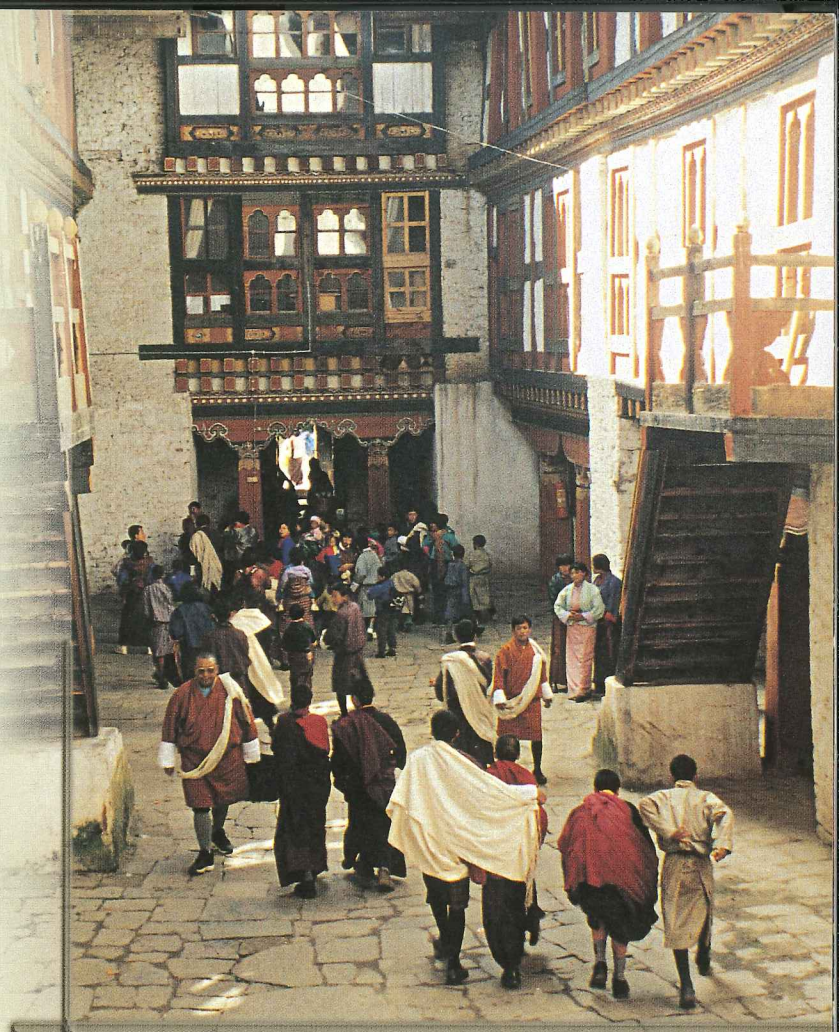
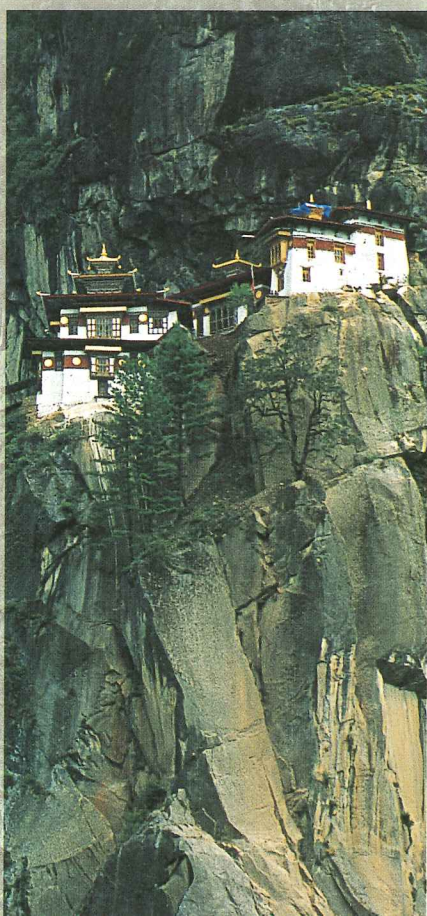
Vehicles are stopped regularly at roadblocks throughout Bhutan (with relatively few motorized roads this is less labour intensive than it might at first appear) and passes must be produced at such stops. Similarly, passes are required to gain access to temples, shrines and other buildings. The local travel agent normally makes all these arrangements as part of the tariff mentioned above; even if it were technically possible, this would be very time-consuming and complicated for foreign travellers to arrange on their own.

All this is done in the interest of protecting one of the most fascinating, charming and authentically intact indigenous cultures in the world.

Our own journey started from Bangkok with Druk (Dragon) Air, the only carrier flying into Bhutan's one airport at Paro, which operates by visual flight rules. Druk Air's fleet consists of two BAE 146-100 four-jet engine, 72-seat British aircraft, flying into Bhutan from Bangkok and Delhi. The engineer —

keeping the fleet in the air — is Canadian. Our plane landed to refuel in Calcutta in order to have enough fuel to return in the event that bad weather precluded landing in Paro. On the outward journey, the plane carries a minimum amount of fuel in order to lessen the weight on lift-off; both passengers and carry-on luggage are also weighed at Paro before boarding!

Tickets for the flight to Bhutan are only provided once the airline has confirmation from a travel agent in Bhutan that the traveller has paid the full tourist tariff in advance.



The degree to which Bhutan has been able to preserve its culture to the present day is what sets it apart in the modern world.

Similarly, visas are only authorized once the agent has provided this confirmation and then are issued on arrival in Bhutan.

The flight is one hour from Calcutta — try to get seat A (rows 11 to 14) on the left side of the plane on the way to Bhutan and seat F (same rows) on the right side leaving Paro. That way you will have views of the Himalayas. The airport architecture in Paro is in the style of a dzong, the fortress-like structures in Bhutanese towns that are the seats of secular and religious authority. Soon after we arrived at the airport, the lights went out and we changed money by candlelight.

Driving from the airport on the high road into the town of Paro, we looked down on farmers harvesting rice, saw red chilies covering the roofs of houses, passed Indian road



crews sweltering while tarring the highway, and slowed down for truckloads of Indian soldiers. India and Bhutan have a defence agreement; Indian troops train and patrol throughout the country. Indian road builders also build and maintain the roads.

It would be impossible to overstate the importance of Buddhism in Bhutan. Buddhism is everywhere and Bhutan is the only country in the world where the Tantric form of Mahayana Buddhism is the official state religion. Fluttering prayer flags and maroon-robed monks are a common sight, while white-walled monasteries and prayer wheels dominate the landscape. Religion and secular authority are intimately intertwined; this relationship is built right into the architecture, with secular and religious authority sharing large white-washed fortress like structures (dzongs) in each town.

The only way to get across Bhutan is to follow the main road from the airport through the capital Thimphu (at 20,000 people by far the largest town in the country) and then east, often crawling along the sides of mountains. Travel by motor vehicle is very slow due to the mountainous terrain and poor conditions of much of the road, some of it virtually obliterated by landslides. By one count, there are 17 curves per kilometre.

Even in two weeks we only had time to go from the west to the centre of the country; we had to leave the most remote region — the east — for another occasion. Along the way we encountered herdsmen leading large herds of domesticated yaks and large troops of wild monkeys. Adults and children waved, smiled and nodded at us. Once we left the capital, Thimphu, we saw few foreigners.



We also had ample opportunity to appreciate the spectacular and very varied beauty of the countryside with mountains covered by huge trees — reminiscent of British Columbia — a side effect of Bhutan's isolation, the heavy rainfall which means that forests can be found up to altitudes of 4500 metres, and government policy. By law 60% of

the country must remain forested and one estimate puts current forested areas at 72% of the land area. Exports of timber and firewood to India have been significantly reduced; these are now tightly controlled due to concerns about maintaining the forests. Forests play an important part in the lives of the Bhutanese, not only as a source of timber for building and fuel, but as a place for rituals and a source of local culture.

The only alternative to driving is to trek. However, apart from the fact that trekkers can cover only limited distances, they must travel in groups of at least 10 with guides and porters and are not allowed to go to the top of the mountains (except for a brief period between 1983 and 1994) which are considered to be sacred. Travellers with vehicles can travel alone apart from the omnipresent guide and driver.

Towns are few and far between. Their dzongs and monasteries — many built in the 16th century in a movement reminiscent of medieval Europe — bring home the degree

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Eighty percent of the population lives at least an hour on foot from a road; 50% live at least a day away.

to which Bhutan has an alternative history and culture (sometimes we felt like wanderers from another planet) that evolved independently from the cultures that dominate the contemporary world. The degree to which Bhutan has been able to preserve its culture to the present day is what sets it apart in the modern world.

The dzong in Trongsa in central Bhutan is reputed to be the finest such structure in Bhutan. It is a huge stone structure with several buildings, medieval-looking corridors and courtyards, in one of which a child monk was polishing religious accessories while a cat sprawled beside him in the bright sunshine. At another 400-year-old monastery, the Gangte Goemba on a ridge overlooking a valley, child monks were studying English in the courtyard, while dogs lay sprawled around in the sunshine. The child monks are under the authority of the Kudang (the Disciplinarian).

The vast majority of the population are farmers, with 85% involved in subsistence agriculture. Only 7.8% of the land is used for farming. Most of the farmers raise cattle or yaks. Eighty percent of the population lives at least an hour on foot from a road; 50% live at least a day away. However, despite this, Bhutan has made great strides in providing both health care and education to its populations. The Government provides free health care for all citizens and half of the population now has access to clean water. Virtually all children are immunized, iodine deficiency has disappeared and life expectancy has gone from 47.4 years in 1984 to 66 years — the highest in South Asia. Fifty years ago, education was confined to monastic schools and reached only a tiny minority. Now 72% of primary school age children are in school and the Government is aiming for 95% attendance. English has been the medium of instruction since 1961 with Dzongkha, the national language taught as a second language.

The people have strong handsome faces with high cheekbones, dark, almond-shaped eyes and shy smiles. Men have bowl haircuts and women also have short hair. The men wear knee-length tunics (called a gho, it resembles the Tibetan thuba) in a variety of colours and plaids with large six-inch cuffs at the wrists; these are worn with knee socks (imported in large quantities from the New York garment district by a new class of Bhutanese entrepreneurs). When worn in black with white cuffs, the wearer resembles a New England Pilgrim Father. Women's tunics (kiras)





reach down to their ankles. Traditional dress is compulsory in government offices, religious buildings, schools and formal occasions, and is very strongly encouraged in other circumstances.

Bhutan is not without crime and other social ills. Middle class parents in Thimphu talk about their video-obsessed children. Since the 1980s there has been an increase in the longstanding tension — driven in part by the Government's concern about preserving Bhutanese identity — between the ethnic Buddhist Sharchops majority and the Hindu Nepalese minority, largely located in the south, resulting in an exodus of tens of thousands from the Nepalese minority to Nepal. Although the exodus largely

stopped in 1993, many of these people remain in camps in Nepal. International efforts continue to deal with the problem. Bhutan's ancient and modern history has also got its fair share of political intrigue and conflict, often linked to developments in Tibet.

