

bout de papier

Vol. 23, No. 1

Hues from the East

by Liza Linklater

Les Prix de
l'APASE **2007**
PAFSO Awards

The Foreign
Service and the
United States

by John Kneale



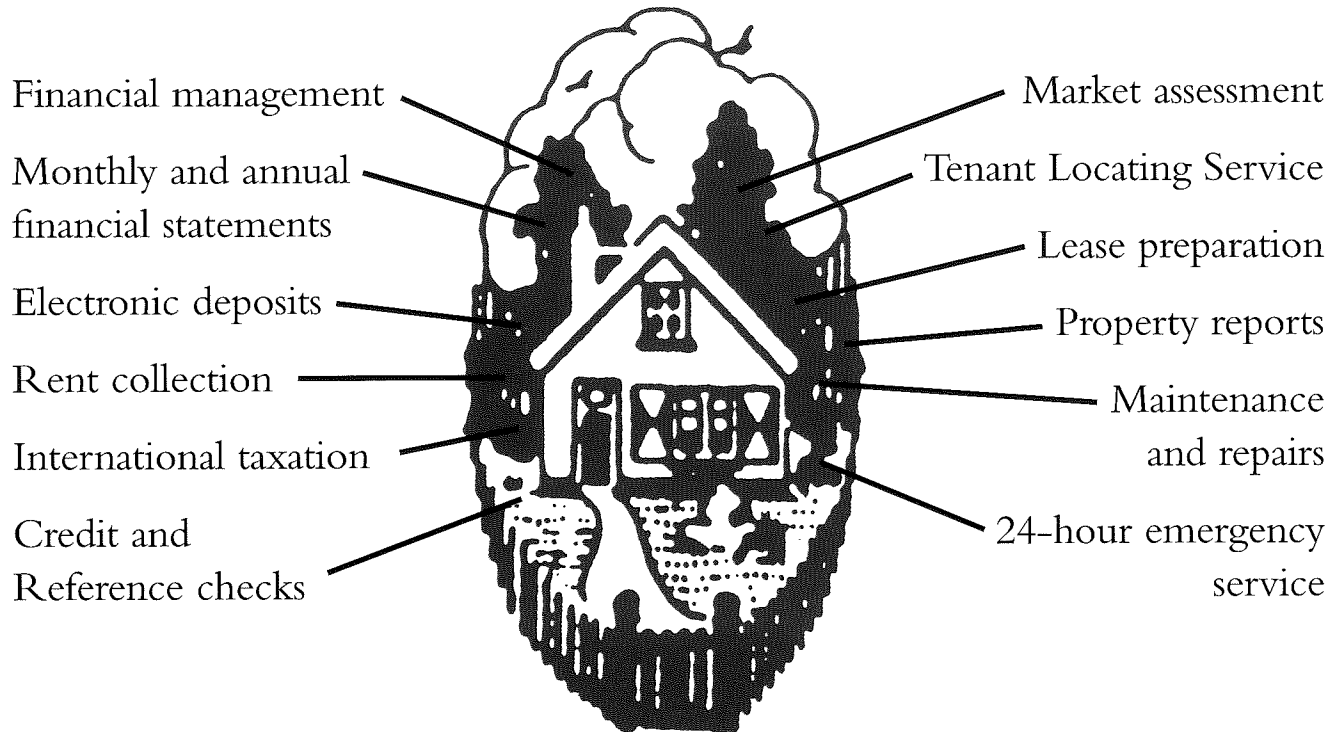
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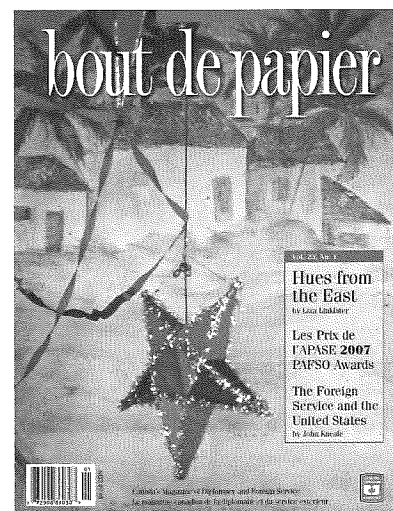
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This issue of **bout** will be coming out at the height of the posting season for Canada-based staff. People are leaving posts, people are going to posts. Families are being moved to different countries, to experience different cultures and languages. Spouses and children and employees are leaving behind friends, schools, jobs and social networks, both in Canada and at posts. It is a time of stress and disruption as well as a time of excitement and new beginnings.

Ce jeu périodique de chaise musicale fait partie intégrante du service extérieur. Dans le cadre de leur carrière, les fonctionnaires en provenance du Canada acceptent et attendent avec impatience de relever les défis professionnels afférents à un changement de poste tous les deux ou quatre ans. En outre, ces fonctionnaires et les membres de leurs familles doivent composer avec de grands défis personnels, avec les épreuves et les joies d'un déracinement personnel et professionnel complet aux deux ans, pour faire partie d'une famille qui représente le Canada à l'étranger.

Dans le présent numéro, nous soulignons les points forts du professionnalisme du service extérieur dans l'article portant sur les Prix de l'APASE. Nous félicitons les lauréats, exemples parfaits de ce qui se fait de mieux dans le service extérieur. Les Prix de l'APASE constituent l'une des principales activités de l'APASE en vue de prouver aux Canadiens l'excellence du service extérieur. Les lauréats témoignent de l'étendue et de la profondeur du professionnalisme des agents du service extérieur et de leur volonté d'établir la place du Canada dans le monde.

John Kneale has written an article on the need for foreign service personnel to consider serving at posts in the United States. My personal view for many years has been that every foreign service officer, no matter their stream or area of expertise, should have a professional assignment dealing with the US, preferably the earlier the better in their career. As Robert Thompson, the leader of the Social Credit Party in the 1960s said "The Americans are our best friends whether we like it or not." Each officer should have an understanding from personal experience of the Canada-USA relationship, as without it, it is impossible to understand Canada's place in the world. Many Canadians think

they can obtain this understanding by osmosis, but living in the US — while representing a "foreign government" and dealing with Americans on a daily basis — brings a level of understanding impossible to gain only by watching American television and movies.

La lecture de l'article sur les Prix de l'APASE, vous constaterez que deux des quatre lauréats étaient en mission aux É.-U. et qu'ils ont joué un rôle stimulant, enrichissant et important pour le compte du Canada et des É.-U.

In the "From the Archives" section, Hector Mackenzie has found a fascinating report on Canada-USA relations and the 1963 meeting between Prime Minister Pearson and President Kennedy at Hyannis Port. The agenda was broad and substantive and, not surprisingly, lumber and energy were on the agenda 44 years ago too.

Our cover story this issue is a marvelous photo essay by Liza Linklater, who has provided us with colourful photos taken in various Asian countries. Roger Lucy has written another feature story, about the world's only superpower of 2,500 years ago and of the Persian Empire's difficulties with the Greek city-states.

John Starnes has contributed another essay to continue the debate on the future of the shape of the Canadian intelligence community, an issue which deserves serious attention and review by all concerned Canadians.

We say good-bye in the In Memoriam section to Peter Zalite, who served Canada abroad for numerous years.

For those looking for some late summer reading hints, we have two book reviews. Kurt Jensen has reviewed Ed Whitcomb's series of short histories of several Canadian provinces — a handy read for those travelling across our country and wanting to understand the history of a specific region. Gar Parry has written a review of a book looking at a major diplomatic opening of the Cold War years, *Nixon in China* by Margaret MacMillan.

We close this issue of **bout**, as always, with another of Aalto's brain-teasing puzzles.



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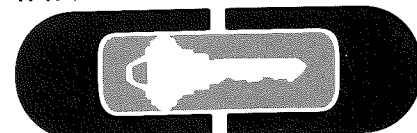
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Relief (Pitcher) in Hyannis Port

There was a new prime minister in Canada, who had promised decisive action ("Sixty Days of Decision") on a wide range of issues, including relations with the United States, which had deteriorated under his predecessor. The American president, who had been narrowly elected a few years before, agreed to an early summit; not in the formal setting of Washington but in the more congenial atmosphere of a family compound, where the Canadian leader's predecessor had never set foot. Although the circumstances may have a familiar quality, the meeting in question took place more than 40 years ago between Lester B. Pearson and John F. Kennedy.

"All Canadian officials present," one recalled, "were delighted with the instantaneous communication which was established between the Prime Minister and the President. It was apparent at the outset that they have an empathy on an intellectual as well as on a personality basis. This made the meetings informal and at times jocular, but also made it possible to cover much ground quickly, and to produce agreements and understandings with a minimum of delay." The American records of the same encounter make it obvious that the positive

impression was reciprocated. "General atmosphere talks excellent," a telegram reported back to the Department of State, "with Pearson giving repeated evidence [of] his determination [to] create and sustain cordial and frank relationship between two countries whose destiny closely linked by history as well as geography, while maintaining Canadian identity and defending Canadian interests." As various published accounts have noted, Pearson's considerable knowledge of baseball trivia was almost as vital to the rapport as his diplomatic experience.

An American account of the first day of discussions was published by the Department of State in its series, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Volume XIII, West Europe and Canada (Washington, 1994), pp.1201-6. There are several Canadian documents dealing with the encounter in Hyannis Port, all on file 1415-40 in volume 5030 of the records of the Department of External Affairs (RG19) in Library and Archives Canada. The "Summary Report" reprinted below was selected for its combination of comprehensiveness and relative brevity.

Hector Mackenzie

**Meetings between President John F. Kennedy and
Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson at Hyannis Port, Mass.,
May 10-11, 1963** **SECRET, May 15, 1963**

SUMMARY REPORT

As has been reported in the press and in the official communiqué, a copy of which is attached, the talks between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Pearson at Hyannis Port ranged over a wide field and covered a number of important questions of interest to both countries. The attached press release, dated May 7, 1963, indicates the general programme which had been agreed upon and the names of the officials on both sides who participated.

AGENDA

At the beginning it was agreed that insofar as an agenda would be followed the following subjects would be discussed on Friday afternoon, May 10:

- Prospects for Disarmament and the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests
- U.S.-Canadian Defence Matters
- Defence Production Sharing

Proposals for Development and Further Utilization of Channels of Communication and Consultation between the United States and Canadian Governments

Forthcoming Trade Negotiations in Geneva

Inter-allied Nuclear force and Multilateral Force

Great Lakes Shipping Dispute

It was agreed that the informal agenda for Saturday morning, May 11, should include the following topics:

East-West Relations

Latin America

Columbia River

Oil

Lumber

Fishing (including Law of the Sea)

Campobello Island

Laos

Communiqué

Other topics were brought into the discussion from time to time both in the working sessions and at meal times.

(a) Nuclear Weapons Policy

The Prime Minister said that on his return to Ottawa he would be in a position to send to the United States Government a note which would include a draft bilateral agreement based on the text previously under discussion between the two governments and designed to provide for the acquisition by Canada of nuclear warheads for use by Canadian forces. The Prime Minister specified the Bomarc Voodoo CF-104 and Honest John as intended to be covered by this agreement. He made it clear that owing to the need for full parliamentary discussion it would be some three or four weeks before the bilateral agreement could be concluded. The Prime Minister also said that once the bilateral agreement had been concluded it would be possible to go ahead with discussion of other aspects of the continental defence problem in which Canada had undertaken no commitment. [Three sentences omitted.] The Prime Minister made a later reference to the difficulties posed for the Canadian Government by USA interest in the dispersal of interceptor squadrons to Canada.

The President gave at the first working session and on a separate informal occasion an assurance that there would be joint consultation with Canada if the United States should at a later stage decide on a more modern weapons system to replace the Bomarc. It could be taken from his remarks that the same undertaking would apply in the case of other weapons systems in use by Canada. No indication was given by the President of whether and if so how soon the administration might be planning to phase out the Bomarc.

(b) Defence Production Sharing

It was agreed that there should be consultations at the Ministerial level which might begin when Secretary [of Defense Robert] McNamara went to Ottawa for the Nato meeting. A subsequent visit by the Minister of Defence Production [Charles "Bud" Drury] to Washington was also envisaged but no time for such a visit was mentioned. The President said that so far as Canada was concerned the Administration did not intend to make any changes in existing defence production policies with regard either to the waiving of the buy-America provisions of the F-104G programme. Some changes might subsequently be necessary, however, and in particular the Administration was reviewing the need for continuing with the Caribou programme for 1964-68 which "may not be renewed." The President also said that no decisions on the "Caribou and these other matters" would be taken until the whole question had been brought once again to his attention and to that of the Prime Minister.

(c) Inter-Allied Force and Multilateral Force

The Prime Minister said that on the assumption that agreement would be reached on the question of acquiring nuclear weapons for the use of Canadian forces the Canadian Government would be willing to participate in the IANF. He hoped that the discussion of IANF in NATO would not be pushed to an open break with France. It was stated by William Tyler, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs in the State Department that recent discussions with the French indicated that a formula would be found which the French could live with.

On the MLF the President said that he now felt very strongly in its favour although earlier he had been rather lukewarm. The Prime Minister said that the MLF was of less concern to Canada than to the European members and bearing in mind the extent of other Canadian defence undertakings especially in North America it would probably not be possible for Canada to participate. The President did not demur but asked for Canadian sympathy and understanding of the effort. The Prime Minister said that the Canadian Government would "make all the right noises" and "try to help you." The President said he would be sending a brief on the MLF to the Prime Minister.

(d) Machinery for Communication and Consultation

The Prime Minister referred to the various special arrangements for communication and consultation which had been established over the years including the P[ermanent]J[oint]B[oard on] D[efence] and joint Cabinet committees on economic matters and defence. He hoped that on the defence side the PJBD would concern itself with this at its meeting in June. He also hoped that the Cabinet level committees on economic matters and on defence could meet in the fall of 1962.

He also thought that individual Ministers (he mentioned particularly [Secretary of State for External Affairs] Mr. [Paul] Martin and [Minister of National Defence] Mr. [Paul] Hellyer) should visit their opposite numbers in Washington DC; such visits would of course be in addition to the meetings between Mr. McNamara and Mr. Drury mentioned above. The Prime Minister also referred to the importance of consultations through the PJBD and through the joint parliamentary committees.

The President gave every impression of being personally favourable to the development of inter-governmental exchanges at all levels.

(e) Latin America

This matter was raised by the Prime Minister who said that in the election campaign the Canadian Government had undertaken to give "sympathetic consideration" to joining the Organization of American States. The Prime Minister made it clear that no decision had been reached but that it was under careful consideration. Without concealing the Administration's hope that Canada would find it possible to join the OAS the President did not press the Prime Minister for a commitment. The President's final words were "on the OAS we will wait and see."