However, Bhutan remains a remarkably safe, sane and innocent place by interna-

tional standards. Walking up a hill one day, we came across a local village gathering on the side of a hill to select a new chief. On a wall in a bank in the town of Wangdue Phodrang, there is a sign which gently advises bank employees and customers that all financial transactions are to be conducted in the bank rather than in the street where hitherto many of them had occurred. When a tie was needed for the one formal event we attended during our visit, this proved impossible to find at any store in the capital Thimphu. The problem was solved when a desk clerk in a hotel (at which we were not staying) offered to lend his own tie; he then went to his home to retrieve this tie still in its plastic wrapping.

With the exception of the royal family, there are no family names for most Bhutanese (except in the south). People generally have two names; these are selected by monks for auspicious meaning or religious significance. Despite the lack of family names, a strong oral history

It's a society where the authentic local culture still holds sway and where one can receive an alternative vision of the universe.



"Bhutan's dream for the Internet is that its people will gain access to the whole world without ever having to leave the tranquility of their tiny remote rural villages."

tradition ensures that traditions, customs and family connections are preserved.

There is no dowry system for most Bhutanese and daughters are as welcomed as sons. In fact, in the villages, Bhutan is a matrilineal society with property passed on through daughters. Women can divorce and widows can remarry.

Accommodation for travellers varies widely. In the Phobjika Valley in Western Bhutan, the only accommodation was in private homes converted into inns. Traditionally, houses — built of white-washed stone or mud and wood — have animals on the first floor, people on the second with a family shrine, and crops on the third; wooden ladder steps connect the floors. Traditionally, roofs are covered with wooden shingles with large stones to hold them down; corrugated iron is used in newer homes. We stayed at a typical such house without electricity and with heat supplied by a stove in a common area; while we read by flashlight, better-equipped travellers came outfitted with coalminers lights they wore around their foreheads. On the other hand, in the Bumthang valley, in central Bhutan, we stayed at a splendid cottage room — equipped with a roaring fire in a stove, BBC on TV and excellent lights for reading — at a lodge built on the yards of a former royal palace.

One of the delights of Bhutan is their colourful religious festivals — full of dancing, chanting and colourful costumes; Bhutanese textiles are a national treasure.

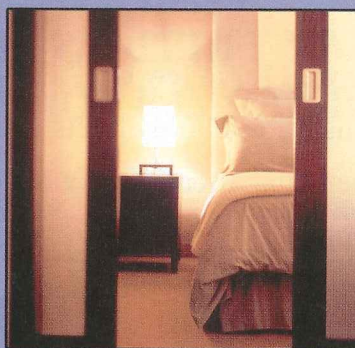
The festivals are held in monastery courtyards. While they are a major tourist attraction, tourism is not the *raison d'être* of these events, which remain rooted in religion and local tradition. Local audiences far outnumber foreigners.

In 1931, the British Political Officer in Sikkim, Colonel Leslie Weir, journeyed through Bhutan to present a British award to the present King's grandfather. He recorded his visit — including attendance at monastery festivals — on

film. More than 60 years later his granddaughter, British actress Joanna Lumley, retraced his steps and filmed many of the same festivities — with similar costumes — in the same locations for a charming documentary called "In the Kingdom of the Thunder Dragon". We went to many of the same places visited by Lumley's grandfather in 1931 and found them virtually unchanged from how they were depicted in his film footage so long ago.

In central Bhutan, we were among very few foreigners crowded in with Bhutanese who had poured in from surrounding villages to watch a spectacular festival at the magnificent Jakar Dzong; built in 1667 on a hillside overlooking a valley, this is the largest dzong in Bhutan. One enters the dzong through a long courtyard with a stone staircase at the end. Up the staircase is another courtyard (two-storeys high on two sides and three storeys on the other) where the performance actually takes place. The performers are a mix of monks (spinning around like whirling dervishes)

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and villagers, both men and women, among whom some play fools who send up the performers with impunity to the delight of spectators who are crowded around the perimeter of the courtyard, both on the ground floor and in balconies on the upper floors.

As charming as Bhutan is, it is no Shangrila. However, at the end of the day, Bhutan remains a unique and attractive society trying its best to preserve its traditional ways while absorbing what it needs from the world. When she inaugurated Bhutan's Internet service ("Druknet") in 1999, the eldest Queen, Ashi Dorji Wangmo Wangchuk (the King is married to 4 sisters) announced that mail would be delivered for free for 10 days in an effort to preserve letter writing. She went on to say: "Bhutan's dream for the Internet is that its people will gain access to the whole world without ever having to leave the tranquility of their tiny remote rural villages."

As the New York Times remarked in 1999 in a review of the charming book about Bhutan by the Canadian writer Jamie Zappa (*Beyond the Sky and the Earth: A Journey Into Bhutan*), "there are still a few places left in the world so strange and wondrous that a journey there has the power to transform the traveller, even against her will."

And this is what at the end of the day makes Bhutan so singular and valuable. It's a society where the authentic local culture still holds sway and where one can receive an alternative vision of the universe. Long may it be so. ☺

One of the delights of Bhutan is their colourful religious festivals — full of dancing, chanting and colourful costumes.

James Trottier is the Political/Economic Counsellor in the Canadian Embassy in Bangkok; previous postings include the Permanent Mission to the UN in New York. **Liza Linklater** is a writer and photographer in Bangkok. They are long-time travellers in Asia and are looking forward to returning to Bhutan one day.

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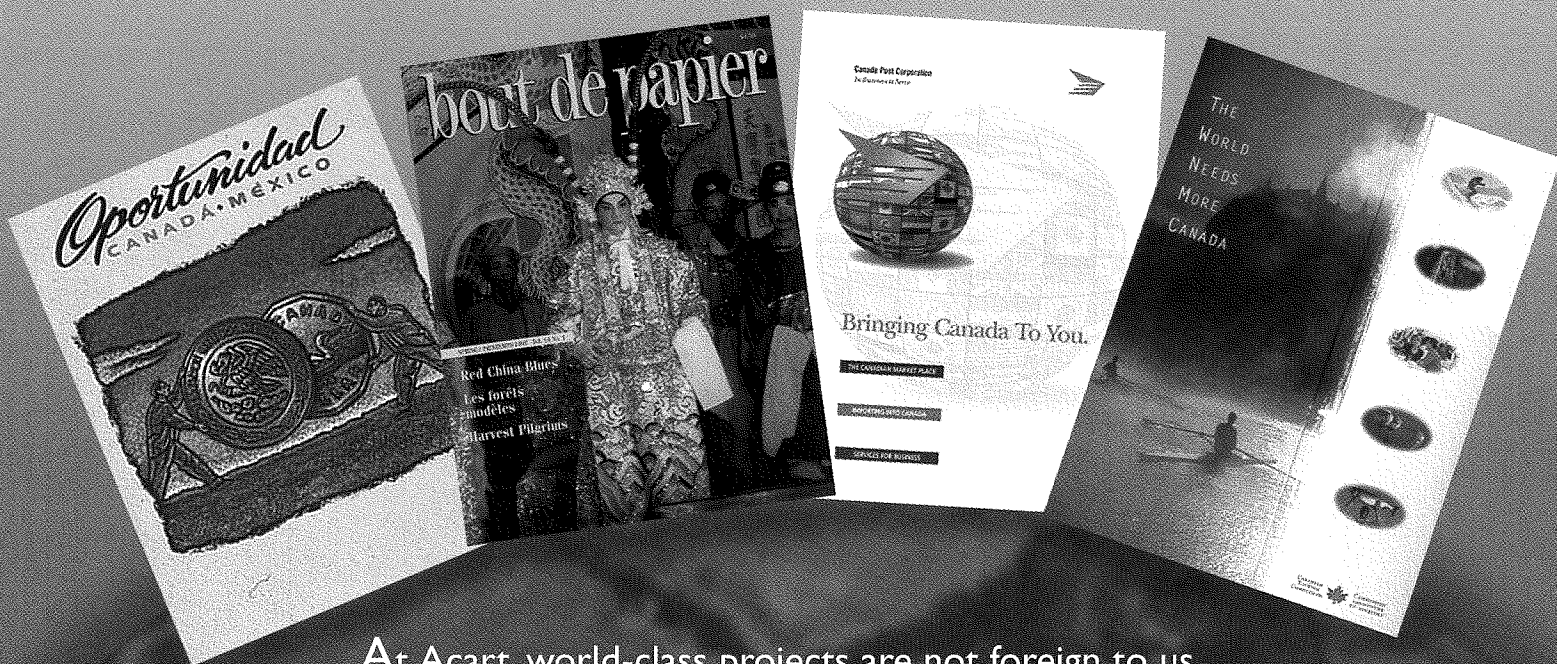
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THE SICILIAN VESPERS

A CASE STUDY IN BYZANTINE SOFT POWER

by Roger Lucy

UN Secretary General Kofi Annan once remarked "Diplomacy can get you a long way, diplomacy backed by firmness and force will get you a lot further." The Roman (Byzantine) Emperor Michael VIII Paeleologus (1259-82) could well have added "... money helps as well."

In the glory days of the Roman Empire, foreign policy was relatively simple, as there was, then as now, only one superpower in the "known world" and Rome's neighbours acted accordingly, or else. Diplomatic finesse was not really needed. But, as the centuries passed and the Empire's boundaries waxed and (more usually) waned, the world got more complicated. The need for guile and conciliation (and generous subventions) tended to supplant brute force as the preferred policy option. The reality crunch came in 1204, when the Venetians hijacked the Fourth Crusade and captured Constantinople. They helped themselves to the City's portable wealth and art treasures, expropriated "one quarter and half of one quarter of the Roman Empire" (mostly strategic ports and islands) leaving Constantinople and a shell "Empire of Romania" in the hands of Baldwin of Flanders, who had to distribute most of what was left to the knights and barons who had taken part in the enterprise. In fact, Baldwin and the crusaders were able to secure little more than southern Greece, the north shore of the Aegean and the area around the Sea of Marmora. The rest remained in the hands of local Byzantine warlords, each of whom was soon claiming to be the legitimate Roman Emperor, a claim that could only be made good by reconquering Constantinople.

By 1261, this Latin "Empire", now reduced to Constantinople and its environs, was in such dire financial straits that Baldwin I's son, Baldwin II, had to pawn his children to the Venetians and sell off the lead and roof beams of Constantinople's public buildings. Venice retained its hold on Crete, and the islands. Most of present day Albania and central Greece comprised the so-called Despotate of Epirus, while southern Greece supported a flourishing network of French and Italian duchies and baronies. The largest of the Byzantine successor states

was the so-called Empire of Nicaea. Building on a base in western Asia Minor, the Lascarid dynasty also managed to recover a fair swath of Balkan territory. The Lascarid line terminated with the minority rule of John IV, and Michael Paeleologus, Nicaea's leading general became regent. Michael disliked the temporary nature of his assignment, and had himself crowned co-emperor. Young John was relegated to a monastery, and, to ensure he could entertain no future imperial ambitions, blinded — this act earned Michael considerable opprobrium, particularly from the Church.