The Prime Minister informed the President that the Canadian Government would maintain its diplomatic representation in Cuba but would do nothing to indicate support or sympathy for the [President Fidel] Castro regime. The President expressed warm appreciation for Canadian assistance in the field of intelligence and of restrictions on Communist bloc air traffic to Cuba.

(f) Columbia River Treaty

It was agreed that the USA and Canadian Governments would undertake immediately consultations on the basis of the memorandum left by the Prime Minister with the President and that assuming agreement could be reached on the "clarification and adjustments" the Canadian Government would then approach the British Columbia Government. While the Prime Minister could not be sure that a satisfactory agreement could be reached with

British Columbia he thought Premier [W.A.C.] Bennett might be a little easier to deal with than previously. If all went satisfactorily the Government would go ahead with a view to ratification of the Treaty plus any agreed protocol in Parliament.

The next move is presumably up to U.S. authorities who will wish to consider the Canadian memorandum and who will no doubt be anxious to respond with as little delay as possible.

(g) Territorial Waters and Fishing Zone

The Prime Minister informed the President of the Canadian Government's intention to have a 12-mile zone — three miles territorial and a further nine miles for fisheries. The Government recognized that there were certain U.S. treaty and historic rights which could not be altered without prior agreement. The President asked for discussions between U.S. and Canadian representatives and indicated that he would be taking a personal interest in this subject. In the light of the talks he might write the Prime Minister later. It was left that the talks should take place in Washington DC during the current week.

This was the only subject on which there was a clear disagreement and the President said he thought it would be preferable to clarify the respective positions in the communique rather than pretend that agreement had been reached. Sentences 3, 4 and 5 of paragraph 13 in the communique were dictated during the meeting by the President in consultation with the Prime Minister.

(h) SIU Labour Dispute

The President said he had been in touch with Mr. [George] Meany [President of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations]. He thought it would be useful to get Mr. Meany and Mr. [Claude] Jodoin [President of the Canadian Labour Congress] together. The Prime Minister said that Mr. [Alan] MacEachen [Minister of Labour] had been trying to arrange a meeting with United States Secretary of Labour [Willard] Wirtz and Mr. Meany. It was agreed that a meeting of the four should be arranged as soon as possible.

(i) Trade

(i) General

The President said that trade had been covered about as fully as was at present possible during Governor [Christian] Herter's [former Governor of Massachusetts and Secretary of State; President's Special Representative for Trade Negotiations] visit to Ottawa. The Prime Minister said the Canadian Government hoped for the success of the forthcoming talks in Geneva and he had told Prime Minister [Harold] Macmillan [of the United Kingdom] that the Canadian Government accepted the principle of the linear cut. Nevertheless full application of the linear cut would cause difficulties for some sectors of Canadian industry. In the coming trade negotiations it would be Canada's task to convince the United States that concessions to be offered by Canada would be adequate compensation for any exceptions secured by Canada. It would not be Canada's fault if the Geneva talks were to fail.

(ii) Investment

The Prime Minister informed the President that the Canadian Government intended to establish a Canadian development corporation, one purpose of which would be to help Canadians buy into industrial companies in such a way as not to invite legitimate criticism from the United States. The President listened attentively but did not comment.

(iii) Lumber

The President confirmed that the Administration would be opposing the lumber marketing bill and inquired whether a proposal by Senator [Wayne] Morse [Democrat, Oregon] for an inter-governmental study group on bilateral trade problems might have useful application in the lumber context. The Prime Minister did not take a position on this latter idea but emphasized the Government's hope that no step would be taken in the United States which would affect Canadian lumber exports.

(iv) Oil

It was agreed that high level talks should take place on oil matters and the President indicated that he would follow this matter personally through Mr. [Myer] Feldman of the White House staff [Deputy Special Counsel to the President]. There was no specific reference to the projected visit to Washington of the Minister of Trade and Commerce [Mitchell Sharp] on oil matters but such a visit would be entirely consistent with the outcome of the Prime Minister's conversation with the President.

(v) Cheese

The Prime Minister referred to the U.S. quota on aged cheddar cheese and asked the President to give consideration to raising the quota to enable Canadian cheese exporters to compete on fairer terms with their counterparts in other cheese exporting countries. The President read from a memorandum which stated that any increase in the U.S. quota for Canadian aged cheddar would lead to an increase in purchases of U.S. cheddar by the commodity credit corporation.

(vi) Uranium

The Prime Minister spoke of the serious difficulties experienced by the uranium industry in various parts of Canada, including Elliott Lake. He pointed out that the discovery of uranium deposits in some parts of the United States had substantially limited Canadian exports. The President said that the U.S.A. uranium industry was feeling similar difficulties: he mentioned particularly the three hundred million dollar contract with South Africa. He said that the Administration was investigating the possibility of cancelling that contract by means of compensation in other commodities, including food.

The Prime Minister agreed with [US] Ambassador [to Canada W. Walton] Butterworth that uranium was particularly hard hit in the present period of transition and that demand for uranium could be expected to rise with the development and ultimate production of nuclear energy for power purposes.

(j) Aid

The President raised economic assistance in the context of the India consortium and went on from there to express the hope that the Canadian Government would be able to increase its aid expenditures generally. The Prime Minister reviewed considerations which would make any major increase impossible at this time but said that the Government hoped shortly to restore last year's cut in aid appropriations. Until the domestic economic position in Canada had improved however it would not be possible for Canada to do substantially more. The Prime Minister said he was personally interested in the idea of further efforts in the field of economic and technical aid to the Caribbean area.

(k) Civil Aviation

It was agreed that early talks were desirable. The President thought that these should be in the first place conducted by technical experts but that before such talks were completed or broken off the matter should be brought again to himself and the Prime Minister.

(l) Campobello Island

On the Prime Minister's suggestion the President agreed that the United States and Canadian Governments should accept an offer from the owner of President Roosevelt's former summer home and property on Campobello Island in New Brunswick. During the meeting the President and the Prime Minister communicated with Congressman James Roosevelt, Senator [Edmund] Muskie ([Democrat,] Maine), Mr. [Armand] Hammer, owner of the property [with his brothers, Harry and Victor], and Premier [Louis] Robichaud [of New Brunswick]. Agreement of all concerned was secured in time to permit an announcement separate from the communique to be made on May 11.

(m) Middle East

The Prime Minister said that he was concerned about the possibility of an Israeli move into the west bank of the Jordan if there were a pro-[Gamal Abdel] Nasser [President of Egypt] revolt in Jordan resulting in King Hussein's overthrow. The Prime Minister said he was most anxious to prevent a repetition of the events of 1956. He wondered whether there was any way in which the existing U.N. supervisory machinery could be extended to forestall an Israeli attack. If the U.S. and the U.K. thought well of the idea Canada could perhaps take an initiative which might perhaps be more effective if it did not come from a major power.

The President said that the situation in the Middle East was the "major foreign policy problem" of the moment. The difficulty was that it was impossible to control developments in Jordan. Moreover he thought it might be that Israel was looking for an excuse to attack Jordan.

The President said that the trouble was that public opinion in the west was such that there would be a lot of sympathy for Israel if it decided in an emergency to move into Jordan and the situation had been made worse by the inclusion in the communique announcing the new U[nited].A[rab].R[epublic]. federation of a reference to the liberation of Palestine. In these circumstances the U.S. would be in a most difficult position since for reasons of public opinion it could not make a move against

Israel or openly assist Nasser. Nasser might thus well turn to the U[nion of]S[oviet]S[ocialist]R[epublics] for arms.

In conclusion the President said that somehow Nasser had got to be made to feel that the maintenance in power of King Hussein was in Nasser's interest. The second essential was somehow to make sure that Israel would not be making an atomic bomb.

(n) Laos

The President said that the Soviet attitude on Laos was very unsatisfactory particularly with regard to the activities of the I[nternational].C[ommission for].S[upervision and].C[ontrol in Laos]. He said that at an earlier stage the Administration had thought the instructions to the Canadian representative on the Commission were being interpreted in a legalistic way; more recently, however, their concern on this score had been dissipated.

The Prime Minister said he was aware of earlier U.S. misgivings about the Canadian position in Laos. He referred to the message from the Secretary of State for External Affairs to Secretary [of State Dean] Rusk and drew attention to Mr. Martin's personal experience of and interest in the Laotian problem. In reply to the President's question the Prime Minister said that Prime Minister Macmillan had expressed general concern about the situation in Laos.

(o) Nuclear Test Ban

The Prime Minister said that without knowing the scientific facts and seeing them in relation to security needs, it was difficult to make policy judgments. He had the impression, however, that Prime Minister Macmillan was more optimistic than the U.S. Administration about the degree to which scientific advances had reduced the importance of international on-site inspection. The President acknowledged that the situation today represented a substantial change from that of two or three years ago insofar as detection was concerned. British Government scientists in their last visit to Washington had, however, agreed that some on-site inspection was still necessary.

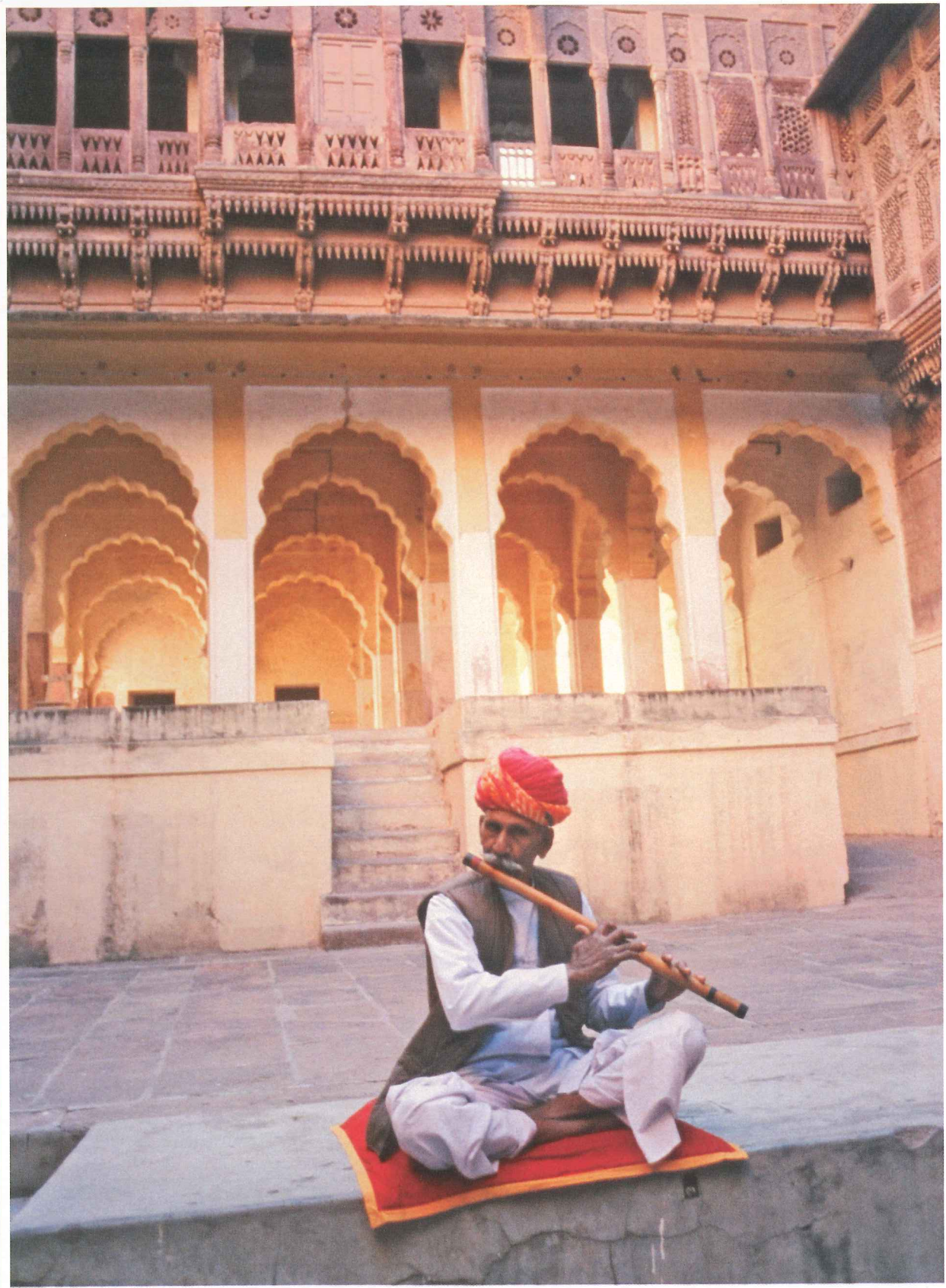
While agreeing with the Prime Minister that the positive elements in [USSR] Premier [Nikita S.] Khrushchev's latest note ought not be to rejected, the President expressed doubt as to the prospects of there being any significant give in the Soviet position. The negative attitude reflected in the Soviet reply to recent U.K. U.S.A. approach suggested that the Russians might be about to resume atmospheric tests. The Prime Minister emphasized that either success or failure in the nuclear test ban negotiations would have results far beyond the immediate issue. It was hard to convince public opinion that there was much reality in the difference between three on-site inspections and seven.