In 1261, a Nicaean general noticed that the Latin army and its Venetian naval support had left Constantinople on a raid. He exploited this lapse in security by forcing his way past the skeleton garrison and raised Nicaea's double-headed eagle on the 5th century walls of the "Queen of Cities". It was a depopulated wreck, but Michael's triumphant entry soon after signalled the rebirth of the Roman Empire, to survive for almost two more centuries.

In charge of Constantinople, Michael proclaimed himself "the new Constantine" recalling the 4th Century Emperor who had founded the city and made Christianity the Empire's religion. Their ruthless energy apart, the two had little in common. Constantine had ruled an Empire of some 50 million, extending from the Tyne to the Tigris. Its annual revenues, worth an estimated 110,000 kilos of gold, supported a standing army of over one half million men. No single power could remotely threaten his empire's existence. Michael VIII ruled north-west Anatolia, a strip of territory stretching across the Balkans from Constantinople to the Adriatic, some Aegean islands and some strongholds in southern Greece. His empire's population was about four million. Annual revenues of about 12,000 kilos of gold, supported a standing army of some 5,000. When augmented with mercenaries and levies, he could field forces of up to 20,000.

The only thing Michael had in abundance was enemies, and several posed a potentially mortal threat to the Empire's

existence. Michael used diplomacy and force to prevent this from happening. To protect his northern and eastern flanks Michael cultivated the Mongol powers that now dominated Central Asia, Iran and Russia. The Ilkhan of Persia, to whom he married a daughter, could hold the Seljuk Turks of central Anatolia in check. The Khan of the Golden Horde helped keep the Bulgars, Serbs and Hungarians honest. Michael also cultivated the Mamlukes, the rising power in Egypt and Syria. They were a potential counter to the Ilkhans, as well as to the great Italian maritime states of Venice and Genoa. In the Balkans he continued the aggressive stance of the Nicaean state, making inroads into Bulgaria, Thessaly and Macedonia. Italian naval condottieri helped extend his control over the Aegean. But the greatest threat to the Empire's existence would be a coalition of western powers, backed by one of the Italian maritime states, doing repeat performance of the Fourth Crusade. The main focus of Michael's diplomacy was to prevent this coalition from forming.

Baldwin II, the deposed Latin Emperor, was quick to seek western help to restore his throne. The logical source of such help was Manfred, King of Sicily (and of most of Italy south of Rome), with whom he had marriage links, and who held strategic bridgeheads in Albania. But Manfred had inherited his father Frederick II's family feud with the Papacy, and the Pope was more interested in waging a holy war to depose Manfred than one to recover Constantinople.

The situation became much more dangerous for Michael by the end of the decade. The Pope rallied the French King's brother, Charles of Anjou, to his cause. In 1266, Charles overthrew Manfred, who died in battle, and two years later executed Manfred's nephew, Conradin, after his vain attempt to retake the Kingdom. As King of Sicily, Charles and the Papacy were united in their desire to restore the Latin Empire. Charles inherited and began to extend Manfred's trans-Adriatic bridgehead. By a marriage alliance, Charles also secured Hungarian support for his eastern enterprise

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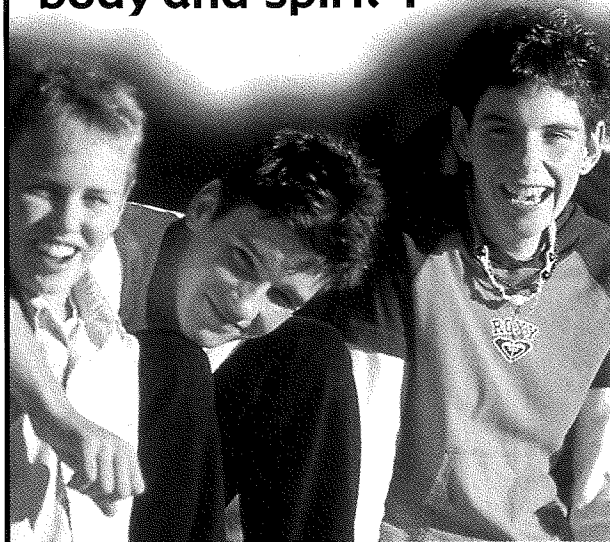
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and his envoys were working Serbia and Bulgaria. In terms of the naval balance, Charles could, in addition to Sicily's not inconsiderable resources, call on Venice, still smarting from its ouster from Constantinople. Michael had not fully revived the Byzantine fleet.

Michael tried to weaken Papal support for Charles by offering to heal the schism which had increasingly distanced the Greek and Roman churches since 1054. Pope Clement IV was in no mood to compromise. The Greek church would have to submit unconditionally to Rome's demands before talks could even begin. Michael, whose relations with his prelates was already gravely strained by their disapproval of his deposing and blinding the child emperor John IV, knew this was a non-starter. He had more success with Charles' brother, King Louis IX of France. Louis too wanted a crusade, but much as he hated "schismatics", he preferred to direct his energies against real infidels. Michael's envoys were able to plant the seed of an expedition against Tunis. Louis looked to his brother for support, and Charles saw that his own interests could be served by a bridgehead in Africa. While Louis' (soon to be St. Louis) premature death thwarted Michael's hopes that western efforts would become mired in Tunisia,

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nonetheless Charles lost many troops in Tunis to pestilence and part of his fleet to a storm. Diplomacy, advocacy and good luck had won Michael at least some years' grace.

Additional time was won by Pope Clement's death. The new pope, Gregory X, had previously been papal legate to the Holy Land, and his main ambition was a united Christian crusade to save the crumbling fortunes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Gregory was, therefore, willing to accept something less than unconditional acceptance of Papal supremacy by the Byzantines. To this end, an Oecumenical Council, the medieval equivalent of a major UN Conference, was convened in Lyons in 1274. Gregory invited the leading clergy and crowned heads of Europe with the aim of uniting the Churches and launching his grand Crusade. The Crusading project was not a rousing success. Only one monarch, the King of Aragon, actually attended, and pledges from the rest of Europe's rulers were conditional in the extreme.

Michael himself did not attend, but tried to muster an outwardly impressive delegation. Alas, the galley carrying the official gifts was sunk in a storm, and fielding credible senior clergy willing to sign on to an Act of Union between the Eastern and Western Churches was a challenge. Even so, the Council accepted the sincerity of Michael's pledge to unite the churches. Gregory forbade Charles from mounting any expedition against Michael. He also turned a blind eye to Michael's efforts to chip away at Charles' Albanian bridgehead and at the Latin principalities in Greece.

Pope Gregory died in 1277. His successor, John XXI, was sceptical about the sincerity with which the Church union had been accepted in Byzantium. His suspicions were correct. Lyons was bitterly resented and the Byzantine clergy resisted it at every turn. The horrors of the sack of Constantinople had not been forgotten (indeed, as the present Pope recently discovered, the wound still festers). Michael found that, despite mass arrests and clerical

and court shuffles, enforcing the Pope's demands threatened rebellion, within the Byzantine Church, within the army, and even within his own family. In 1279 Papal nuncios were dispatched to ensure absolute and literal compliance with the terms of the Council of Lyons — and more. Michael, however, was able to convince the nuncios of the sincerity of his own conversion and of his efforts (as a tour of his dungeons amply illustrated) to enforce it. At the same time he convinced his own clergy that a show of outward compliance, or at least constructive theological obfuscation, was in the national interest. By now there was a new pope, Nicholas III, scion of Rome's Orsini family and no friend to the Angevin cause. The nuncios' report back hardly satisfied him, but he agreed that Michael was trying. Charles was told that his planned invasion should be postponed.

Unfortunately the reprieve was short-lived. In August 1280, Pope Nicholas died and, after a lengthy conclave, was replaced in February 1281 by a French Pope, Martin IV. Michael sent a delegation to congratulate him and persuade him of the Empire's continued support for Council of Lyons. The delegation arrived in Viterbo to find, to their dismay, Pope Martin meeting Michael's chief enemies: Charles of Anjou; Baldwin II, the deposed Latin Emperor; and representatives of Venice and Pisa. They had just concluded a "Treaty for the Restoration of the Roman Empire usurped by Paeleologus". Michael was declared a heretic and excommunicate and the Byzantine envoys told him that if he did not surrender his empire to the Pope by May 1, 1282, he would be overthrown by force. Charles and the Venetians each pledged 120 warships to the venture,



transport for 8–10,000 cavalry, backed by even larger infantry forces.

Michael's prospects did not look encouraging. Charles' invasion fleet was mustering in the ports of southern Italy and Sicily, while his advance guard in Albania was already advancing into the interior. Serbia and Bulgaria had new and hostile rulers, Turkoman raiders were making serious inroads in south-west Anatolia, diverting much of Michael's army. There were some bright spots, Charles' forces in Albania soon suffered a major defeat and were thrown back to the coast, Sicilian efforts to create a united front in Latin Greece had failed, and Michael likewise retained control of the Aegean, but all this could be quickly swept away by Charles' armada.

The classic Byzantine diplomatic response to a threat of an attack was to make common cause with the attacker's enemies. Here Michael had long been at work. Charles of Anjou had no lack enemies. Angevin ambitions in northern Italy clashed with those of Rudolph von Hapsburg the German Emperor. Genoa, found his presence in the Provence too close for comfort, and besides, any friend of Venice was no friend of theirs. Pedro III, King of Aragon, had claims on Charles' Provençal holdings, and his wife was a daughter of Manfred,

deposed by Charles. Many Sicilian exiles had found shelter in Barcelona, which became a hotbed of intrigue against Angevin rule.

The most active member of this Sicilian exile community was Pedro's own foreign minister (and formerly a minister in Manfred's government) Giovanni di Procida. Like Michael, he saw a commonality of interest, and was able to persuade the Emperor that he could engineer an uprising in Sicily. The cost was not cheap — reportedly Michael contributed 30,000 ounces of gold, approximately one month's worth of the Empire's total tax revenue. How direct and personal di Procida's involvement was, is uncertain. Sicilian legend has him clandestinely travelling the length and breadth of the Mediterranean, from Constantinople to Rome (where Pope Nicholas' support was allegedly purchased — only for him to die at a crucial moment) to Sicily and back to Barcelona, dispensing his ton of gold. If this exercise in shuttle diplomacy is true, it was no mean feat for a septuagenarian who was also holding down a high profile day job. However, it is clear that Michael's funds were put to good use, partly to finance an



Aragonese expeditionary force, and partly to arm and organize Sicilian resistance cells, which would rise up and prevent Charles' fleet, now assembling in the ports of Sicily, from sailing to Byzantium.