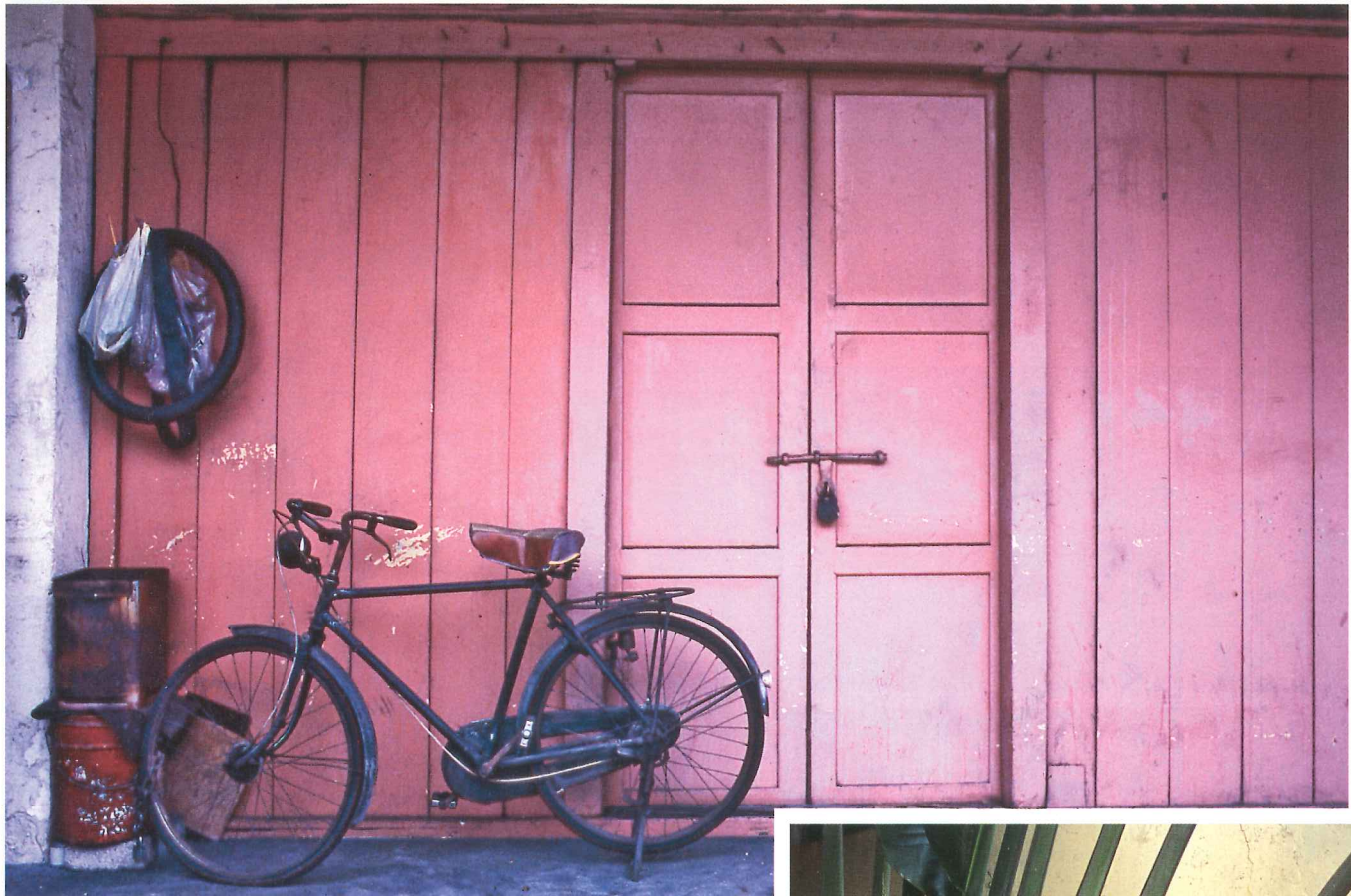
The Prime Minister again expressed the hope that the opportunity for talks on a nuclear test ban in Moscow would not be foregone. He thought it was essential to keep plugging away. The President reiterated the U.S. government's interest in an agreement and pointed out that the Administration was much readier to move forward than were Congress and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Prime Minister said that Canada would warmly support and back up the continuing efforts of the Administration in its efforts to secure an agreement although it did not expect the U.S.A. to accept any arrangement which would prejudice its security. ☺

Liza Linklater is a photographer and writer who has been on two postings to Bangkok and one to New York City. She leaves this summer on posting to Manila and is looking forward to continuing her photography throughout Asia.

Hues from the East

I shoot in black-and-white and colour, and while I prefer black-and-white, my eye is often drawn to colour. These photos were taken in various Asian countries and I was lured to each scene either by the colour, the design, or both. I hope you'll enjoy looking at them too.

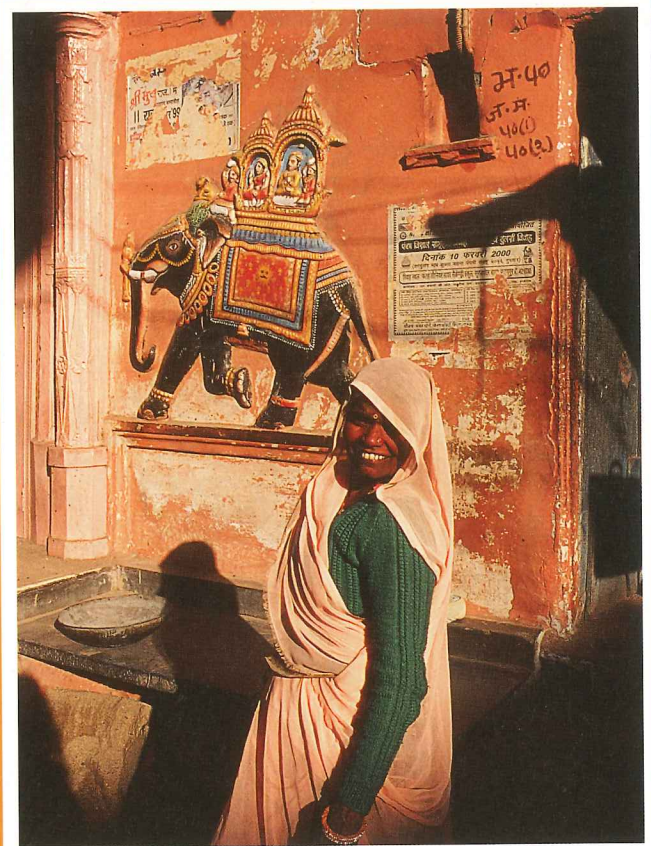




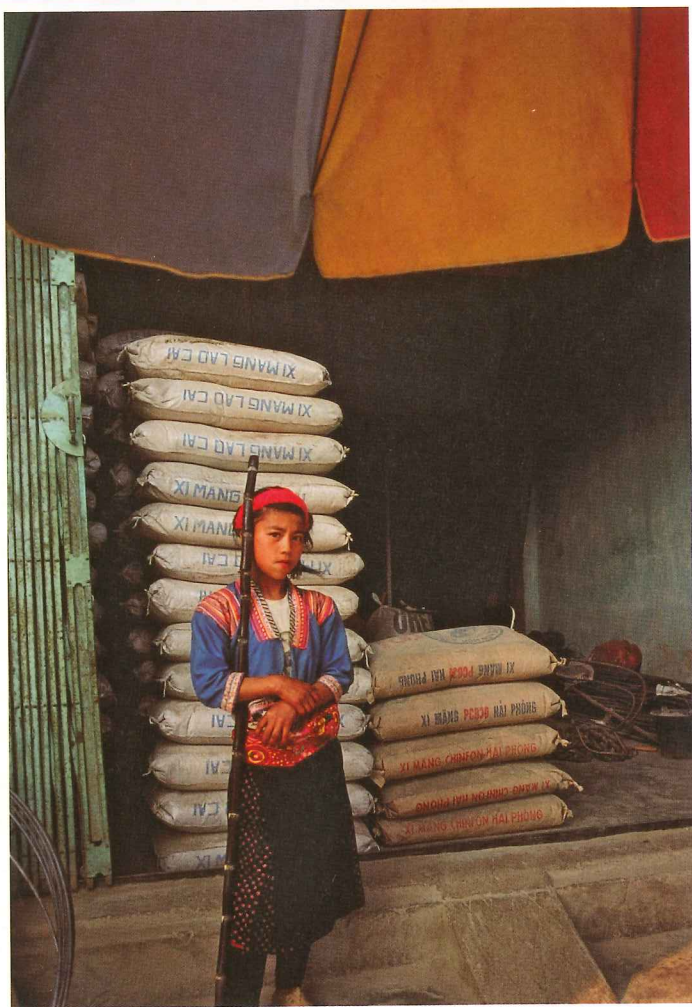
Photography has often been thought of as an objective medium, one that records what we see.

In a way this is true. But the world around us is quite a chaotic place. When we travel our eyes take in images from everywhere and the very act of pointing a camera in a certain direction indicates selectivity.





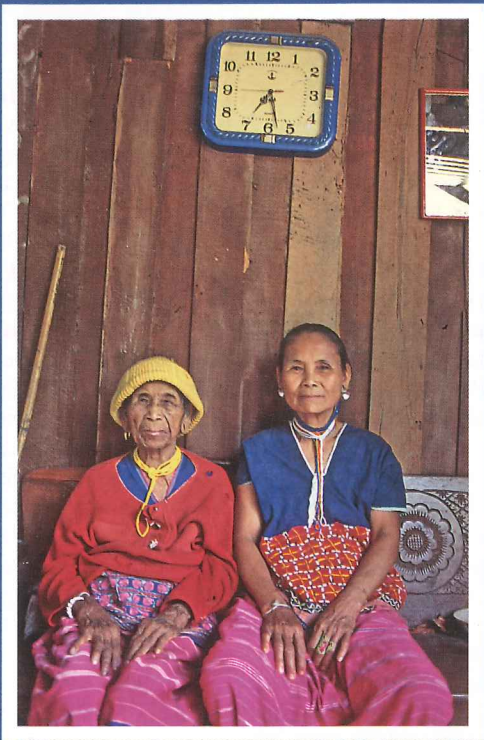
Photographers, and people generally, look at the world through a filter of their own preferences and personalities.



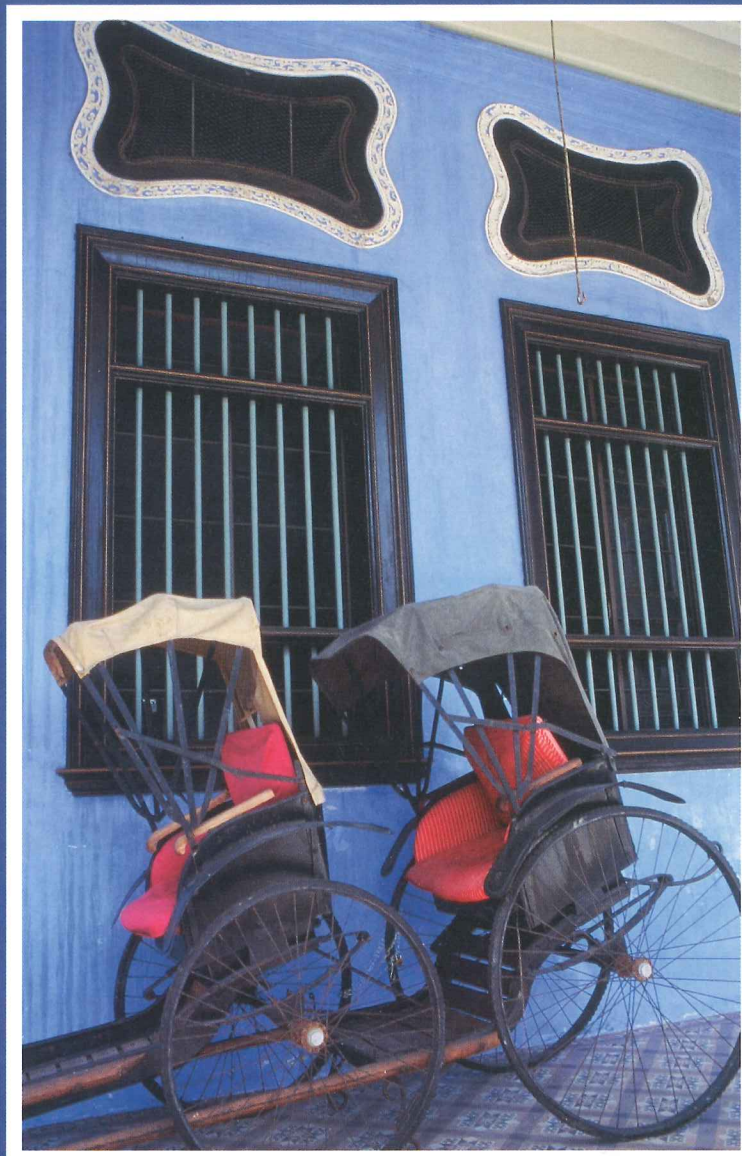
We continually come upon visual delights that surprise and inspire us. In photography, often composition and colour can help organize our vision. Moreover, travel primes us to notice colour anew. Colours take on new meanings because of their associations with places and cultures.



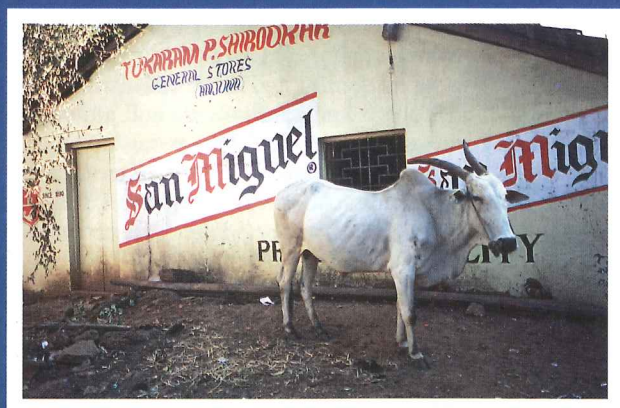




In Asia, there is also an overwhelming frenzy that we must sift our way through in order to find simplicity and clarity.



We can achieve this lucidity in our vision by seeking out close-up vignettes, or still lifes, which isolate visually revealing segments of



a scene. Vignettes frame a portion of a whole, separating them from their surroundings as if they are suspended in space and time. Often the subjects for vignettes are quite mundane, but because of composition, colour or light they can be quite captivating.

Liza

Peter Zalite 1942–2007

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Peter Zalite, engineer, naval officer, entrepreneur, diplomat and docent, died in Ventspils, Latvia, on February 21, 2007. He was 64 years old. After a varied and successful career as a Foreign Service Officer in Canada's Department of External Affairs, Peter took early retirement and cast about for new challenges. In 1994, after Latvia had regained its independence, Peter returned to the country of his birth. Idealistic and hardworking, Peter wanted to help Latvia get back on its feet after a half-century of foreign occupation and devastating Soviet economic policies. He had come full circle. The Zalite family had fled war-torn Latvia in 1944 for freedom in the West. Peter turned two years old on the ship that sailed from the port city of Liepaja to Danzig (Dansk) in German-occupied Poland. A fascination with ships — his father Janis Zalite was a naval architect — and a love of water has always marked his life.

In 1951, Peter's family decided to leave Sweden and immigrate to Canada. From the start, Peter excelled at school, skipping several primary grades. He was Head Boy at Montreal's Rosemount High School and also became a Queen's Scout. After earning a Bachelor of Electrical Engineering degree from McGill University in 1964 Peter joined the Royal Canadian Navy and served as Lieutenant and navigation officer aboard a destroyer. In 1967, Peter had the pleasurable duty of representing the Royal Canadian Navy at EXPO 67 in Montreal. Shortly after the amalgamation of Canada's three armed services into the Canadian Forces, Peter resigned, and for several years worked in the private sector. A love of learning sent him back to school to earn an MBA in International Business from the University of British Columbia. Upon graduation in 1972 Peter joined Canada's diplomatic service.

Peter's first foreign posting was as Vice-Consul in Dusseldorf. Next, he held the posts of First Secretary in Teheran, Trade Commissioner in Washington, DC, Consul in Hamburg, and Trade Commissioner and First Secretary in Bogota. In between postings, Peter was seconded to various organizations in Ottawa and Vancouver.