The circumstances are obscure, but the revolt may have been launched prematurely when, on March 30, 1282, a riot broke out in Palermo. Large numbers of Sicilians had gathered for Easter Monday Vespers

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(evening prayers). The mood was already tense, as the governor had been conducting heavy-handed searches for weapons caches. A French sergeant tried to abduct a Sicilian woman, her husband stabbed him to death. His comrades who tried to avenge his death were set on by the mob and killed. A general uprising throughout Sicily ensued, those French soldiers and officials who could take shelter in the citadel, the rest were slaughtered. Already primed by Michael's Byzants, the revolt spread rapidly through the island. Some strongholds held out long enough to allow their occupants to evacuate to the mainland, but in all some 8000 Angevin supporters were massacred, and Charles' invasion fleet was destroyed. The cities and towns of Sicily formed themselves into communes and called on Pedro to help repel the counter-attack that Charles was now preparing. Pedro was ready and willing, and a twenty year long war for control of Sicily ensued. Needless to say the Angevin invasion of the Roman Empire was never launched.

Neither Michael, who died that same year, nor Charles, who died in 1284, long survived their confrontation. Their dynasties lived on — the Angevins till 1343 and the Paleologoi to 1453, but their successors presided over the long decline of their respective realms. Michael VIII was a ruthless and resourceful monarch, more successful in pursuit of his foreign policies than he was domestically. His religious policies created considerable internal division. While he averted a mortal danger to the Empire, Michael's efforts to restore it to its pre-1204 glory sapped its strength and resources. That said, no ruler of Nicaea could have passed up the chance to retake Constantinople, the very legitimacy of his rule lay in striving for "The City".

The treasury exhausted, Michael's son and successor Andronicus II drastically curtailed the defence budget. He could no longer defend the Empire's Anatolian heartland. Within sixty years of Michael VIII's death, Anatolia was all but lost to a hitherto unknown Turkish clan, the Ottomans. Not long after they crossed into Europe, and about a century later they destroyed the Roman Empire. ☺

Roger Lucy is a Deputy Director in Export Controls Division (DFAIT) and has served in Chicago, Tehran, Oslo and Port of Spain. He has contributed several previous articles on "Dark Age Diplomacy" two of which have been awarded prizes by the Retired Heads of Mission Association (RHOMA).

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UNCLE JOE WHO?

UNDERSTANDING KHRUSHCHEV AND FORGETTING STALIN

One of the more remarkable careers in Canadian diplomatic history was the one which took John Watkins (1902-1964) from the family farm near Norval Station, Ontario, to the senior ranks of the Department of External Affairs, with two postings in Moscow (including one as ambassador from 1954 to 1956) as personal and professional highlights. A gifted linguist and scholar, whose doctoral thesis at Cornell University dealt with Danish writer Gustav Wied, Watkins immersed himself in Russian society and culture within the limits imposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during the cold war.

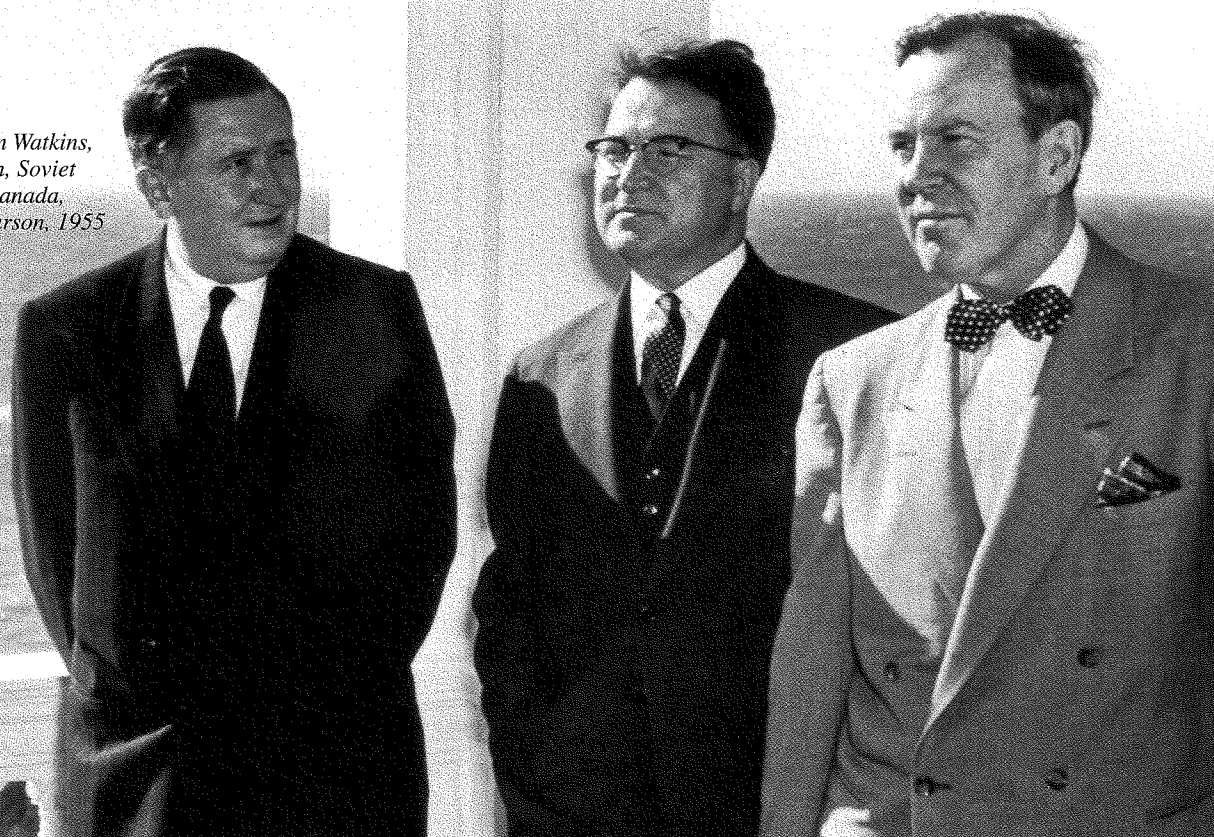
Unfortunately, one exploration in Russia led to a homosexual entrapment that the KGB attempted unsuccessfully to exploit. Later defections by KGB agents led to the identification of Watkins as the target of this plot. After his retirement, Watkins was questioned by the RCMP's security service, initially in London, England, and then in Montréal. Before that second interview was over — but after he had satisfied his questioners that he had not betrayed his country — Watkins suffered a fatal heart attack. This aspect of the life and death of John Watkins has been examined in newspaper accounts and books (most notably John

Sawatsky's *Men in the Shadows* and *For Services Rendered*, as well as two novels that attempt to recreate the final interrogation, and a play by Timothy Findley, *The Stillborn Lover*, that draws on elements of the story).

What is sometimes overlooked in this fascination with the circumstances of his death is that Watkins was an acute observer of the USSR at a time of change and uncertainty after the death of Joseph Stalin. There is an excellent edition of his diplomatic reports assembled by Dean Beeby and William Kaplan, *Moscow Despatches: Inside Cold War Russia*. That collection includes reports by Watkins on the decisive Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR in February 1956, including the closed session when Nikita Khrushchev denounced the "cult of personality" under Stalin and its deleterious consequences. The memorandum reproduced below conveys his reflections and assessment after Watkins returned to Ottawa. The memorandum was declassified in 1990 by the Co-ordinator, Access to Information and Privacy (then Ted Johnston, who provided a copy of this document), prior to the transfer of departmental records to the National Archives of Canada.

Hector Mackenzie

Left to right: John Watkins, Dmitris Chuvahin, Soviet Ambassador to Canada, and Lester B. Pearson, 1955



J[ohn]. B[enjamin]. C[lark]. Watkins
[Assistant Under-Secretary of State for
External Affairs], "Some Thoughts on the
recent changes in the Soviet Government,"
Confidential, July 15, 1957.

1. "Flexibility" was one of the main watchwords of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, and while all the members of the Praesidium apparently acquiesced in the need for more flexible policies both at home and abroad, the more cautious and conservative of them, such as [Lazar Moiseyevich] Kaganovich [former Commissar of Railways and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, dismissed in 1957] and [Viacheslav Michailovich] Molotov [Minister of Foreign Affairs, USSR, 1939-49 and 1953-56; First Deputy Chairman of Council of Ministers, USSR, until February 1957], must have had serious misgivings about the extent to which the ebullient and daring [Nikita Sergeyevich] Khrushchev [First Secretary of the Communist Party of the USSR, 1953-64] might feel empowered to make changes, for they had already had a sufficiently unpalatable foretaste.
2. In the field of foreign affairs, Khrushchev's visit, with [Nicolai] Bulganin [Chairman, Council of Ministers, USSR, 1955-58 (an office usually referred to in Canadian press as "Premier")], to Belgrade, his admission there that the Soviet Union had been wrong and the Yugoslavs right in the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism, and his abject apology to [Marshal Josip Broz] Tito [President of Yugoslavia, 1953-80] for the injury done him, had certainly seemed to Molotov, Kaganovich and others a risky course upon which to embark in view of its potential repercussions in the satellites. Khrushchev's own simplified explanation of his conduct that, in personal relations, if you realized that you had wronged a man, you told him so and asked his pardon and that the same rule should apply between countries, cannot have carried much weight with so old and experienced a diplomat as Molotov, who, having signed some of the insulting communications sent to Tito under [Joseph Vissarionovich] Stalin's [Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, 1922-53] direction, had naturally been omitted from the Belgrade party and was to be replaced as Foreign Minister just before Tito's return visit.
3. While the strictures on the cult of personality and the sharp criticism of Stalin implied in [Anastas Ivanovich] Mikoyan's [First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, 1955-64] speech at the 20th Congress, which went considerably further in that direction than Khrushchev's opening speech, had probably been agreed upon by the Praesidium, it seems likely that Khrushchev's bitter, extreme and highly emotional denunciation of Stalin in the closed session at the end of the Congress came as an unpleasant surprise to some of his colleagues on the Praesidium. It was obviously undertaken with the deliberate intention of shocking the entire Soviet public into freeing itself from the dead weight of Stalinism and of releasing initiatives essential to a rapid increase of productivity in both agriculture and industry. But it must have seemed reckless to Kaganovich, who, long before the 20th Congress, had been deploring what he called the demoralization of the Soviet workers and stressing the need for discipline and a strong hand, and there were indications that Molotov, [Klimentiy Efremovich] Voroshilov [Chairman, Praesidium of Supreme Soviet (or "President") of USSR, 1953-60] and other old Bolsheviks, with less confidence in the industry and tractableness of the Soviet population than Khrushchev seems to have, shared his worries.
4. Khrushchev had suffered one severe reverse in his agricultural policy in the failure of his *agrogorod* scheme, but this had not deterred him from embarking on the much larger and riskier new lands venture, which, if it had failed, must almost certainly have ended his political career. Fortunately for him, while by no means an unqualified success, it seems, in spite of the hazard of drought every other year or so, to be capable of adding enough in good years to the total grain harvest to justify itself and has accordingly enhanced Khrushchev's prestige. Furthermore, the increase in production of meat, eggs and milk as a result of other innovations and rationalizations introduced by Khrushchev has been sufficiently large and rapid to impress the public strongly in his favour. Part of this success was due to increased incentives offered to the farmers, a distinctly un-Stalinist method, and Khrushchev's determination to proceed in this direction by ending compulsory state levies from the peasants' private plots (and currying political favour for himself by the highly unorthodox tactic of announcing it before the Praesidium had taken a decision) clearly alarmed and annoyed his more conservative colleagues.
5. The troubles in Poland and Hungary were doubtless cited by Khrushchev's opponents as evidence of the dangers they had apprehended as a result of his Yugoslav policy and his de-Stalinization programme. They seem to have convinced him that he must take a tougher line with Tito at the expense of a definite halt in the progress of amicable relations; with Poland, where he threatened intervention; and with Hungary, where he intervened. But it is evident that the culmination of their worries was reached with the inauguration of Khrushchev's vast industrial decentralization programme. A considerable measure of decentralization was adumbrated in the 20th Congress, apparently with the agreement, however unenthusiastic, of the more conservative leaders, but Khrushchev's plan, in spite of his assurances that the necessary amount of central control would be preserved, must have seemed to them much too drastic and far-reaching for safety, (especially by reason

of the additional powers which would inevitably accrue to the republican governments through the division of the country into over 100 economic regions) and persuaded them that the time had come to oust him.

6. However reckless and unpredictable Khrushchev may seem to the more conservative elements, there can be little doubt that his more flexible, courageous, and liberal policies appeal strongly to the younger generation, especially to the now very large group of well-educated young people whose thirst for "normalcy", for a richer, happier, and freer life, with greater opportunities for expression, for contacts with coevals from other countries, for foreign travel, etc. is intense and articulate enough to have been a factor in the relaxations already introduced into the Soviet scene and in the trend away from the austerity and regimentation of a revolutionary, and hence "abnormal", society. While a Kaganovich or a Molotov might have considered impatiently that the intellectual ferment among the intelligentsia (evident in widespread and demonstrative student approbation of a recent "ideologically defective" novel and in their refusal to accept the official explanation of the situation in Hungary) could be dealt with by good, old-fashioned, rigorous methods, such as expulsions from universities with forced return to manual labour, admonitory harangues by Molotov, [Dmitri Trofimovich] Shepilov [Chief Editor of *Pravda*, 1952-56; Minister of Foreign Affairs of USSR, 1956-67] and others, etc., the more realistic Khrushchev has probably concluded that the time has passed for such measures to be really effective and that, while the process might be retarded and rendered more gradual, it could not be stopped. He seems also to have realized that a huge literate population could not be governed indefinitely by methods which had worked with an illiterate peasantry and that the progress at which he was aiming could not be achieved without the willing cooperation of the increasingly large group of highly trained scientists, engineers and technicians, whose desires and aspirations could henceforth not be ignored with impunity.
7. In speaking of the attitude of the younger generation, the army cannot be excluded. With the exception of a relatively small number of senior officers, it is essentially a youth group. The refusal of some of the young Soviet soldiers in Hungary to turn their guns on the workers must have appeared as a significant portent. Army morale is a very important consideration for any commander, not least a Russian commander. It is generally conceded that, while an excellent fighter in defence of his homeland, the Russian soldier has little stomach for any other kind of fighting. While it is true that there is an elaborate propaganda machine which could be applied to presenting any kind of a war as defensive, there are limits to what it can accomplish in the face of obvious facts, as was demonstrated by its failure to put over the official line in Hungary with the

students. Khrushchev could hardly have carried the day against such powerful opponents as [Giorgi Maksimilianovich] Malenkov [Chairman, Praesidium of Council of Ministers of USSR, 1953-55], Molotov and Kaganovich without the support of [Marshal Giorgi Konstantinovich] Zhukov [Minister of Defence and Candidate Member of Praesidium of Supreme Soviet of USSR, 1955-57] and the army, and it is perhaps safe to assure that Zhukov gave his support to the side with which he knew that his organization was preponderantly in sympathy. In addition, it is true to say, I think, that in Russia the army has traditionally been on the liberal side in the intellectual sphere.

8. Zhukov is himself probably not less pacifically inclined than President [of the United States Dwight D.] Eisenhower and he is not, so far as I know, suspected of having a Napoleon complex. The report of his committee to investigate the effects of nuclear warfare is said to have had a strong impact on Kremlin thinking on the question of disarmament and to have strengthened the view that the destruction would be so great that no victor would emerge from a war fought with hydrogen bombs. Hence, perhaps, Khrushchev's recent characterization of President Eisenhower's remarks on the "clean" bomb as "stupidities" because any weapon capable of such enormous destruction of human life could only be an evil thing. As a reward for his support, presumably, Zhukov has now been made a full member of the Praesidium, and since the drastic diminution of the power of the secret police, it may be doubted whether any leader or group of leaders which did not have his support could rule the country.
9. Khrushchev obviously has more confidence in the post-the post-revolutionary generation than have his opponents and if it is repaid by a serious effort on their part in support of his plans for a rapid increase in production, the 20th Congress may well stand, as it undoubtedly was intended to do, as a landmark denoting the end of the revolutionary era, the period of the building of socialism, as they like to describe it, and the beginning of a more normal, prosperous and peaceful period in Soviet history. My guess would be that, while Kaganovich and Molotov have been uneasy about the "flexes" in Soviet policy for some time, Malenkov (who, after all, had, as Prime Minister, recognized the need for improving relations with other countries, warned against the mutual destructiveness of nuclear warfare, and advocated increasing the emphasis on consumer industries at the expense of heavy industry) finally balked and lined up with the old Bolsheviks in opposition to Khrushchev's drastic decentralization programme, which he may well believe, given the character of the Russian people and the political subordination of the non-Russian republics, is so precipitate and unprecedented as to imperil the State.

10. Khrushchev is a peasant, albeit an extremely shrewd and well-informed one, and as such a realist. There is a good deal of calculation behind his most colourful and apparently random remarks. His reportedly drunken indiscretion in promising foreign journalists in Belgrade visas to visit the Soviet Union, for instance, was soon seen to have been firmly based on the policy he intended to follow. I suspect that he may have concluded earlier than some of his compeers that, short of a major conflict, which hydrogen bombs in any case rendered suicidal, it would not be possible to hold down the lid so tightly either in the satellites or in the Soviet Union itself and that therefore a new course, both flexible and courageous, was called for. A more liberal treatment of the satellites had been promised in the October declaration and certain concessions, notably in respect of the joint companies had already been made. Then came the Hungarian revolt with the threat that Hungary, an important component of the Soviet security belt, would withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and adopt an anti-Soviet policy, an eventuality which Zhukov and the other army leaders can hardly have been willing to contemplate, plus the Suez episode with the fear that it might touch off a world war and perhaps, given the Russian mentality, the suspicion that it might be intended to do so. The result was a shocking, if not unexampled, exhibition of great power ruthlessness which has obviously been extremely embarrassing to such eager proponents of "peaceful coexistence" and from the effects of which Khrushchev has been and still is making strenuous and rather painful efforts to extricate himself.
11. Within the circumscribed limits of his philosophy and his superstitions, Khrushchev is, I think, sincere. He has an exalted, indeed almost Canadian, sense of his own moral rectitude (though naturally less well founded!) and takes pride in the frankness and bluntness of his speech and in not being, as he likes to say, a diplomat. He honestly believes, I think, that socialism is a better system than capitalism and will survive it in the context of "competitive coexistence". This is precisely what he meant when he announced some time ago at a Kremlin reception that "we will bury you" and when he predicted recently that President Eisenhower's grandchildren would live under socialism. At the same time he is not above borrowing capitalist techniques (in the form of increased incentives to the peasants, for instance) when it appears to him that they will help to speed production and enable the Soviet Union to catch up with the United States. Indeed, he is not even above calling on the Deity for assistance — a peasant habit in which he has indulged rather frequently of late and which must eternally astonish orthodox Communist ears.
12. It was notable that all the references to Molotov's opposition to Soviet initiatives in the field of foreign policy were to such relatively remote events as the *rapprochement* with Yugoslavia and the Austrian Treaty (which Molotov had to negotiate whether he liked it or not). Khrushchev's ideas have clearly been dominant in Soviet foreign policy for some time and there is therefore not much reason to think that its general direction will be radically altered. But the 20th Congress's emphasis on flexibility will not be forgotten and the policy of peaceful coexistence is likely to be assiduously and imaginatively pursued. The Leninist thesis of different roads to Communism in different countries is unlikely to be abandoned but it would be rash to predict when Khrushchev will be ready to let a hundred flowers bloom either in the Soviet Union itself or in, say, Hungary. Nevertheless, the publication of Mao Tse-tung's [Chairman, Communist Party of the People's Republic of China] speech in the Soviet and satellite press is certain to have an impact on all thoughtful readers and will inevitably reinforce the liberal trend.
13. It would be a mistake to imagine that with the obstructionism of Molotov and Kaganovich removed Khrushchev will not still remain an extremely tough bargainer. Concessions will doubtless be offered but always in return for what the Russians can regard as a *quid pro quo*. Khrushchev has a pretty shrewd estimate of the Soviet Union's bargaining power and like all Russians, and especially Russian peasants, he will always be wary of being fleeced. On the other hand he will probably be readier to match wits with Westerners than any of his colleagues, past or present, except Mikoyan.
14. Although the elimination of Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov from the Praesidium inevitably strengthens Khrushchev's position, it should not be concluded that he will have everything his own way. Mikoyan, Bulganin and Zhukov are all strong personalities and able, I should think, to exercise a restraining influence. Nor can it be assumed that some of the new appointees, who though less well known abroad are by no means nonentities will always agree with Khrushchev. Shepilov, who was regarded as a Khrushchev appointment, joined the opposition, and although Khrushchev has called him two-faced, he seems so far to have got off with a good deal less castigation than his seniors. They might well have expected to be liquidated but apparently are not going to be — if they behave themselves. The charge that Malenkov was implicated in the Leningrad plot, which may well be true, is, of course, a serious one and could call for a trial. Since the trial might be embarrassing and produce uncomfortable revelations about some of the other leaders, it may simply be held as a threat to keep Malenkov, the youngest and most formidable of Khrushchev's opponents, in order. In Stalin's time, of course, they would doubtless all have been accused, as [Lavrenti Pavlovich] Beria [Minister of Internal Affairs, USSR, 1938-1953] was, of being Western imperialist agents. Nobody believed this charge, a Russian economist

told me; it was simply the standard form "the Byzantine element". With the raising of the Iron Curtain to permit cultural and scientific exchanges and a good deal of tourism in both directions, public opinion has become more sensitive about some of the cruder practices of the revolutionary era and almost pathetically eager to have the Soviet Union seem more like other countries. Soviet officials were obviously proud to be able to say, when Malenkov was replaced as Prime Minister by Bulganin, that, since a change of policy had been decided upon, it was natural that the leader who had been identified with the old policy should give place to a leader identified with the new one. It seemed to strike them as delightfully "normal". Khrushchev, who had himself given this explanation to a foreign diplomat, heightened the point in characteristic fashion at a diplomatic reception; indicating Malenkov who was standing nearby, he said with a jovial laugh: "Why, they even say we're going to shoot old Georgie here!"