In 1968, Peter married Randy Revfem. They had three daughters — Alexandra, Kristina and Tamara — who accompanied him to all but the last posting, Bogota, deemed unsafe for families by the Canadian government. From his youth, Peter had an independent streak and fearless curiosity that led him to areas of Colombia deemed off-limits by the bureaucrats. No doubt, his quick smile and friendly, winning ways with people from all walks of life kept him out of potential difficulties.

Peter loved reading and writing and sharing stories with his family and friends, by now scattered all over the world. His greatest love however, was for his family, and in the end also for Latvia. His idealism and hard work knew no bounds and although his optimism was at times shaken by decisions being taken by the Latvian Saema, he decided to make Latvia his home.

In 1996, Peter married Inita Abolin and they had a son, Janis. Becoming a father again at 54 worried Peter, but he remained active in his young son's life while lecturing at the Ventspils Augskola, a School of International Business in Ventspils, Latvia. In that same city on the Baltic coast, facing the mouth of a busy harbour, they built a house that had the graceful lines of a ship. From his living room window, Peter would point out the ferries, container ships and other vessels as snub-nosed tugs nudged them into their berths. Peter's body was cremated and, as he requested, his ashes will be scattered in the Baltic Sea this summer. ☺

Ilse Zandstra is the sister of Peter Zalite.

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The Persian Version

by Roger Lucy

To the World's Only Superpower, Iran is a "rogue state," a threat to world peace and security. Ironically, 2500 years ago, when Iran was the World's Only Superpower, it had its own problems with rogue states, in particular Athens and Sparta. How the Iranians tried to subdue and — when that failed — contain these rogue states is an interesting case study in the exercise of military, political and diplomatic options.



The Persian or Achaemenid empire was formed around 550 BC by Cyrus (Kurosh) of Anshan, who ruled a principality in what is now Fars province in Iran.

From this small beginning, he formed the biggest empire the world had yet seen, by conquering, *en bloc*, the three biggest states in the Near East. First, he revolted against his overlord, the Median king, Astyages, and was able to take over the entire Median kingdom. This gave him control of the Iranian plateau and eastern Anatolia. Cyrus then turned his attention to the conquest of Lydia — which brought most of the rest of Anatolia under his power, including Ionia, a number of Greek city-states along the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. In 539, he overthrew the Babylonian empire, which made Cyrus master of the entire Fertile Crescent from Gaza to the Persian Gulf. Cyrus did not rest there; he tried to bring under his control the nomadic Iranian tribes which then dominated the steppes of eastern Europe and central Asia. In 529, he fell in a battle against them, somewhere on the steppes between the Caspian and Aral Seas. His son and successor, Cambyses, found it more profitable to direct the Persian conquests to less war-like regions. He rapidly conquered Egypt, although his efforts to expand into what are now Libya and the Sudan met with failure. After a reign of seven years, Cambyses (who rightly or not has received very bad press) was assassinated in a palace coup. A period of instability followed, marked by civil war between rival claimants and uprisings among the subject peoples. The eventual victor, Darius (Daryawush), came from a junior branch of the royal Achaemenid house. He retroactively legitimized the coup and commemorated his triumph over his adversaries in monumental reliefs, characterizing them as a struggle of “the truth against the lie.”

Darius consolidated the frontiers of his empire, securing the wild highlands of Anatolia and the Caucasus and bringing many of the nomadic Iranian tribes, who had defied Cyrus, under — at least nominal — Persian suzerainty. He also extended his empire into what is now Pakistan, and across the Bosphorus into the Balkans, making Thrace and Macedonia Persian vassals. However, his efforts in 512 to defeat the Scythians — Iranian nomads who then dominated the Black Sea steppes — met with near disaster. But, unlike Cyrus, he escaped with his life and with his army more or less intact. As well as rounding out the Persian Empire’s frontiers Darius reorganized its finances and administration. The Empire was divided into satrapies, placed under a reliable official (usually from his own Achaemenid clan or from one of the noble families which had supported his bid for power), with a garrison strong enough to repel small scale invasions or local uprisings. At the local level, indigenous populations were allowed to live as they had before, often under their own local rulers or oligarchies. Local languages, customs and religions were respected. The demands on the subject peoples were generally not onerous, the only expectations being that they pay the tribute levied on them, provide troops when required and, needless to say, remain loyal to the Great King. Overall, the system worked well enough most of the time, but

it was a rather one-sided arrangement — the wealth from the provinces flowed into Persepolis but few benefits trickled the other way. Unlike the Roman Empire, which, over time, was able to evolve into what was in effect a nation state in which virtually all inhabitants, regardless of their origins, saw themselves as Romans, there was no real glue holding the Persian empire together. No attempt was made to enforce, or even encourage, Iranianization, and there was no concept of a common Iranian citizenship, nor any effort to put in place some sort of common ideology. As a result, especially whenever Persian power seemed to weaken or the Great King’s attention slacken, revolts would break out in the peripheral provinces (especially Egypt).

In 499, one such revolt broke out in Ionia. The Ionians appealed for help from the European Greek states. Most of these had the good sense to stay out of it — the Spartans would have intervened, but begged off when they learned that Persepolis lay two months’ march inland. The Athenians were less reticent and sent an expeditionary force. It was a little too successful. Sardis, the seat of the Satrap of Lydia, was sacked. The full might of Persian power now descended on Ionia. By 494 the revolt was crushed, and Darius (who allegedly had never heard of the place before) vowed to punish Athens for assisting the rebels. The results are well known. In 492, the Persian fleet carrying a punitive expedition was wrecked off Mount Athos. In 490, another expeditionary force was defeated at Marathon.

Darius died in 485, before he could mount a new effort, and it was left to his son Xerxes (Khashayarsha) to finish the job. Xerxes first had to suppress revolts in Egypt and Mesopotamia, but in 480, after three years of preparations, he launched a massive attack on mainland Greece. While Greek claims that the Persian army mustered over two million men is a logistical and organizational impossibility, it was large enough that it could only be sustained by seaborne supplies, which included a vast bridge of boats across the Dardanelles. Sparta reluctantly agreed to join Athens to oppose the Persian onslaught, taking command of the land forces while Athens commanded the naval contingents. Most northern Greek states, however, prudently submitted to Persia, offering earth and water, the traditional Iranian token of submission. They were branded as “Mediazers” — the Greek equivalent of “Quisling” — by the Athenians and Spartans (who, when asked to offer earth and water, dropped the Persian emissaries down a well and filled it in with dirt). To buy time to consolidate the Greek defences, the Spartans sent 300 of their best troops under King Leonides to hold the choke point at Thermopylae. It was a suicide mission, and they knew it, but the Spartans’ epic stand proved a nasty shock to Xerxes. His crack troops could not break through the Spartan line, until a collaborator showed the Persians a way around the pass.

The Greeks regrouped to hold the isthmus at Corinth. Athens was taken and destroyed, but its population was evacuated by sea, and at Salamis, the Athenian-led fleet decisively defeated the Persian navy. Without naval support, Xerxes could not maintain his huge army in mainland Greece and had to withdraw most of it,

leaving behind a relatively small occupation force. This was destroyed by the Greeks at Platea in 479. The Greek victory was largely due to the fact that Greece is a rugged country with poor communications and few resources. As was said about Spain in the Napoleonic wars, large armies starved and small armies were defeated. The Greek forces were largely made up of hoplites, heavily armoured infantry, protected by large round shields and wielding long spears. Formed into a phalanx they were virtually unassailable except by similarly armed troops. The Persian army had only a relatively small core of professional troops, mostly archers, while its decisive arm, the cavalry, was almost useless in the hilly terrain of southern Greece. The Greek forces, united by a common tactical doctrine and a more or less common language, were much more homogenous than the Persians' vast polyglot host. Similar command and control problems put the Persian fleet, drawn from around the eastern Mediterranean, at a disadvantage to the Greek fleet.

Marathon, Salamis and Platea have long been portrayed as victories of Western Civilization over Oriental Despotism. If the Greeks had lost, it is said, the basis for our whole intellectual and democratic tradition would have been lost as well. This is hype, but then virtually all our sources are Greek. Clearly a Persian victory would have been the ruin of Athens and Sparta. But Athens' vaunted democracy bears even less resemblance to our own than that of the late German Democratic Republic. Supported by slave-run silver mines and contributions extorted from allies, Athens, with its very restricted franchise, Taliban-like treatment of women, and tendency to exile or poison awkward politicians or intellectuals, would have won no kudos from Amnesty International. As for Sparta — where a small hyper-militaristic elite, practising institutionalized paedophilia, was supported by a terrorized serf underclass — never have so many been oppressed by so few, for so little benefit to humanity. Greek civilization would have, and indeed in many places did, adjust to life under Persian hegemony. As noted, Persian rule was a very hands-off affair. Many eminent Greek writers and philosophers flourished in Persian-controlled regions and many fine works of art were created there. One of the reasons why Athens looms so large in our view of ancient Greek civilization is because in later times — due as much for Athenians' commercial success as their intellectual attainments — Attic Greek became standard for "Greek as a second language." As a consequence Athenian historical, philosophical and literary works were held up as stylistic models and were thus more likely to be preserved for posterity than those written in other Greek dialects.

After Platea, the Greeks formed an offensive alliance to carry the war into Persian territory. The Greek counter-attack soon drove the Persians out of their European footholds in Macedonia and Thrace. The Ionian cities revolted again, and over the course of the next decade the Persians were driven back from the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. The Spartans were not interested in overseas entanglements and largely left the field open to Athens,

which soon turned the anti-Persian alliance, the Delian league, into a mini-empire whose contributions were as likely to go to the embellishment of Athens as into the war effort. City-states that balked at this were severely punished. In the 460s, the Athenians carried the war into southern Asia Minor and to Cyprus and soon after (during yet another revolt) into Egypt. Bit by bit, Persia was losing control of its Mediterranean coast, and with it, some two-thirds of its naval assets. The Greek mission had gone disastrously wrong and reappraisal was clearly needed.

The Athenians also had to reappraise their mission. The Empire struck back and the Egyptian adventure, after some initial successes, became a disaster. In 454, the Persians were able to crush the revolt, cutting off the Athenian expeditionary force. Over 200 ships and 20,000 men were lost. Persian agents began to stir up trouble in Ionia, where many cities were finding the demands of their Athenian liberators excessively burdensome. Athens by now had preoccupations on the mainland as well. Like the Second World War alliance between the West and the Soviet Union, the Athenian/Spartan alliance could not long survive victory over their common foe. They soon fell out, with relations degenerating into a series of wars between two rival coalitions. It was in Athens' as well as Persia's interests to swallow their ideological pride and make peace.

We know little about the details of how this peace process was launched. It would seem that in 449, following Persian overtures, an Athenian delegation travelled to the Persian capital and negotiated the Peace of Callias (so-called after the head of the Athenian delegation). The terms seem generally favourable to Athens, although the Athenian Assembly clearly did not think so — Callias was censured and fined on his return. The autonomy of the Ionian cities was recognized, and the Persians agreed not to send their forces closer than three days' march (about 50 km) from the Aegean coast, nor to sail their ships beyond the south-west tip of Asia Minor. On their part, the Athenians agreed not to intervene again in Egypt or Cyprus. In sum, both sides accepted the limits of their power. The first phase of the Persian War was finally over, and the Greeks were now free to fight each other.

The Persians soon found ample opportunity to meddle. As a mainly maritime power, Athens had great strategic reach, but limited ability to defend its land frontiers. Sparta, a land-based power, could strike deep into the heart of Athenian territory but was limited in its ability to damage the trade routes on which Athenian survival depended. Warfare was exceedingly expensive — Athens needed to hire mercenaries to bolster its land forces and land-locked Sparta somehow had to build a navy. (It cost about one tonne of silver per week to keep a fleet of 100 warships at sea.) What the Persians could not achieve by force of arms, they sought to buy with their well-stocked treasury. The Daric, the standard Persian gold coin, was liberally spread (and eagerly received) around the Greek world. Stamped with the symbol of the Great King firing a bow, it was colloquially

called the “archer.” These golden “archers” were, over time, able to achieve what their flesh and blood equivalents could not. The Persians chose to back Sparta, although, initially, the competing interests of local satraps somewhat compromised their efforts. The Satrap of Lydia wanted Sparta to help him regain Ionia. The Satrap of the Hellespont (the Asiatic coast of the Marmora Sea) wanted Sparta to break Athenian control over the Dardanelles and Bosphorus — which were vital for Athens’ wheat imports from the north of the Black Sea. Initially Sparta chose the former course, until their admiral, Lysander, was persuaded by Cyrus the Younger — a son of King Darius II, who put him in command over all Persian forces in Anatolia in 408 — to join forces to close the straits. The subsequent destruction of the Athenian navy at Aegospotami in 404 allowed Sparta to starve Athens into submission.

However, having defeated Athens, the Spartans then deemed the whole Athenian “empire” to be theirs by right of conquest.

The Persians were further dismayed when in 401 after the death of his father, Cyrus hired 10,000 Spartan-led mercenaries and marched them east in hopes of seizing the throne from his brother Artaxerxes II (Artakshathra). Cyrus’ Spartans were victorious at Cunaxa in central Mesopotamia, but in the process Cyrus was killed. Artaxerxes demanded the surrender of the stranded Spartans. Instead they carved their way north, successively defeating every force that tried to oppose them — the main Persian army, the Kurds and the Armenians — before they reached the Greek colony of Trebizond on the Black Sea. The successful “march of the 10,000” was a major blow to Persian prestige.

Persia decided it was time to change sides and King Artaxerxes opened up the Persian treasury to restore Athenian power, financing the rebuilding of the Athenian fleet as well as supporting other opponents of Sparta. Again the results were too successful.

While a coalition headed by Athens, Thebes, Corinth and Argos checked the Spartans on the Greek mainland, Athens used its revived naval power to restore its old Aegean hegemony, including Ionia. Worse, the Athenians began to collaborate with a rebel king of Cyprus against his Persian overlords. Once again the Persians found their Greek clients were biting the hand that fed them.

Seeing it in Athens’ and Sparta’s mutual interest to halt Athenian expansion, Antalcidas, the Spartan admiral in the Dardanelles region, now approached the Persians with a cunning plan. After some initial misgivings, Artaxerxes was persuaded to shift his support back to Sparta.

Persia and Sparta announced that, if Athens did not negotiate, their fleets would blockade the Dardanelles. Fearing another famine like that of 404, the Athenians caved, and with their withdrawal, the rest of the anti-Spartan coalition fell apart. In 387, Antalcidas and other Greek representatives were invited to a conference

at Sardis where they received a diktat from Artaxerxes outlining the following terms of what came to be called the “King’s Peace.”