15. The idea of "collective leadership" has appealed very strongly to the broad masses of the people and helped to make them feel that they were progressing politically as well as economically. Whether it was originally Khrushchev's idea or not, he has probably talked more about it than most of his colleagues and certainly convinced many of the foreign diplomats in Moscow that there was real substance in it. There is no information yet to indicate that it was not still functioning very much as he had described it, except that his three opponents seem to have attempted in the absence of several of his main supporters to manoeuvre a majority vote of the Praesidium

against him. My guess would be that Khrushchev will wish to preserve at least the facade of collective leadership and probably a good deal more than that. Whether or not he will be able to do so will depend mainly on the success of his domestic policies, for a serious deterioration in the internal situation would be the signal for more dictatorial methods, his or another's. But it will also depend partly on the response abroad to whatever overtures he may make in the direction of an international *detente*, for a revival of the cold war would soon nip the more liberal trend in the bud.

16. The enhancement of Khrushchev's influence at the expense of his more cautious, rigid, and doctrinaire opponents is in my opinion to be welcomed by the West. If his ambitious economic programme is successful, the more liberal trend will continue and gain momentum, and the further it goes the more difficult it will become to reverse it. True, the Soviet Union will become a more formidable economic competitor but presumably we have faith enough in the superiority of our own system to accept that particular challenge with equanimity. In fact, we may have to accept it, *faute de mieux*, atomically speaking. While NATO may have seemed sometimes to thrive best in a cold war atmosphere and to react more electrically to occasional shots in the arm from the Soviet Union than to all the sage counsels of its own wise men, its centrifugal forces would probably not be less manageable in a period of relaxed international tension than those within the Soviet bloc, which now looks much less monolithic than it did a few years ago. ☺

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- le service constant aux Canadiens et aux Canadiennes à l'étranger aux prises avec une maladie, une blessure ou une tragédie personnelle.

Nous rendons également hommage à ceux et celles qui font partie de la famille du service extérieur, nos collègues AS, SCY et CR, qui font en sorte que notre travail porte fruit. Nous, les agents du service extérieur, nous vous en sommes reconnaissants. Partout dans le monde, notre personnel du service extérieur est passé maître dans l'art de placer le Canada dans sa perspective la plus avantageuse possible. »

Left to right: David Winfield, John Baker, Manon Globensky, Ross Glasgow, Andrée Vary, Diane Harper, Stephen Brereton, Lt. Gen George Macdonald, Don Campbell.





Mr. **Don Campbell**, Group President, Military Simulation and Training, CAE and a former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs presented **Stephen Brereton** with his certificate and cheque.

Stephen Brereton, Director of the Investment Trade Policy Division, received an award in recognition of his outstanding leadership and management, both of issues and people. As Director of the division responsible for managing issues stemming from Chapter 11 of the NAFTA, he has played a crucial part in meeting government objectives, as well as a pivotal role in advancing policy on corporate social responsibility. Steve is also recognized as a superbly effective manager, praised for his leadership and commitment, his flexibility and dedication to the task and for his ability to marshal the talents of a diverse team to meet ongoing challenges. His commitment to public service and to teamwork distinguish him as an outstanding representative of the Foreign Service.

I am very honoured to accept this award this evening from my colleagues, peers and fellow members of PAFSO ... I am proud to be a member of Canada's Foreign Service Community and we should be proud of our long history and contribution in representing our country ... This is really an honour for the EBI team. This recognition helps to deepen our resolve to continue to face our work with optimism and determination.

Stephen Brereton



Karinyn Aleong

Ross Glasgow, Counsellor at the Canadian Joint Delegation to the North Atlantic Council in Brussels, is being honoured for his outstanding work at NATO, where he has worked tirelessly and diligently toward a vision of the organization which encompasses larger humanitarian concerns, in keeping with Canada's human security focus. He is being recognized specifically for the innovative leadership he has shown in working with the countries of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council to reduce stockpiles of land mines, small arms and light weapons. Through his efforts, a voluntary NATO trust fund was turned into a vehicle for international action in landmine stockpile destruction. The result has been not only a reduction in land mines and small arms stockpiling, but a new perspective in what has traditionally been an environment resistant to change.

Bob Peck

...There are many colleagues in the department who are deserving of recognition. ...There are many others whose contributions to the department are overlooked because many of ... are so busy that we don't take the time and make the effort required to draw attention to their accomplishments. I would urge all of us to pay attention to the work of our colleagues and to make the extra effort required to ensure that it is recognized and honoured.

Ross Glasgow



An Officer of the Order of Canada, the Honourable **Mitchell Sharp**, a former Secretary of State for External Affairs and currently serving as Personal Advisor to the Prime Minister of Canada, presented **Ross Glasgow** with his certificate and cheque.

IN PURSUIT OF

Growing up as a military brat I lived something of the lifestyle I now put my own family through. When I first told my parents I planned to join the foreign service, Mom's reaction was 'What are you, nuts? Did you learn nothing growing up?' Maybe not Mom, but thanks for being supportive anyway. Thanks too, to Len and the kids, who put up with the security restrictions, the long hours, the new languages and my responsibility to help other Canadians at times when my own family needs me the most.

Diane Harper

Flora MacDonald



Diane Harper, First Secretary and Consul at the Office of the Canadian Embassy in El Salvador, received a PAFSO award for her outstanding management ability during the earthquakes in El Salvador in January and February 2001, as well as for the leadership skills she continues to display in a challenging micro-mission environment. In January 2001, El Salvador experienced a severe earthquake, which killed over 800 people. Despite the dangers and personal risks, Diane met every challenge with aplomb, ensuring the safety of her staff and of Canadians in El Salvador. She exemplifies the versatility and flexibility, as well as the ability to perform under pressure, which is a hallmark of the foreign service. She also enjoys the loyalty and affection of all who work with her. Her personal and professional contribution in a time of crisis are recognized in the award she has received.



A Companion of the Order of Canada, the Honourable **Flora MacDonald** was the first woman to hold the position of Secretary of State for External Affairs. A tireless champion of development issues and long-time friend of the PAFSO Awards, Ms. MacDonald presented **Diane Harper** with her certificate and cheque.

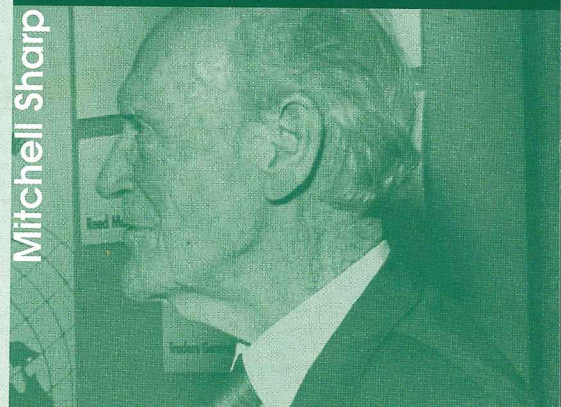
EXCELLENCE



... We're gathered here tonight among colleagues, and I am delighted to be here with you, a rare occasion these last six years. I have a job which I love and which captivates me. God knows I don't do it for the money. ... What animates me everyday, wherever I am, is to know that our ideas and contributions support Canadian needs and goals everywhere. Cet échange constant et fructueux, cet esprit d'équipe qui nous fait travailler de concert de par le monde, sont ce que je retiens de plus noble de notre carrière. J'en suis fière et vous en remercie.

Andrée Vary

Mitchell Sharp



Actuellement vice-président (relations gouvernementales) du Groupe financier TD et lui-même ancien lauréat d'un prix de l'APASE, M. **Scott Mullin** a consacré 20 ans au service extérieur avant de passer au secteur privé. Il a présenté à **Andrée Vary** son certificat et son chèque.

Andrée Vary, conseillère (commercial) au Haut-Commissariat du Canada à la Barbade, a obtenu un prix pour sa contribution exceptionnelle à titre de déléguée commerciale régionale à Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. Sa renommée n'est plus à faire quand il s'agit de trouver des sources de financement commercial pour les entreprises canadiennes dans les pays en voie de développement ou de prodiguer des conseils à cet égard; elle est considérée comme la spécialiste du ministère dans ce domaine. Son travail à Abidjan lui a posé des défis inusités, notamment lors du coup d'état en 1999. Les dirigeants du secteur public comme du secteur privé ne tarissent pas d'éloges à son égard pour l'énergie qu'elle consacre à la recherche de débouchés pour des entreprises canadiennes, sa connaissance du marché africain et les rapports sains et durables qu'elle a su nouer avec la Banque africaine de développement. Son énergie, sa créativité et son dévouement, facteurs qui ressortant de la pure tradition du service des délégués commerciaux, lui ont permis de jouer un rôle clé dans la progression des intérêts commerciaux canadiens en Afrique occidentale.

Special Thanks to Our Sponsors



Dominique Levesque (left)

Nous tenons à remercier nos commanditaires **ministres, ambassadeurs** et **diplomates** qui jouent un rôle important dans le succès constant du programme de prix de l'APASE. Nous savons gré en particulier aux commanditaires suivants qui ont fourni des prix pour les tirages : Dominique Levesque designer-couturier, Allan Bonner

Communications Management et Albert at Bay Suite Hotel. Les succulents et irrésistibles chocolats à chaque table étaient une gracieuseté de Tradex Mutual Funds.



Leona Tanko (left)

We would also like to acknowledge the sponsorship of Inniskillin Wine. Leona Tanko, Export Manager for Vincor International/ Inniskillin Wines, made the special presentation to each of the PAFSO Award recipients of a magnum of ice wine, hand-signed by co-founders Donald J.P. Ziraldo and Karl J. Kaiser. Inniskillin Wines,

a long-time supporter of the PAFSO Awards Banquet, also provided wines for each course of the dinner.

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1999 Inniskillin Riesling Reserve Niagara Peninsula VQA

Warm salad of grilled spring vegetables with balsamic vinegar and extra virgin olive oil
Salade chaude de légumes printaniers grillés arrosée de vinaigre balsamique et d'huile d'olive extra vierge

1999 Inniskillin Founders Reserve Chardonnay Niagara Peninsula VQA

1998 Inniskillin Founders Reserve Pinot Noir Niagara Peninsula VQA

Oven-baked salmon with tomato-cucumber salsa on truffled mashed potatoes

Saumon cuit au four et sa salsa à la tomate et au concombre servis sur une purée de pommes de terre aux truffes et accompagné de légumes de saison

1998 Inniskillin Gold Oak Ages Icewine Niagara Peninsula VQA

Hazelnut chocolate gianduja marjolaine
Marjolaine au gianduja (chocolat noisettes)



RHOMA Prize / Prix de l'ACMAR

Chaque année, lors de la cérémonie de remise, l'Association des chefs de mission à la retraite (ACMAR) décerne un prix pour le « meilleur article » dans **bout de papier** par un agent FS ou son conjoint ou sa conjointe. Le lauréat ou la lauréate reçoit un exemplaire encadré de son article, accompagné d'un prix en espèces de 500 \$. Le prix a pour objet de promouvoir le maintien de l'excellence en rédaction dans le service extérieur et se veut un incitatif supplémentaire aux contributions à **bout de papier**.

Former Ambassador to Pakistan and New Zealand, and Chairman of the Directing Group of RHOMA, **Douglas Small** presented this year's award to **Roger Lucy** for his article The "Middle East Peace Process of 1229" (Volume 18 No. 3). Honourable Mention went to Sarah Taylor for the following articles, "Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan" (Volume 18 No. 3) and "Congratulations — You're Not Pregnant! Why you should care about the new maternity and parental leave policy" (Volume 18 No. 4). The Selection Committee was comprised of retired ambassadors: George Grande, Marc Faguy and Bob Clark.

2002 Judges

All five judges were present at the dinner. The panel which selected this year's Award recipients was composed of people who themselves had achieved distinction in their various fields. The panel included:

John Baker, a private and public sector consultant, and former Director General for Case Management at Citizenship and Immigration Canada

Donald Campbell, président de groupe, Simulation et entraînement militaires, CAE, et ancien sous-ministre des Affaires étrangères, sous-ministre du Commerce international et ambassadeur au Japon et en Corée

Manon Globensky, correspondante parlementaire au Bureau de la Colline de Radio-Canada et lauréate en janvier de cette année du Prix de la radio, le prix spécial du vice-président de Radio-Canada, pour son travail en suivant les répercussions du 11 septembre à Washington, au Pakistan et en Afghanistan.

Lieutenant-General George Macdonald, Vice Chief of Defence Staff, and former Deputy Commander-in-Chief of North American Aerospace Defence Command in Colorado Springs.

David Winfield, Executive Director of the Toronto Leadership Centre for Financial Sector Supervision, Executive Director of the Toronto, Chairman of the Canadian Council for the Americas, and former Canadian ambassador to Mexico and Guatemala. ☺

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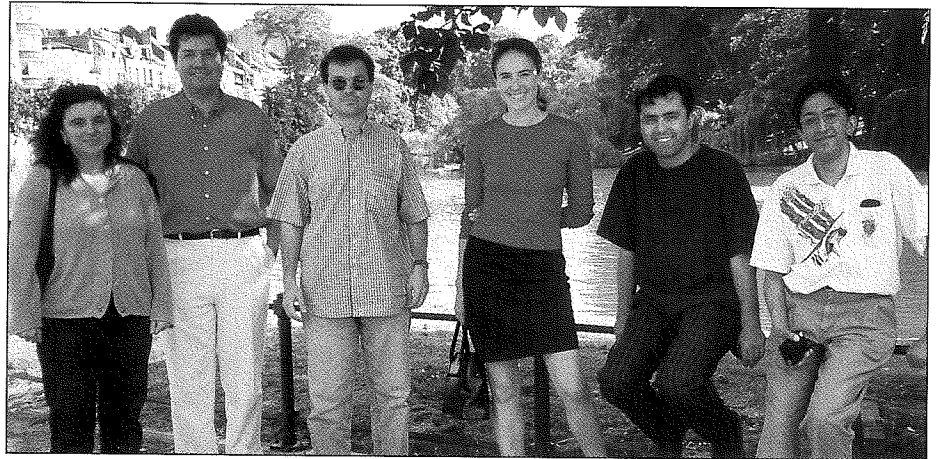
Mehul (Mike) Shah Memorial Bursaries Awarded in June 2002

by Suzanne Elliott

Canada's Mission to the European Union (BREEC) recently paid tribute to their dear former friend and colleague, Mehul "Mike" Shah by naming two one-time bursaries for studies at the College of Europe, Belgium in his memory.

Created under BREEC's 25th anniversary of Canada-EU relations strategy, the bursaries worth \$8000 each, were awarded in June 2002 to Jan Rovny of McGill University and Charles Boisvert of the University of British Columbia. The recipients were selected by the European Community Studies Association — Canada, who ran a nation-wide competition for the bursaries on behalf of the Mission. Both students have successfully enrolled in the Masters program in Political and Administrative Studies at the College of Europe, which begins in Bruges next fall.

The idea of naming the bursaries after Mike Shah, who passed away suddenly in



(from left to right) Two Italian and a Brazilian diplomat to the EU, Isabelle Poupart, Rambod Behboodi and Mehul (Mike) Shah. Photo was taken by Jennifer McKeen.

2001, was suggested by his successor at BREEC, Jennifer McKeen. Shah spent three productive years as a political officer at BREEC from 1996-99, in what would turn out to be his first and only posting, before

returning to EBT and a promotion to deputy director. During his time at BREEC, he took on Canada-EU relations with the same enthusiasm and dedication for which he was known throughout the department. He also made a lasting impression on his colleagues and, while many have since moved on to other assignments, he will certainly not be forgotten by the locally engaged staff with whom he had a very good rapport. To anyone who had ever worked with Mike Shah, naming the bursaries in his memory seemed an obvious choice.

Mike's family knew better than anyone the pride he took in being a part of Canada's foreign service and readily consented to the use of his name for the *Mehul (Mike) Shah Memorial Bursaries*. Mike's brother Samir Shah acknowledged that they were a fitting tribute to Mike's dedication to making Canada and the world a better place.

Like the students who were eventually selected to study at the College of Europe in his name, Mike Shah also attended the College for professional training during his posting in Brussels. As one who loved a challenge and a good debate, Mike would have greatly enjoyed his time there. For Rovny and Boisvert, the Masters program will enable them to gain a deepened understanding of Europe in all of its complexity, knowledge which they will later apply in their chosen careers in Canada. ☺

Suzanne Elliott is posted to the Canadian Embassy in Brussels.



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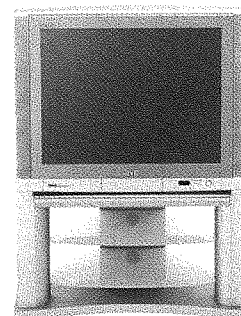
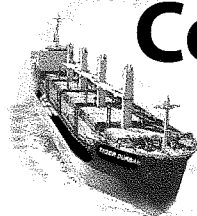
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Books in Review / Critiques de livres

Hidden Secrets: A Complete History of Espionage and the Technology Used to Support It.

Reviewed by Kurt F. Jensen

HIDDEN SECRETS: A COMPLETE HISTORY OF ESPIONAGE AND THE TECHNOLOGY USED TO SUPPORT IT by David Owen; Firefly Books, Toronto, 2002.

Kurt F. Jensen is a member of the Department serving at present as Deputy Director, Foreign Intelligence Division. He has had postings in Stockholm, Bonn, Port of Spain, and Boston.

This book is directed at the individual who is casually interested by the world of intrigue and wants an enlightening book which can be consumed in easily read short segments. The book relies heavily on photographs to present its story of the world of intelligence and this approach actually works quite well, especially when acknowledging that the target audience is the casual reader who wants to be informed as much as to be entertained.

The book is organized in a unique manner which may at first appear confusing and annoying to someone skimming it rather than reading from beginning to end. David Owen has organized his material around different intelligence types: HUMINT, SIGINT, ELINT, and IMINT, as well as 'False Intelligence'. The presentation in each section is well done. For example, Owen tells the story of HUMINT from earliest time to the present. Each section is handled in this manner which removes any chronological progression to the book as a whole. Hence, the reader who skims from section to section can have a sense of going forward and backward in time. Since the short chapters, 5-6 pages in length with many photographs, various sidebars, and several Case Studies of about 2 pages each following each chapter would, to this reader at least, seem to encourage a reading of the book in a non-sequential manner, one wonders why the author did not follow a format which adhered to a more logical historical progression.

The book is Canadian but is remarkably bereft of Canadian content. There is no entry for Canada in the index. One of the few indirect Canadian entries is a photograph of Igor Gouzenko, who defected to Canada in 1945, which incorrectly identifies him as having worked for the KGB. Gouzenko, in fact, was with the GRU, Soviet Military Intelligence. Another indirect Canadian link comes with

Antonio J. Mendez who wrote the 'Foreword.' Mendez is identified as a retired covert CIA agent now working as an author and consultant. Mendez, in fact, was the CIA officer who went into Tehran after the seizure of the American Embassy to provide the Americans hidden by Canadian diplomats with the 'stories' to accompany their newly minted Canadian passports to help pass through Iranian exit controls. This facet of Mendez's background is not identified in the book for inexplicable reasons.

The value of the book rests with its photographs which bring the story to life. As the story goes, "a picture tells a thousand words", and this is entirely borne out not only by photographs of well known spies but also by pictures of espionage equipment, paraphernalia maps, Enigma machines and the body of Major Martin, 'The Man Who Never Was'. Clearly, photographs help to bring this book to life and it was annoying when they were incorrectly labeled as with Gouzenko, seen above. The same mistake is made with Anatoly Yakovlev, the handler of the 1950s Atom spies in the U.S., where a photograph of a capable Soviet diplomat, with the same name but from a later era, is used. Similarly, the same photograph of the attack on Pearl Harbor is used within pages of each other (92 and 95) with one in colour and the other in black and white and one printed backwards. Other photos would have been available.

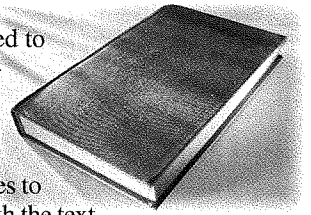
The text is remarkably fresh for the type of book that it is. Some effort has clearly been made to avoid errors. Mistakes which are present, occur because the

author attempted to relate a complex story in brief descriptive terms. One such error relates to Kim Philby, with the text implying that he remained with MI6 (SIS) till his defection in 1963, which is not true. Nevertheless, the short descriptive presentations work remarkably well and capture the essence of often complex stories in brief passages.

The book is very current. Although published in early 2002 the book is able to capture the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States, Osama bin Laden, and the conflict in Afghanistan. This is a real achievement when one considers the time it takes for a book to be accepted for publication before it appears in bookstores.