The king, Artaxerxes, deems it just that the cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus, should belong to himself. The rest of the Greek cities he thinks it just to leave independent, both small and great, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which three are to belong to Athens as in the past. Should any of the parties concerned not accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, will wage war against them with those who share my views. This will I do by land and by sea, with ships and with money.

Not only did Artaxerxes thus regain Ionia and Cyprus, but declaring that all Greek cities must be autonomous, he had broken up the nascent efforts by a number of Greek cities to form a political union with common citizenship. This reduced the Greek threat to Persian interests, but over time it increased Greek vulnerability to the incursion of other outside powers, in particular Macedon.

The King’s Peace itself did not last for long — it was left to Sparta to enforce its terms on the mainland, which it did with a characteristic lack of sensitivity and excess of zeal — leading to yet another anti-Spartan coalition, and Sparta’s eventual defeat by Thebes. Nonetheless, as the first-ever external effort to impose a common peace on the Greeks, it provided the model for future imperial efforts by Macedon, and later, Rome.

While it took Persia almost a century to find a workable solution, the King’s Peace, combining Persian gold and Spartan muscle, finally restored Persian control over the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. Persia held on to Ionia until 333, when the region was overrun by Alexander III of Macedon. Ironically, while Alexander dressed his invasion up as a pan-Hellenic crusade to avenge Darius’ and Xerxes’ invasions of Greece — 160 years earlier — more Greeks fought for Persia than for Alexander. Moreover, Athens and Sparta were both conspicuously absent from Alexander’s coalition. As far as Persia was concerned, the two rogue states had been neutralized. The application of brute military force had signally failed, but in the end a patient, flexible and very well-funded diplomatic effort had succeeded. ☺

*Roger Lucy is a retired Foreign Service Officer, who served in Iran from 1978–80. As well as his **bout** articles on “Dark Age Diplomacy,” he researches the history of 20th century Canadian military materiel. Questions and comments may be addressed to him at galea.hortus@sympatico.ca*

Intelligence

by John Starnes



The Senate of Canada has been much criticized over a number of years as being of little importance and numerous suggestions have been made for its “reform,” some useful others not very useful and, in some instances, unhelpful, even bizarre.

In recent years, the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence, under the tenacious, able direction of the Chairman, Colin Kenny, has done much very valuable, detailed research, aimed at providing Canadians with accurate knowledge about Canada’s activities involving the collection of “intelligence,” the machinery of government for dealing with it, while also attempting to “demystify” the matter to the fullest extent possible, without harming Canada’s security.

Over time and with patience members of the Committee have learned a great deal about the subject which is evident from their contributions to the Committee's discussions of 30 April 2007. Their questions were subtle, astute, wide-ranging and very direct, indicating a good knowledge of matters which, until very recently, were known only to those whose job it is to carry out the sometimes difficult tasks required of their quite different intelligence and security agencies. Thus, the unclassified record of the Committee's discussions provides a most informative and useful reference not only for the general public, but also for the myriad public servants who have to deal with these somewhat esoteric matters from time to time.

The most recent example of the Senate Committee's careful, useful work is to be found in the "Evidence" contained in the excellent minutes of its meeting held on Monday, 30 April 2007, during which they heard from: a) Jim Judd, Director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, b) Mr. John Adams, Chief, Communications Security Establishment, c) Bev Busson, Commissioner of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and d) Professor Wesley Wark, University of Toronto, Fellow of the Munk Centre for International Studies and Fellow of the Institute for Research on Public Policy. The 89 pages give a fascinating and extremely useful description of the complicated work of these agencies and their interaction with one another — sensitive matters which until recently were classified Top Secret and seldom, if ever, discussed in public.

All four witnesses were very good; explaining their difficult, unusual jobs with great clarity, astonishing frankness, considerable verve and, by no means last, a lively sense of humour. Apart from that, they all demonstrated their suitability for the jobs they now hold!

Particularly useful were the comments offered by Professor Wesley Wark and especially concerning the unfortunate fact that "intelligence" has been, and perhaps still is, regarded by many Cabinet members, officials and Canadians as a joke. Something to be tolerated but not to be taken seriously. I had the encouraging impression that members of the Committee accepted and agreed with Wark's remarks on this score.

The average reaction of Canadian politicians and public servants often has been to

discount information provided through intelligence activities. My brief experiences as an intelligence officer in the Canadian Army (1940–44) suggest that those carrying out such work often were suspect. The British Army's Intelligence Corps badge, consisting of a union rose (a red rose with a white centre surrounded by laurel leaves and surmounted by a crown), often was snidely described as "a pansy in laurel leaves." Indeed, those doing intelligence work sometimes were viewed as doing work which kept them out of harm's way! Tell that to those who were parachuted or flown into Nazi-occupied France to become British secret agents (e.g., some 75 members of the Canadian Army, most of whom managed to avoid being caught by the Nazi secret police by war's end).

During my years in the Department of External Affairs, when I was variously involved in at least three of the areas about which the witnesses spoke — security and intelligence, interception of communications of all kinds and so-called "foreign intelligence," it would have been quite impossible for me to engage in the kind of public discussions which took place in the Senate Committee at the end of April this year. Indeed, if I had done so, most, if not all, of our international partners in security and intelligence matters (mentioning only the US, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand) would have protested vigorously to the Canadian government, probably resulting in my immediate resignation.

I felt very envious that, at long last, these witnesses were able to have a sensible, almost unfettered public discussion of the kind encouraged by the Senate Committee. Indeed, I think it would have been equally difficult even to have that kind of discussion in the very private discussions which take place in a top secret international forum such as CAZAB (a highly secret committee established to exchange and discuss sensitive anti-espionage cases and operations).

Incidentally, I found it curious that nothing at all was said about the important field of photographic intelligence (now done by satellites). Today, outer space is continuously being used for these purposes. The results of these products are at least as important a source of very valuable intelligence as those derived from the interception of communications of all kinds and so-called human sources.

I found welcome and encouraging some of the observations concerning the pros and cons of whether Canada should establish a capability to commit espionage. Wesley Wark made a number of interesting observations on this score. For example, when asked by Senator Kenny for comment as to where the agency for committing espionage should be housed in the government apparatus, he replied: "The realistic road is to rewrite the CSIS act to remove the sort of linguistic roadblock of threats to the security of Canada that potentially impede CSIS' overseas operations, and give them a mandate, initially, to develop a full service foreign intelligence capacity."

"This would be with an understanding that it would probably be a decade-long project. It would require some resources and, at the end of that period, it would be important to assess where the best institutional home for such a service would be. It has to begin with CSIS. They are the only agency in the Canadian government that has the capacity to grow such as organization and feed the information that it would collect properly into government channels."

"The question of the future institutional home would have to be left open. CSIS would have to prove over the course of developing such a capacity that it is the responsible home for it in the long term. There are other alternative homes, including the British model of housing it, at arm's length, in the equivalent of the Department of Foreign Affairs."

Wesley Wark may be quite right but, assuming I haven't misunderstood Jim Judd's remarks in the Senate Committee, I gained the impression that CSIS may not be entirely happy about taking on the unknown and a potentially open-ended, heavy burden of committing espionage world-wide. God alone knows what Canada's targets might be and how they will be established and acted upon!

Clearly the matter is still under discussion. I would hope that the questions concerning the provision of some realistic protection for Canada's spies which I raised in "Committing Espionage," my article published in the Fall/Winter Issue, Vol. 22, No. 3 of *bout de papier*, will be taken on account when deciding the issue. ☺

John Starnes is former Director-General of the RCMP Security Service.

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*A Short History of British Columbia, A Short History of Alberta,
A Short History of Saskatchewan, A Short History of Manitoba*

Reviewed by Kurt F. Jensen

Nixon in China: The Week that Changed the World

Reviewed by Gar Pardy

A SHORT HISTORY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, by Ed Whitcomb, From Sea to Sea Enterprises, Ottawa, 2006, 71 pp., \$7.95.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ALBERTA by Ed Whitcomb, From Sea to Sea Enterprises, Ottawa, 2005, 66 pp., \$7.95.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SASKATCHEWAN, by Ed Whitcomb, From Sea to Sea Enterprises, Ottawa, 2005, 66 pp., \$7.95.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MANITOBA, by Ed Whitcomb, Canada's Wings, Ottawa, 1982, 64 pp., \$7.95.

*Kurt F. Jensen, a recently retired Foreign Service Officer and trained historian, is a regular contributor to **bout de papier**. He served overseas in Stockholm, Bonn, Port of Spain, and Boston. Prior to retiring he was Deputy Director of Foreign Intelligence.*

Ed Whitcomb, a longtime Political-Economic Officer with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, at present on secondment to the International Assessment Staff at the Privy Council Office, is slowly working his way across Canada, one book at a time.

Ed was trained as a historian and, when not working as an Intelligence Analyst or writing history books, dabbles in Canadian music. He is also producing a series of short, crisp, and very focused histories of the Canadian provinces. In fact, for anyone flying from Ottawa to one of the Western provinces, the only provinces for which books have so far been completed, there will be just enough time to read one of these brief histories during the flight to a Western destination.

The books follow a formula which divides the provincial histories into chapter chunks of about 10–20 years, each covering the dominant political theme of that period. For example, "The Era of the Cattlemen, 1880-1896" (Alberta) or "Confederation, 1855-1871" (British Columbia).

In spite of their brevity, these are not "popular" or "pop" histories. Approaching their subject matter from a political historical perspective, these short books are written for the reader who is interested in a critical, but concise, outline of the evolution of each of the provinces covered. A great deal is left out and much of the critical analysis often found in serious histories has been excluded for the sake of space.

Nevertheless, this is serious history for the reader who seeks a brief introduction to a provincial history but wants only an outline of the critical political developments and a familiarization with the core events which shaped the evolution of a province.

The books are not based on original archival research and no insightful historical revelations are included. However, extensive research has clearly gone into the books and the stories they tell have drawn on the acknowledged best of the existing academic literature on each of the provinces.

What these books do well is draw on quality research by others, extracting the fundamentals of the political evolution of each of the provinces, and through careful analysis of the larger provincial stories, paint rather fulsome portraits of each province for the discerning reader who seeks a penetrating introduction to each subject without committing the time required of the serious historian seeking full understanding of the political dynamics of Canada's provinces.

These books are not for everyone. While drawing on the skills of a professional

historian, they are also packaged by a writer exposed daily to the demands of a bureaucratic readership which requires insight, understanding, and brevity.

These books will never make it as academic texts. But they do meet the requirements of the needs of the educated reader who demands a quick and professional introduction to a subject without a necessity to work through 300 pages of text.

Increasingly, there is probably a niche market for books such as these. They are cheap, quick to read, but prepared for the discerning and sophisticated reader.

Indeed, the proof is in the pudding. These short books, four in total of which one was published this year and two last year, have sold upwards of 10,000 copies. By Canadian standards that makes them bestsellers!

The books are also available from From Sea to Sea Enterprises, 2130 Dutton Crescent, Ottawa, ON, K1J 6K4 or at www.fromseatosea.com

NIXON IN CHINA: THE WEEK THAT CHANGED THE WORLD, by Margaret MacMillan, Viking Canada Penguin Group, Toronto, 2006, 395 pp., \$45.00.

Gar Pardy retired from the Canadian foreign service in 2003 following assignments in India, Kenya, the United States and Central America. He can be contacted at garp@rogers.com.

Some 15 years ago historian Francis Fukuyama published *The End of History and the Last Man*. His book, an expansion of a 1989 article, argued that the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet empire represented the end of the ideological struggle between principles of liberal western enlightenment and those

of totalitarianism as represented by the Soviet system. It was his view the future would see democratic forms of governments dominating the world's political systems. Unfortunately, his provocative and misunderstood title, especially the "end of history" part, led to popular debunking of his analysis. (The Last Man element in the title is a concept of Nietzsche.) Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* is but the latest critical effort and his suggestion that ideological conflicts are being replaced by "civilization" based conflicts offers less intellectual rigour than that associated with Professor Fukuyama's thesis.

As with many novel intellectual theses, that of Professor Fukuyama was adopted and adapted by others and in his case many neo-conservatives in the United States and elsewhere did so in support of their own action agenda for the world. Assuming that Professor Fukuyama's interpretation of the future was reasonable, many neo-conservatives went one step further and thought that hastening the end of many of the remaining illiberal and nasty regimes was a laudable objective for American foreign policy. Never was the distance between thought and successful action greater, and today neo-conservatives are in ragged and disappearing retreat. Unfortunately, the thesis of Professor Fukuyama which in intellectual terms should have provided some measure of unity between left and right will suffer historical ignominy based on the actions of others.

The "end of history" metaphor now has a life of its own, and the beginning and end of history is a useful starting point when interpreting books dealing with recent events. It raises the question, looking backwards, when does history begin? Is it a few moments ago? A few months? Or a few or many years ago? History today, current history, modern history and recent history have all been used to describe books that promise to provide perspective on recent events even though the perspective may be short-sighted or astigmatic.

Chou En-lai, when asked for his views on the importance of the French Revolution, replied that it was too early to come to any conclusions. Many years ago, a history

professor put the time factor right when he offered the view that "history is argument without end." Along the same lines are the aphorisms of many reporters that today's news story is the "first version of history" or that history is written by the victors.

These musings are more than applicable to Margaret MacMillan's latest book, *Nixon in China: The Week that Changed the World*. The book provides a detailed accounting of President Nixon's visit and, while it attempts to recount the Chinese, Russian and other roles, thoughts and actions associated with it, it is very much the American version of events that Professor MacMillan provides. The vast majority of the references and the associated bibliography are overwhelmingly American centric. As such, it will not be the final word on the visit, as important as it may be, but rather the starting point for others who may be able to reflect access to a greater range of relevant material or a longer time span.

The subtitle for the book, *The Week that Changed the World*, is reflective of the subtitle of the professor's earlier book, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*. Even in that case the title was a bit over-the-top, as the jury is still out on some of the issues discussed and decided in Paris. As Richard Holbrooke wrote in the Foreword to Paris 1919:

Some of the most intractable problems of the modern world have roots in decisions made right after the end of the Great War. Among them one could list the four Balkan wars between 1991 and 1999; the crisis over Iraq (whose present borders resulted from Franco-British rivalries and casual mapmaking); the continuing quest of the Kurds for self-determination; disputes between Greece and Turkey; and the endless struggle between Arabs and Jews over land that each thought had been promised them.

If the word "change" is used in its ordinary sense, then there is no doubt that events such as Nixon's visit to China as with the Paris Peace Conference did change the world. However, if "change" is used in a larger historical sense, then there

is a need to adopt the Chou En-lai caution when ascribing historical importance to what are, in essence, recent events. There is perhaps enough perspective to agree that the events in Paris in 1919 did change the world in an historical sense, but I am more sceptical as to that claim for Nixon's visit to China which was less than 40 years ago; there is even more scepticism when it is acknowledged that the phrase is one that President Nixon used to describe his visit. Professor MacMillan reports [page 307] the following:

... Under the influence of the maotai, or so Kissinger suspected, Nixon got carried away and suggested that the United States stood ready to defend China if any foreign power tried to attack it. Their joint communiqué, he said proudly, would make international headlines the next morning. After all, "This was the week that changed the world."

The central strength of Professor MacMillan's book is her vivid and, at times, psychologically deep, portrait of one of the most complex men of American history, Richard Nixon. This is equally the strength of Paris 1919; her deft portrayals of Georges Clemenceau, David Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson and a supporting cast of hundreds of others gave that book its lasting character. Richard Nixon is more than a match for any of that trio having travelled the American road of Red-baiter, as a shrewd reader of the international omens and as a manipulative and disgraced domestic politician. Professor MacMillan writes:

Even historians who disapprove of psycho-history find themselves tempted irresistibly when it comes to Richard Nixon. It is partly that he inspired such strong feelings. It is partly the contradictions. The statesman of distinction who, as his tapes revealed, could talk with insight and understanding about the role of the United States in the world and then flail the next moment at his enemies, real or imagined, in crude, racist and scatological terms... The man

who wanted to be great, who told himself at the start of 1970, "Be worthy of 1st man in nation and in world," yet who was capable of such petty meanness and did so much to damage American public life. He was vicious and relentless in attacking others.

The other protagonists in the book are less completely sketched than Nixon. Henry Kissinger, who was initially sceptical of the trip to China, is there in broad terms only, and the overall impression is not reflective of the major impact he had on world affairs for almost a decade. His paranoia on secrecy and demand for control while in the White House makes Prime Minister Harper's PMO appear as a flowery wind-blown open field. Clearly several books have yet to emerge from the Kissingerian mine to supplement his own abundant hagiographies. William Rogers, the Secretary of State at the time of the China visit and an honourable man, attracts some attention but overall the impression is one of a dik-dik encircled by lions.

The Chinese crew is not well or uniquely demarcated. The portraits of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, still very much at the centre of everything Chinese, were in their last days (Mao died in 1976 and Chou a year earlier) and rely on two main sources. The first and most significant is Jung Chang and Jon Halliday's monumental study *Mao: the Unknown Story*; the second being Zhisu Li's autobiography *The Private Life of Chairman Mao: the Memoirs of Mao's Personal Physician*. Both are unique books and probably the best sources available, but, in her use of this material, Professor MacMillan does not add much of unique value to our understanding of these men. Again it is going to be a matter for future historians with longer perspective and possibly new material to complete the picture of what is probably the most unusual partnership in the 20th century.

The Sino-Soviet Union dimensions are surveyed at a high level but again the lack of original material or use of available material limits the authenticity of the discussion and the conclusions. More than any other country, the Soviet

Union had the most to lose by Nixon's efforts to create a tri-polar world. However, surprisingly, while there were threats and sinister noises from Moscow, the Soviets did very little to disrupt the looming Sino-American engagement. The sense of bewilderment in Moscow is perhaps reflected by the Soviets having Victor Louis (described by Professor MacMillan as "a Moscow-based journalist who acted as a conduit for Soviet views") publish an article in a London newspaper saying "how easy it would be for the Soviet Union to launch a surprise attack on China, perhaps against China's own nuclear facilities in Xinjiang province." Professor MacMillan's description of Louis is hardly complete. There is evidence that Victor Louis was the KGB agent, Vitaly Yevgenyevich Lui, who operated as an agent of influence in Europe and North America whom some credit with leading Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs.

A harbinger of the Sino-American rapprochement was Canada's own successful negotiations with China to establish diplomatic relations. Professor MacMillan devotes several paragraphs to this early phase in China's reopening to western countries. She states that "Most significant of all, it [China] opened talks with the United States' neighbour, Canada." This discussion opens with a bit of a clanger in suggesting that "Canada still looked to Britain for leadership" and goes on to oversimplify the various issues in play for Canada, both domestic and foreign, that led to the decision in January 1969 by newly-minted Prime Minister Trudeau to seek negotiations with China through Canada's ambassador in Stockholm. In less than two years, in October 1970, an agreement was reached, and a month later the first Canadian diplomats arrived in Beijing.

Unfortunately, Professor MacMillan fails to name the various Canadians who were engaged in this effort, unlike her detailed information on the Americans. For the record Arthur Andrew was the Ambassador in Stockholm who began the negotiations and he was succeeded by Margaret Meagher. Bob Edmonds was at the Stockholm embassy and was very much involved in the process. Back in Ottawa, Ralph Collins was

the responsible Assistant Under Secretary, Blair Seaborn was head of what was then the "Far Eastern Division" and John Fraser was the China desk officer. John travelled to Stockholm for most of the substantive meetings. Ralph Collins who had been born in China of missionary parents was Canada's first ambassador. For persons interested in the dynamic of why Canada did not maintain relations with China after the revolution in 1949, Chester Ronning's *A Memoir of China in Revolution* is an excellent source. Unfortunately it is out of print but there are copies in used book stores around Ottawa.

Professor MacMillan mentions the role Dr. Norman Bethune indirectly played in the Stockholm negotiations — a new Canadian film occasioned a dinner invitation to a Chinese official who was known to the Canadian third secretary. Dr. Bethune, an iconic, if not a cult, figure in Sino-Canadian relations and the degree to which this is a conscious creation of the Chinese authorities based on limited reality has not been appropriately addressed. Teasingly, Jung Chang does not mention or make any reference to Dr. Bethune in her exhaustingly detailed account of the long march and the thousands, including doctors and stretcher bearers, who were directly involved.

Leaving aside my earlier quibbles about "early" history books, books such as this one have an enormous value in demonstrating that leaders can and do change the course of events and create their own destiny. The role Taiwan played in American politics and foreign relations from 1949 on and the American pathological antipathy towards Communist China is difficult to recapture today. "Who lost China" was a rallying cry and one that Richard Nixon was not averse to using. But 20 years later he foresaw the importance of China in world and American politics and acted accordingly. There are lessons in this for all leaders, but most importantly, for American leaders. The cost of enmity and unconditional support for ones' purported friends needs to be carefully calculated and open to recalibration. Nowhere is this recalibration more needed than with the countries of the Middle East, including Israel. ☺

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Left to right: Gilles Poirier, Dina Santos and Bernard Etzinger. Absent: Gavin Buchan.

On Thursday, June 14, 2007, 280 colleagues and guests gathered to celebrate excellence in the Canadian Foreign Service at the PAFSO Dinner and Awards presentations held in the Panorama Room of the National Arts Centre in Ottawa. James Gray's bagpipes signalled the start of another outstanding evening.

Le président de l'APASE, M. Brian Young, a souligné que « Nous formons tous, ici ce soir, une famille — que nous soyons membres de l'APASE, anciens membres de l'APASE, employés de l'APASE ou invités spéciaux.

Nous sommes tous unis par le même engagement : celui de promouvoir et de protéger la place du Canada dans le monde ».

Master of Ceremonies, Norman Baillie-David, founder and managing partner of The Antima Group, managed the evening's festivities and read the presentations for each of this year's four Award recipients. Gavin Buchan, recognized for his work on the Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan, was unable to take time from his posting to attend the event.

PAFSO Awards In Celebration of **Excellence**

Les Prix de l'APASE Dans la célébration de
l'excellence

GAVIN BUCHAN



“Kandahar is a province of about a million people, and the political centre of gravity for the entire country. And here — uniquely in my experience — Canada is a true superpower. Resources are not an issue, and for once there is more money available than I could conceivably spend. I can pick up the phone at any hour and call the Governor or the Chair of the Provincial Council and they’ll not only answer, they’ll

listen to what I have to say. The issues that we deal with every day are real and immediate, and our interventions really do help shape events. And when you get right down to it, that’s what I wanted when I originally joined DFAIT, so I feel very privileged to have had the opportunity to put our theories into practice in a way that really matters.”

Gavin Buchan, Canada’s Political Director for the Kandahar Provincial Reconstruction Team in Afghanistan, has been honoured as a PAFSO Award winner for successfully taking on one of the most dangerous and difficult assignments in the Canadian Foreign Service. He has mastered the complexities of local politics and how political personalities and

trends intersect with economic forces and security concerns. He has learned the language and cultural traditions of Afghanistan and has led Canada’s efforts to engage local leaders in Kandahar, establishing a network with political tribal figures, civil society and international actors. Gavin has worked closely with the Canadian military in addition to living with them.



Sabine Nölke (left) accepted Gavin’s award on his behalf from Norman Baillie-David.

Il présente au gouvernement du Canada des comptes rendus convaincants en temps opportun, qui aident à orienter l’établissement de la politique du Canada relative à Kandahar et à l’Afghanistan. Gavin a été appelé à remplacer Glyn Berry à titre de directeur politique à Kandahar à la suite du décès de Glyn au début de 2006 lors d’une explosion qui a détruit le véhicule dans lequel il se déplaçait. Gavin a relevé ce défi avec esprit d’initiative, créativité et dévouement au service du Canada et des Canadiens et Canadiennes.

BERNARD ETZINGER

Bernard Etzinger was chosen for a PAFSO Award for making a lasting impact on how Canada works in the United States, on how Canada presents issues to American audiences, and on how Canada mobilizes support within the USA to achieve Canadian goals. During three postings to the United States of America — as Consul, Cultural Affairs, at the Consulate General in New York, as Consul in San Jose, California, and currently as Head of Public Affairs at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, DC — Bernie has been innovative and delivered results in the fields of public diplomacy and public affairs. Bernie is skilled at conceiving, designing and delivering messages through web-based tools and has used these tools to get the Canadian message out in competitive environments.

Bernie s’est occupé des questions d’affaires publiques et de diplomatie publique relatives à de nombreux moments délicats dans les relations

canado-américaines, notamment lorsque le Canada a décidé d’adopter son propre plan d’action pour ce qui est de l’invasion américaine de l’Irak, la découverte de la maladie de la vache folle au Canada, la défense antimissile et le bois d’œuvre. En s’occupant de ces questions délicates et cruciales, Bernie a su distiller l’essence du message canadien et faire en sorte que le bon message parvienne aux décideurs clés.



“Looking back it all boils down to a single question posed by my first Consul General when he asked, ‘If our office was to disappear, would anyone notice?’ This is our challenge — not just to be noticed but to be vital. To customize our diplomacy, our message and our purpose into this rapidly evolving world of networks. That means knowing our networks, leveraging them, and investing in them. And, by making our hierarchy help, not hinder the answering of that question.”

Bernard Etzinger (left) and Gregory Schmidt, Senior Director, Government Relations, Petro-Canada.

DINA SANTOS

Dina Santos, Consul and Trade Commissioner for Science, Innovation and Technology at the Canadian Consulate General in New York, has been selected as a PAFSO Award winner for her initiative, creativity, and deep sense of service to Canada as one of this country's first Technology Partnering Officers in the



USA. Dina has broken new ground in identifying opportunities for Canadian clients in emerging technologies such as nanotechnology, photonics and fuel cells. She promotes cross-border technology partnerships and research collaboration as well as assists early stage Canadian innovators to raise venture capital. She has a natural ability to work within the "innovation culture" surrounding her position and has won the trust of numerous Canadian clients.

Dina est un rouage important au sein de l'équipe au Consulat et elle est devenue un modèle pour les employés dans nos missions aux États-Unis par son dévouement et sa capacité d'obtenir la participation des industries axées sur le savoir, qui sont d'une importance cruciale pour le développement économique et la compétitivité du Canada dans l'avenir.

Dina Santos and Peter Boehm, Assistant Deputy Minister, North America, DFAIT.

"I have had the privilege of being surrounded by wonderful mentors and seasoned senior managers... Their flexibility and openness to new approaches has not only given me the opportunity to be creative in the development and implementation of a new Departmental programme but has also contributed to form a new model for innovative Trade Commissioners across our US network. It is truly an exciting time to be part of the Department as it is currently reviewing its definition of clients and services to formally incorporate the Canadian scientific and venture capital communities and I wake up every day with a deep sense of honour and commitment to serving our Canadian science and technology community."



GILLES POIRIER

Gilles Poirier reçoit cette année un prix de l'APASE pour ses compétences et sa capacité de promouvoir les intérêts du Canada en Algérie en qualité de conseiller commercial à l'ambassade du Canada à Alger. Il s'est servi de sa profonde compréhension et appréciation de la culture locale et de sa capacité à travailler dans un tel environnement pour relever le profil du Canada et des entreprises canadiennes. Grâce à sa ténacité, à sa créativité et à ses talents de persuasion, il a mis à profit des activités — comme la visite de la gouverneure générale en Algérie, à l'occasion de laquelle il a orchestré l'annonce d'une nouvelle route aérienne direct Alger-Montréal — pour faire en sorte que les entreprises canadiennes puissent percer sur le marché algérien. Il a acquis ses compétences et ses connaissances au fil de 30 ans de travail ardu et dévoué au sein du Service extérieur.

« Lorsqu'on aime son travail, on ne recherche pas les honneurs mais le travail bien fait. Cela dit, pour ceux qui cherchent à obtenir le prix de l'APASE et souhaitent mes recommandations, je les invite à postuler des postes difficiles et à rester longtemps pour développer une expérience incontestable. À la réflexion, je suppose que la distinction que je reçois ce soir s'explique par le fait que je suis resté deux fois quatre ans à Alger alors que le terrorisme continue de limiter la qualité de vie dans ce pays au potentiel remarquable ».

His skills and knowledge have been attained through 30 years of dedication and hard work in the Foreign Service. In addition to being a client-focused officer, he is a mentor and coach to the members of the team. His Ambassador relies on his loyal, steady performance and his calm demeanour under pressure to move the Embassy's work forward on all fronts.

Gilles Poirier (à gauche) et Ronald Denom, président, SNC-Lavalin International, Inc.



RHOMA PRIZE FOR BEST ARTICLE IN BOUT DE PAPIER

In addition to the four PAFSO Awards, one other award was presented at the PAFSO Dinner on June 4, 2007. The Retired Heads of Mission Association (RHOMA) sponsored award for best article in **bout de papier** for Volume 22 was presented to Joya Donnelly for her article, "Cinq mois au MAECI : une nouvelle recrue dans la jungle colombienne" appeared in Vol. 22, No. 3.

Joya Donnelly receives prize and cheque from the President of RHOMA, John Noble.