This book is not for the reader with an extensive grounding in literature on intelligence. No new revelations appear in the book; all the information in the 200 plus pages has been described in greater detail elsewhere. The benefit of the book is derived from its brevity, considering the breadth of the subject, and its ability to crunch a great deal of information into a small amount of space. The book succeeds admirably as a good overview, for the novice as well as for the knowledgeable reader, and is bolstered by the successful use of photographs to illustrate the text and bring the story to life.

The book is well worth a reading for its entertaining and enriching value. ☺



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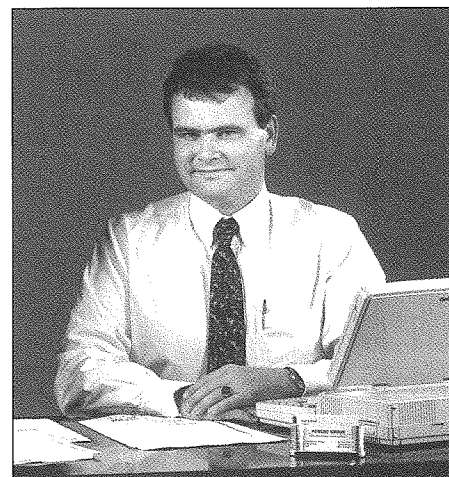
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MANITOBA

Jones

and the Checklist of Doom

It was a stressful week for the Centre. Felix Africa was advising the Prime Minister's Office that asking "If it looks like a duck and quacks like a duck and waddles with a limp, what is it?" did not constitute treason, even for a former Minister. External Affairs web gurus had brought "common look and feel" online at the

same time as a new artificial intelligence program, which then decided to impose its own definitions. So Bugbyte O'Nanotek was busy preventing "common" from getting downright "sordid". While investigating a rumoured plot by poultry farmers to corner the Thanksgiving market, Inspector Wu and Attila McGee discovered a walk-in freezer in Wawa holding dozens of flash-frozen yuppies with Leadership Convention accreditation, badges proclaiming "PM for PM" and instructions to "Defrost and Vote". The farmer claimed "there's nothing but turkeys in that freezer," and the PMO issued a press statement concurring.

So only ace logician Ludwig Liebnitz heard Chief MacBannock mournfully note, "It's the biggest global crisis since the Swiss caught Papa Jack Paridy putting robes on a crucifix and brought him up on charges of cross-dressing." Absent-mindedly dunking a cookie in his inkwell, he added "Rialto Sleazewagon again — as a freelancer, worse than ever. A closed session of the Security Council this morning had just voted to authorize action by 'all necessary meanies' — too literally true to be anything but a typo — against a certain recalcitrant state. Sleazewagon snuck in disguised as an itinerant Icelandic inchworm inspector and sprayed the entire room with a gas that gave everyone temporary paralysis and permanent amnesia. While no-one could move, he destroyed all the working papers and recordings of the session. Now no-one knows who they condemned. If this gets out, his employer gets off the hook. I've set our newest agent to gather clues. He should have been here half an hour ago."

A young man burst from MacBannock's closet, executed a *grand jeté* ending with a crash behind the sofa and came up with a large pistol in each hand. Dressed in wheat-coloured khakis, dusty campaign boots and a propellor beanie, he announced tersely, "Manitoba Jones reporting, Chief. No-one move 'til I get my feet out of this aspidistra." MacBannock scowled and asked, "Why are you late? And what were you doing in my closet?" "Approaching the building, I noticed guards at the door. I therefore effected an entrance by hiding in a pot of licorice gumbo in the cafeteria delivery truck, climbed an elevator shaft, got off one floor early and used a letter-opener to carve a hole in the floor of your closet."

a darker shade of noir from Aalto

STATES >>>>>>>>>>	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
CRITERIA	Y/N	Y/N	Y/N	Y/N	Y/N	Y/N	Y/N
1. Possesses weapons of mass destruction (WMD)							
2. Has used WMD in war against another state							
3. Has used WMD against its own people							
4. Is working to increase or improve its WMD arsenal							
5. Has recently conducted missile tests							
6. Has taken concrete actions that undermine multilateral arms control							
7. Has invaded another country since 1950 without UN authorization (except in response to military attack)							
8. Is currently threatening invasion of another country without UN authorization							
9. Remains in violation of UN Security Council resolutions							
10. Has supported para-military groups and/or terrorists in other states							
11. Has conducted military operations against its own people or those under its direct administration							
12. Has recently jailed citizens for extended periods without trial							
TOTAL YES							
CODENAME							

Liebnitz sputtered, "But you have a building pass. The guards would have let you in." "It does no harm to stay in practice, sir." "I can't wait to hear how you got into the UN." "Through the Chagall stained glass window into the chapel." "But that window doesn't open!" "It does now, sir. I took a short-cut through the heating ducts to a bar above the Council chamber and climbed down from the rafters on a ladder made from swizzle sticks. Here are the clues I gleaned from interviews with the Council members — pretty scattered, I'm afraid." He handed two sheets of paper to the logician. "Sorry, I have to dash. Something about tutus in Tuvalu. Ta-ta."

Glancing at the stopwatch on his wrist, he threw himself backward out the window, four floors above the street. Liebnitz sprang to the sill just in time to see Jones bounce to his feet in the back of an open truck marked "ACME Mattress", speeding by on the road below. Seconds later, he was knocked over by a low branch and toppled face-first into a manure spreader tailgating the truck.

Just then, Doña Esmeralda stormed into the room to say that a lunatic had forced his way into her office, immediately below MacBannock's, tied her to a chair and cut a trapdoor in the ceiling. "And why are you dunking that shortbread in your inkwell,

Chief?" "Oh damnation. I thought it was a gingersnap!" Liebnitz sighed and said, "OK, let's see what the pride of Flin Flon came up with. Hmmm. Fairly straightforward."

There are seven possible target countries. The justification for action against each of them was evaluated by considering twelve criteria, as listed in the attached chart, with a "yes" or "no" entered into the appropriate boxes. The target country was the one with the most "yes" boxes, standing apart from the rest as a global pariah. The following clues reflect what can be reconstructed of the completed chart. Countries are identified by their position in

the chart (A to G) or by CODENAMES. Unless otherwise clarified, the fact that a country is said to have certain Yes or No answers does not necessarily mean this represents its full count of that answer.

- 1 All 84 boxes are marked Yes or No, of which exactly 50 are Yes. No country received a full twelve Yes and each country's TOTAL YES is different.
- 2 Question 1 and just two others got seven Yes each. No question got seven No and only one got six.
- 3 DEMENTED WOODCHUCK and the country in column A both have Yes for questions 2, 4, 6 and 10.
- 4 SHUFFLING COBRA and the country in the column to its immediate left both have No for questions 3, 10 and 12.
- 5 Column E has twice as many Yes (including box E 9) as No (including box E 10).
- 6 RED WEASEL has exactly five No, including one for question 5.
- 7 Boxes B 9, E 2 and G 10 are all No.
- 8 Only questions 2 and 8 got exactly five No.

- 9 PUNK PANTHER, in column C, has three times as many No as Yes.
- 10 F and one of its adjacent columns always have the same answers to the same question, except those to question 10.
- 11 GROUCHING TIGER has No for questions 2, 8 and 10.
- 12 Both A and B have Yes for question 5.
- 13 The TOTAL YES for column B is an even number.
- 14 RABID WALRUS and the country in column G both have No for question 8 and Yes for question 12, but their answers differ on question 5 and on question 9.
- 15 Country D has No for questions 4 and 6 and a TOTAL YES of 5.
- 16 Country B has Yes for questions 2, 4 and 12.
- 17 HOLY GOATS has Yes for questions 5 and 9 and is immediately to the left of the column with the third-highest TOTAL YES.

Putting their heads together while MacBannock applied a mixture of single malt and industrial strength bleach to his

teeth, Ludwig and Esmeralda soon had the table restored. As they mulled over the totals and their implications, the Chief's phone rang and he picked it up. "Agent John W Pilgrim here," said a voice. "Who?" "Just a friendly warning — moral equivalency can be bad for your health." "What?" "Operation Hippo Moustache must go through." "What?" "All we are saying is — give war a chance." "What?" "Oh, and please talk closer to that rosebud on your desk." The Chief straightened up and said firmly, "You have reached the office of Hamish MacBannock. I cannot take your call just now. If you have any message to leave, please do so at the sound of the 'click'." And he hung up.

Can you duplicate Ludwig's and Esmeralda's feat by providing the CODENAMES and related TOTAL YES count for all seven countries on the chart? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct entries received by January 30, 2003. The winner will receive a year's subscription to *Harpers* magazine. ☺

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto dedicates this puzzle to Lewis Lapham, a voice of sanity, and to those we can save from dying in unnecessary wars. With thanks to Allan McFee for the turkeys and Jeff MacNelly for 'click'. Any correspondence between countries A to G and seven actual states... is left as an exercise for the reader.

Who Killed Lloyd Thursday?

Answers from Vol. 19, No. 1

The fake Maltese Avocado arrived with **Captain Jacobi** on **La Paloma** from **Hong Kong**.

The ciphertext reads: **SAME AS IN HAMMETT'S FALCON: OUR MAN IN TRIPOLI, ABOARD THE SPANISH DOVE**. Captain Jacobi of La Paloma brought the Maltese Falcon (in the Dashiell Hammett novel of that name) to San Francisco; George Jacoby is the Canadian Chargé in Tripoli (hello, George) and paloma is Spanish for "dove".

The answers: Sherlock **HOLMES**, Thomas **MAGNUM**, Nero **WOLFE**, Robert **IRONSIDE**, Dick **FRANCIS**, **PALADIN**, Paul **DRAKE**, Murder on the **ORIENT** Express, The **ROCKFORD** Files, The **UNTOUCHABLES**, **VANCOUVER**, The **THIN MAN**, Coffin Ed **JOHNSON**, The **ZEBRA** Striped Hearse, Ellery **QUEEN**, The Murder of Roger **ACKROYD**, One Fearful **YELLOW** Eye, **LOVEJOY**, Father **BROWN**, Benny **COOPERMAN**, Sue **GRAFTON**, The **X FILES**, Gerald "KOOKIE" Kookson III, **EDINBURGH**, Mickey **SPILLANE**, Jack **NICHOLSON**.

A useful website for detective trivia of this sort can be found at www.thrillingdetective.com.



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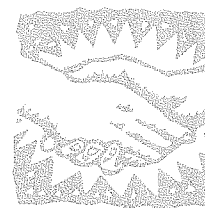
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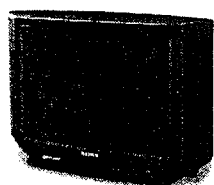
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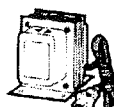
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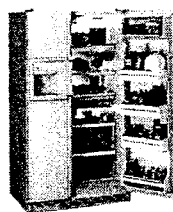
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