DINNER/ DÎNER



2004 Inniskillin Riesling Reserve VQA Niagara Peninsula

Watercress and Frisée Salad with Crumbled Goat's Cheese, Cassis Dressing, Cherry Tomatoes and Marinated Shaved Fennel
Salade de cresson et de frisée, vinaigrette au cassis, garnie de miettes de chèvre, de tomates cerises et de fenouil ciselé mariné

2004 Inniskillin Montague Estate Vineyard Chardonnay VQA Niagara Peninsula

2004 Inniskillin Pinot Noir Reserve VQA Niagara Peninsula

Sesame Crusted East Coast Salmon with Orange-Miso Sauce on a Gingered Rice Cake and Pan Roasted Baby Bok Choy
Saumon de la côte est en croûte de sésame, sauce au miso et à l'orange, servi sur galette de riz au gingembre avec jeune pak-choï poêlé

2005 Inniskillin Pearl Vidal Ice Wine VQA Niagara Peninsula

Rougemont Apple Sour Cream Crumble Pie with Warm Butterscotch Sauce
Croustade aux pommes de Rougemont et à la crème sûre avec sauce chaude au caramel écossais

2007 PANEL OF JUDGES

The panel which selected this year's Award recipients was composed of people who themselves have achieved distinction in their fields.

Martha Nixon (Chair) left the Public Service in 2003 after almost 30 years' service, most recently as Assistant Deputy Minister, Operations, for Citizenship and Immigration Canada. During her tenure, Ms. Nixon managed many high profile events — the Kosovar refugee movement, Asian refugee boat arrivals and security issues following 9/11, to name a few, in what has been described by the Public Policy Forum as one of the "Ten Tough Jobs in Government." Over the past three years, Ms. Nixon has been consulting, largely in the non-profit community sector.

Lieutenant-General (Retired) Michael K. Jeffrey is currently a consultant on defence, security and strategic planning. He began a distinguished military career at age 16 as a Rifleman with the Canadian Army Militia. He was promoted to Colonel in 1989, serving with the United Nations Transition Group (UNCTAD) in Namibia. He was appointed Commandant of the Canadian Land Forces Command and Staff College in 1996. Upon promotion to Lieutenant-General, he served as Chief of the Land Staff from 2000 until his retirement in 2003.

Michael Kergin joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1967 as a foreign service officer. His postings abroad have included the Canadian Mission to the United Nations in New York, Cameroon and Chile. He served as Ambassador to Cuba from 1986 to 1989 and has had three

postings to Washington, the last as Ambassador of Canada to the United States (2000–05). Since leaving the federal government in 2005, he has been Special Advisor on Border Management to the premier of Ontario. Mr. Kergin is currently a Senior Fellow at the US Chamber of Commerce. He is also CEO and President of Intermestic Consulting Inc, a firm he founded, specializing in advising clients on Canada-US relations.

Jeffrey Simpson is the national affairs columnist of *The Globe and Mail*, and has aided public understanding of Canadian politics for more than 30 years through his newspaper and magazine articles, books, speeches, lectures, and television appearances. He began his career at *The Globe and Mail* in 1974. He joined the Ottawa bureau in 1977, where he became bureau chief, and then served in London as European correspondent from 1981–83. His began his national affairs column in 1984. He has won numerous awards, including the Governor General's Award for non-fiction. In 2000 he became an Officer of the Order of Canada.

Mme Louise Terrillon-Mackay est une ancienne agente du service extérieur et ancienne présidente du chapitre de la Capitale nationale de l'Institut canadien des affaires internationales. Elle est actuellement présidente du conseil d'administration de l'Institut canadien d'études méditerranéennes. Mme Terrillon-Mackay est diplômée avec spécialisation en économie, administration des affaires et espagnol de la Marymount and Fordham University, New York, et elle a poursuivi des études en histoire et en archéologie à l'Université de Rome (Italie).



Monique Levesque presents Bruno Hamel with prize from Dominique Levesque Designer-Couturier.



Monique Levesque presents Lorre Anne Kempton (left) with prize from Dominique Levesque Designer-Couturier.

Richard Fadden, Deputy Minister, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, presents Keith Morrill (right) with VIA Rail prize.



Norman Baillie-David presents Isabella Abols with draw prize from Victoria Park Suites.



Norman Baillie-David presents David Edwards (right) with draw prize from The Albert at Bay Suite Hotel.

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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.

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE AND THE UNITED STATES *or*

You want an exotic posting? Try this ...

by John Kneale

The great thing about a foreign service career is the opportunity to work abroad, representing Canada and assisting Canadians wherever they are. And Canadians are everywhere these days; ask the Consular Bureau!

I started my career as a Trade Commissioner. My first job was helping a small "maison d'édition" in Montreal to land a contract with the Algerian Ministry of Education to supply school books in French. Since then I've done everything from fighting the fish wars in Spain to advising Christian charities from Toronto on their development projects in the Andes. But the most exciting, and most challenging, posting I've had was in New York.

Most people know New York as a tourist destination. We go for the shopping, for the theatre, for the museums, and so on. But imagine living and working there! It's fabulous. On any given day, and depending on your responsibilities, you might be setting up a visit to Wall Street for the Minister of Finance, or planning a lunch with the CEO of a Fortune 500 company to talk investment, or working with the editors of the Food Section in the *New York Times* on a feature about Canada. The Big Apple is where the worlds of media, of finance, and of entertainment intersect, with large dollops of sport and politics and fashion mixed in.

But New York is not the only interesting posting in the US; Chicago and Boston, Seattle and Minneapolis, Atlanta and San Francisco all offer a broad palette of sophisticated business and political issues, and very pleasant lifestyles. Detroit and Buffalo have become front-line policy posts, with a strong focus on border and security issues, environmental challenges, and emerging questions of North American economic competitiveness. Dallas is at the heart of the extraordinary transformation of Texas into a country within a country (with the GDP of Canada, incidentally). Miami is the vibrant, colourful north-south gateway, connecting North America to the Caribbean and Latin America.

The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) now operates 23 offices in the United States, ranging from the embassy in Washington

through 13 consulates general and six consulates to three satellite trade offices. Each of the consulates general is responsible for a territory of two to six states. Many of these territories are the equivalent of G-8 countries in terms of their economic importance for Canada and the political influence wielded by their congressional delegations. There are also large numbers of Canadians living and working in many areas of the US, such as southern California.

The realization that the regions matter prompted the creation of the Enhanced Representation Initiative (ERI) in 2002. DFAIT needed to ramp up its presence in key sections of the United States, particularly the south and southwest which have been growing in economic and political importance for a generation. The US political system, with its separation of powers, gives Congress enormous clout. Individual senators and members of the House of Representatives are not strictly bound to follow party lines as in our parliamentary system, so it's essential to know what local interests and influences are shaping their views. The consulates general are much closer to these local influences than the embassy, and can report on who Canada's allies, and adversaries, are on key files like softwood lumber or "mad cow" or the Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative (the passport requirement). That enables headquarters to design an advocacy strategy that will enlist powerful US support for our position.

In the mid-term elections to Congress in November 2006, Canada had, for the first time, a complete network of posts in every key region of the US. These posts reported on the candidates, their views on issues of importance to Canada, and their sources of support. This new capacity was the product of a lengthy process of reorganization of the network: right-sizing territories to make them more manageable, establishing new offices in places

that were not adequately covered, and focussing the work of the foreign service on combatting myths about Canada and fostering more positive views.

One of the innovations introduced by the ERI is a network of honorary consuls, 20 in all, in key American cities such as St. Louis, Missouri, and Portland, Oregon, where Canada does not have an office. These honorary consuls are chosen for their standing in the community and their ability to provide good advice to the consul general to whom they report on how to promote and defend Canadian interests. The Department has been extraordinarily

lucky to recruit some very fine individuals who are willing to be champions for Canada.

The US is probably the only country in the world where it's necessary to work the regions in such a regular and systematic way. Trade Commissioners devote a lot of time to finding allies in the local business community who will tell their congressional representatives that measures unfavourable to Canada will have a negative impact on their own region. Political/economic relations and public affairs officers collaborate with their trade colleagues by identifying potential allies in the

local political structure and getting the right messages conveyed in the local media. The old separation between trade and political files is meaningless in the US, where getting a company to consider investing in Canada may depend on convincing their senior executives that Canada is a staunch ally in the war on terror.

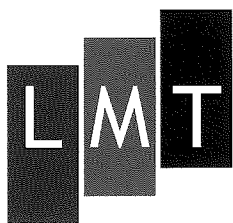
One area where bilateral relations often work well is in contacts between Canadian premiers and US governors in adjacent regions. Fostering cross-border cooperation like this makes for very interesting work in the US posts, as do the visits of senior Canadian political leaders at the federal level.

Our proximity to the United States, and our shared history and economic interests, undoubtedly give Canada an advantage in getting a share of US "bandwidth" — as a previous ambassador called it. But we still have to fight for it. Other countries have also increased their representation in the regions. Our Consulate General in Chicago is one of 28 in that city! In San Francisco we're one of 22.

Important as the US is to Canadian interests — think of it as China and India, Latin America and the EU all rolled together — foreign service officers are reluctant to serve there. Various reasons are advanced for this. Lifestyle is one, but, as I've noted above, the posts in the US have a lot to offer. While the beaches of Bali may be lovely, the US has a huge variety of beautiful and interesting places to serve.

Another reason for steering clear of the US seems to be that it's not foreign enough, that it's too close to home in every respect. This is a misconception; the US is not at all the country that most Canadians imagine. It's far more diverse and more complex than the common portrayals of Americans in the Canadian media would have us believe. Most cities in the United States have as much history, cultural activity and regional flavour as their Canadian counterparts; some even more. And Canadians are very welcome.

Cost of living is another issue. This is a legitimate concern, as compensation under the Foreign Service Directives (FSDs) has fallen behind actual costs of living. In a report to Parliament on May 1, the Auditor General noted that while costs are 18 percent higher than in Canada, employees



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in the US are not fully compensated. This falls hardest on officers assigned to larger cities and on employees with families. It needs to be corrected quickly.

On the positive side, it's relatively easy for spouses and accredited partners to find work in the US. They get a special visa that allows them to work without losing their diplomatic or consular status, and can potentially earn a very good salary. The ERI Secretariat has developed a pilot project that gives spouses/partners one time assistance of Cdn\$10,000 to help with career transition and this has proven effective.

Housing and schools can be a concern for some. Most officers in the US have to find their own accommodation and furnish it, which translates into a financial penalty. To make matters worse, the housing guidelines imposed by the FSDs mean that our officers are often living in neighbourhoods where the public schools have problems with drugs and violence. Applications for permission to put kids in private schools must be approved by an interdepartmental committee and can take months.

Sometimes the permission comes too late to register the child in an appropriate school. A lot of work has been done by a few dedicated individuals to try to correct these problems, but to date there's little progress.

The problems are not ones that DFAIT can resolve alone; Treasury Board must agree, and has promised to take a fresh look. The fundamental issue is that the FSDs, as they are applied in the US, are out of line with the needs of modern Canadian families. Correcting them, through negotiations in the triennial review cycle, takes too long.

The Auditor General said in her report, "The process in place to compensate employees for living conditions abroad... has not allowed the Department to respond in a timely way to changing circumstances and the problems employees face as a result. This hinders the Department's ability to assign qualified staff to some of its missions around the world. Despite concerns expressed over many years by our Office and various stakeholders, this issue has not been resolved."

The senior management of the Department has identified this as a priority area for attention. While the foreign service assignment process is basically voluntary, the Department has an obligation to try to put the right people in the right jobs abroad. Disincentives have to be addressed.

In order to finance the expanded network of offices in the US, DFAIT offered a partnership to other government departments with significant involvement in bilateral relations. Six accepted the invitation, including Industry Canada and Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, and several others are contemplating joining in the next year. Part of the

package offered was that their employees would be able to apply for assignments to the US. Now, each year, employees from the Partner departments can apply not only for the 30 or so new positions funded by the ERI but for all the IBD and PERPA positions that come open.

They're taking advantage of it. In 2005, of 18 positions offered, six were filled by non-DFAIT employees. In 2006, of 14 positions offered, four were filled by the Partners.

In the most important region of the world for Canadian interests, a place that offers interesting work and agreeable lifestyles, experienced foreign service officers are not vying for assignments. The reasons are complex: a reluctance to serve, disincentives, and now competition from employees of other departments. But if this trend continues, FS officers risk becoming marginalised, relegated to countries and regions of secondary importance for Canada. This would be regrettable and would not reinforce the role of the professional foreign service as a key instrument of Canadian international relations.

I encourage all my FS colleagues to look seriously at a US posting the next time around, and to work with departmental management, through PAFSO, for a new FSD system more in line with the Department's needs. ☺

John Kneale is an Affiliate Member of PAFSO and a former head of mission. He is currently Executive Coordinator of the ERI. The views expressed in this article are his own and do not necessarily represent those of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

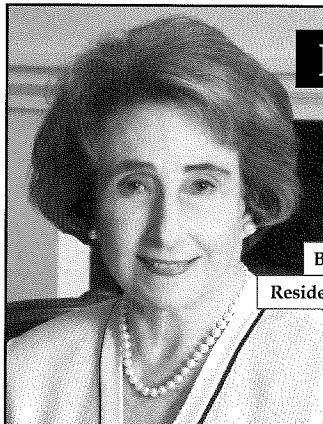
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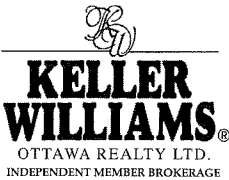
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LIEBNITZ AND THE TESSERAÉ

A Aalto presents an
enigma of transformation

"So two haggises are cooking in the oven," said Chief MacBannock, "and one says, 'Boy, it sure is hot in here.' And the second one replies, 'Whoa! It's a talking haggis!'" He glanced around expectantly, but the others around the table just looked perplexed.

Peevishly, he added "According to recent research, people are more likely to laugh if a joke is told by an authority figure." Attila McGee began laughing so hard that he spilled his retsina, and even the imperturbable Bugbyte O'Nanotek cracked a smile.

Ace logician Ludwig Liebnitz raised an eyebrow and murmured,
"I hope Don Gordo gets back soon."

"I AM back," said a large wine barrel that had just been placed beside him.
"I ran over some loafers in the square and had to hide, but now I'm stuck in here.
Fortunately, the vintner delivers to this taverna. Also, it wasn't a bad vintage."

Only 48 hours had passed since the five had found themselves chained to the wall of a faux-medieval dungeon tapestried in motley, still drowsy from the narcotic gas that had immobilized them in the elevator of the hotel and from the mind-numbing banality of the Centre's management retreat. Emerging from the shadows was a tall rotund man in impeccable Armani and the makeup of a clown. "Greetings, friends," he said, "I apologize for the restraints, but take it as a compliment to your proven skills at — how shall I say? — forceful communication. Let me introduce myself as the Deathclown." "Corny," said Attila, "although it would make a good name for a heavy metal band. Not as good as Tungsten Tongue of course, but...". He stopped abruptly and sagged, out cold.

The clown smiled as his henchman stepped back and re-pocketed the lead-weighted rubber chicken. "I make the jokes here, even the bad ones. But to business. Those of you still conscious will have noticed the iron and opal collar rivetted around each of your necks. Stylish — it looks especially fetching against your ebony leathers, Ms. O'Nanotek — but also deadly, I'm afraid." He brandished a small, flat jewelled device. "This shockingly rococo PDA has been modified with two extra buttons. One will kill you all, no matter where in the world you are — you know how hard it is to escape a BlackBerry — whereas the other will set you free. Any attempt to contact your agency for help or to remove the chokers by force will make them explode — such a mess, deary me. And all because there is something that only you can do for me. Isn't that too, too charming?"

Shorn of verbiage, the clown's story was non-linear but not without interest, thought Bugbyte at the time. Earlier that year, kayaking nonchalantly down the Ottawa to escape a misunderstanding involving the Papal Nuncio, a rabid walrus and 17 gallons of marshmallow syrup, his eye had been caught by a curious stone that a raccoon was washing in the river. It was a crystal of shifting colour, with edges that the eye couldn't quite follow. Soon he had it on a chain around his neck. Shortly thereafter, he left his job with a run-down circus to become a small-time celebrity criminal, appearing regularly on reality TV shows and committing lesser felonies to keep himself in cash. He dreamed of more — world-threatening schemes to put him in a league with Sleazewagon, Goldfinger, Voldemort and Cheney — but he somehow lacked the final spark. Recent contacts from an anonymous source had however spoken of a hidden counterpart crystal, whose reunion with the one he already held would allow him to realize his evil dreams.

"My source sent me this guidebook to Cyprus with five tourist sites highlighted, and a piece of paper with this gibberish on it."

NI DRIRELHNAK TIG SROBNID LASREH, PR ONYR T [ENZRE].

NI ULFBTHHNLI TIG DETUR, PR ONYR ASR [HCI].

NI ULIURTONID LASREH' MTCOAH, PR ONYR ASR [INDSA].

NI TIDRE TIG MCEK, PR ONYR ASR [GRTG].

NI FLGRHAK TIG SCFNONAK, PR ONYR ASR [RTEAS].

NI ALORETIUR, PR ONYR ASR [HRT].

TBBRTE TH KLC TER,

LE PR TH KLC TBBRTE.

<Make right what is wrong for the lovers in Bacchus' abode.>

"I have no idea what the first part means, and Bacchus has far too many abodes full of lovers in trouble or about to be so. So rather than stressing my poor tired braincells, I thought I'd call in the experts. And here we all are." He smiled the way that makes you check your wallet. A clamour arose from the prisoners: demands to be set free, defiance of his proposal and (from Don Gordo) requests to send out for pizza with extra garlic and anchovies. Then Bugbyte's steely voice rode over the noise. "You know, people, I think we should go along with this. He has us over a barrel — his technology is as baroque as his turn of phrase, but these collars are what he claims. And I am sure we can come to some accommodation with him once the second crystal has been found." She blazed the others a look forbidding contradiction. The clown looked her over and said, "I am, I confess, amused that you expect to be in a position to bargain. But if you all agree.... Well, it's far too toasty outside for me to tramp around with you — and one's makeup does tend to run in the heat — but the collars will let me know where you are. TTFN. I'll be in touch." Five minutes after he swept out, the chains automatically fell away.

Reconvening in the hotel, Bugbyte filled in the others. "You all know GEODE," she said, "the silicon-based life-form who has befriended me? Well, while Deathclown was faffing off, GEODE contacted me through my online shades. That crystal is a tesseract — the 4D analogy of a cube. It shouldn't even exist in our universe and wearing it is a lot more dangerous than he thinks. A doorway to other places, it is warping his whole being. The only thing holding up the emergence of another global arch-villain is his residual decency, believe it or not. The other tesseract, the one hidden here in Cyprus, will resolve that dilemma — but not the way he expects. Instead, it will completely reverse the moral polarity of the existing crystal and make him a powerful force for good. Of course the darkside crystal would never allow that to happen if he was forewarned. So GEODE acted as the clown's mysterious source to lead him into a trap. But even my neolithic ally doesn't know the exact location of the second crystal, beyond the few ancient clues provided to the clown in modern guise. So that's where we come in — and why we have to play along."

A moment's silence was broken by Liebnitz. "OK, I see your reasoning. The encrypted message shouldn't be hard to decipher — it uses a simple substitution system you can crack by counting the number of each letter in the ciphertext and applying the standard frequency distribution for English — E the most common letter, for example, with T/R/A/I/N as well as L/O/S/H also up there and TH the most common diphthong. I'm willing to bet that the five sites marked in the guidebook are linked in some way to the words [boxed] at the end of certain lines of plaintext. What I suggest is that we

each comb one site for something like the missing crystal." Bugbyte nodded. "I can help there. GEODE couriered me these special sunglasses that will make the crystal — or anything connected with it — seem to light up when you look at it though them."

And so it was, two evenings later, that the five met in the *taverna* to trade the results of their separate excursions. Their conversation was covered by the mingled roar of happy toppers and the worst *bouzouki* player on the island. "OK," said MacBannock as Don Gordo brushed off pieces of barrel-stave, "what have we got?"

Everyone had found something. MacBannock himself had a garnet that had fallen to the floor when he tried to shake the hand of a manikin representing a Lusignan knight in the old castle at Famagusta. Bugbyte, strolling the beach where Aphrodite was said to have emerged from the waves, found an aquamarine pebble almost invisible in the water. Liebnitz, visiting the museum of the whirling dervishes, picked up a small piece of marble apparently fallen from the tomb of the order's last leader. Attila, lost in a maze of corridors within the walls of Kyrenia castle, came upon a hidden chapel; a ray of sun from a window high in the dome lit up some ornate grillwork in the floor, under which a golden-yellow citrine gleamed. And Don Gordo fell into an excavation trench in the ancient site at Khirokitia and came up clutching a mud brick, which crumbled in his hand to reveal a small flint bead. All five stones lit up in GEODE's sunglasses, but none resembled the tesseract crystal. "So what do we do with them? Where do we take them?" MacBannock asked the others.

Attila had been studying the guidebook. "I think I know the answer to the second question," he said. "Bacchus is the Roman name for the Greek god Dionysus, and in the ruins near Paphos lie the foundations of a mansion named after him, famous for its mosaic floors. The stones we found are all tesserae, the little blocks that make up a mosaic. I'll bet, if we go to the House of Dionysus, we'll find a place where they fit." "Sound divination," said Bugbyte. "I think I can even tell you which mosaic. And by the way, GEODE has just passed me the word that tonight, with the planet Venus rising over the horizon right under the full moon, is the best time for activating the tesseract — a time when the doors of change stand ajar."

The five agents, still serenaded by the worst *bouzouki* player in Cyprus, walked in the dusk through the ruins to the House of Dionysus. The site was enormous, but Bugbyte took them to a small plot halfway down the eastern wall. "Here you are," she said. "A mosaic of Pyramus and Thisbe, the ill-starred Greek lovers who gave Shakespeare the idea for *Romeo and Juliet*. But the mosaic-maker has put in a different Pyramus — this is a river god of the same name but completely different appearance. A hoary old man — the wrong lover. And if you look closely, you'll see that a line of six tesserae is missing around his neck. We have five of them."

"And I have the sixth," said the *bouzouki* player. They spun around, to see him yank off a rubber mask and reveal the face of the Deathclown. "I thought you might be nearing the climax of our little morality play, and I SO wanted to be nearby when it happened. Well done, I must say." Liebnitz replied drily, "Glad you could finally take that mask off. It must have been very hot and we were beginning to worry. Oh yes, we knew it was you. Along with the roar of the crowd

in the taverna, there was also the smell of the greasepaint. Why else would we have let you tag along?"

The clown scowled under his painted grin and the jewelled PDA flashed in the moonlight. "Enough. It would still give me a real charge to kill you, so no tricks. The second tesseract must be locked under that pavement, with the line of tessera as the key. But what order do we place them in the gap?" Liebnitz considered a minute and said, "From left to right, the same order as the boxed words in the ciphertext, based on the places we found them." Bugbyte nodded surreptitiously. The five agents then bent one by one over the mosaic and inserted their finds. With each insertion, the night seemed more electric. Finally, the clown dropped to his knees and pulled the crystal from around his neck. Trying to slide it into the remaining open slot, he met a strange resistance and had to bear down with all his weight. Suddenly, the crystal twisted in his hand and dropped into the gap.

The Pyramus mosaic shifted, its thousands of pieces whirling and reforming into the image of a handsome youth. The clown was still scrabbling frantically at the floor when a cage of actinic blue began to weave around him, a cube with too many edges. He paled and gasped, his hand clutching his throat, his eyes darting from side to side. The light grew so bright that the watchers could no longer see him, only hear his panicked breathing. Then the cage vanished with a sudden soundless flare, to reveal a slender figure with a small quizzical smile, high cheekbones and silver eyes. He glanced down at the PDA, looked over at them and said, "This isn't what I expected — suddenly, I'm one with Herne and Loki. And I don't know whether to kill you or not." He paused. "So I'll push a button at random — you'll know the result soon enough." Closing his eyes, he tapped the keyboard, then tossed the machine into the darkness. "Meanwhile, I leave you this night of metamorphosis." So saying, he dropped a silver globe to shatter on the ground and vanished in the ensuing glare. The others froze. After an endless moment, their collars all cracked open and fell to the ground. Cries of relief filled the air.

"So the second tesseract was not the twin of the first, but a light-sculpture binding change," said MacBannock. "That makes sense. But something is still wrong. Leaving our fate to chance was not the act of an evil man, I grant you, but neither was it that of a good one. I begin to think we've been had." As he spoke, shadowy changes began to come over the five. "I don't think GEODE was entirely honest with you, Bugbyte. I believe that the clown was changed, not from bad to good, but to something else." At his side, her figure seemed to soften, her gaze deepen and a scent of flowers began to fill the room. Liebnitz ripped open the collar of his shirt, a wineskin appeared in his hand and grape leaves in his hair.

"He spoke of Loki and Herne the Hunter," MacBannock went on, stroking a beard he had not sported minutes before. "As well as the bad and the good, you know, there is also the wild. Those who divide the world in Manichean terms, whatever side they are on, see the wild as chaotic, unpredictable and therefore dangerous to order. Others see wildness as freedom. I believe our transformed friend will be a power in the world, but not an easy ally." Attila and Don Gordo had become twins, lithe and muscular, who were mock-fighting gleefully. Bugbyte gave a low sensuous laugh and said, "GEODE

presents his compliments on your deductions, Chief, although he is surprised they came from you. He wasn't sure we would cooperate if we knew the truth. But what is happening to us?"

MacBannock waved a cigar in the air, where it was ignited by a small lightning bolt. "For this night, because we have assisted the metamorphosis of a god, we are granted our own temporary idealization. Tomorrow, I will again be comically inept, but tonight I share a modicum of wisdom. Just as you wear your passion on your sleeve for these few hours, while Liebnitz forgets his passion for logical clarity. Tomorrow Felix will again be brilliant but feckless and Don Gordo will again be Don Gordo — but right now they are strong and joyful and fearless and they roister with Homer's warriors. Let it be so, and Gods grant that we forget in the morning what we had this evening."

Liebnitz staggered up, peered blearily into his face and cried out, "Whoa! It's a talking haggis! But there's such a thing as knowing too much, old man. Even if grayness descends again tomorrow, we can still ignite Homer's wine-dark sea tonight. You don't usually hang with the helots, but let me tempt you and this goddess with the euphoria of here and now. Strike a fire to be remembered when we

are one with Hector and Ulysses!". So linking arms, the five strode down to the shore, where there was wine and laughter and friendship and Venus rising from the sea.

After all that, can you duplicate Liebnitz's feat by deciphering the encrypted message? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct entries received by October 15, 2007. The winner will receive a book prize autographed by A Aalto. Not necessary to win the contest, but can you also cite the source of the message and indicate the correct order of the six tesserae (including the tesseract) from left to right? ☹

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto was brought up on another island but recently visited Cyprus for the first time. All the sites described actually exist (if not exactly as described), including the House of Dionysus and the mural with the wrong Pyramus. Aalto cannot confirm details of the night of metamorphosis, but the full moon and a bright Venus there surely were and who knows what the Gods allow one to forget? Gratitude as always to Mrs Aalto for companionship and inspiration.

Qui a tué Jacques Noir?

Answers from Vol. 22, No. 4

Congratulations to winner Anne Leahy, Montreal, Quebec.

The message under the blacked-out squares was CECI N'EST PAS UNE PIPE. This is the message inscribed on Magritte's *Trahison des Images*, below a picture of a pipe with a curved stem. The camera-pipe (with the straight stem typical of Tati's) had been used to replace the original pipe in the 3D version shown at the Festival.

The message in the heart was STENDHAL'S NOVEL. The reference is to *The Red and the Black* (*Le Rouge et le Noir*), which in turn dimes Carmine Écarlate as the killer — both forename and surname are shades of red in French.

The 26 answers are:

- 1 A BOUT DE SOUFFLE
- 2 BELLE DE JOUR
- 3 CYRANO DE BERGERAC
- 4 GERARD DEPARDIEU
- 5 L'ENFER
- 6 LA FEMME NIKITA
- 7 LE GRAND BLOND AVEC UNE CHAUSSURE NOIRE
- 8 HUIS CLOS
- 9 LES INVASIONS BARBARES
- 10 CLAUDE JUTRA
- 11 KRZYSZTOF KIESLOWSKI
- 12 LUMIERE
- 13 MANON DES SOURCES

- 14 LA NUIT AMERICAINE
- 15 ORPHEE
- 16 PEPE LE MOKO
- 17 QUAI DES BRUMES
- 18 JEAN RENOIR
- 19 SIMONE SIGNORET
- 20 LES TRIPLETTES DE BELLÉVILLE
- 21 URANUS
- 22 LES VACANCES DE MONSIEUR HULOT
- 23 WOMAN IN RED
- 24 XALA
- 25 YAABA
- 26 Z

The encrypted para is a compressed extract from Michel Houle's "Themes and Ideology in Quebec Cinema" (*Jump Cut*, May 1980): "What distinguishes and specifies us as Québécois? Some of the very first fiction films of the sixties have been perceived as tentative answers to that question. The "Quiet Revolution" was primarily perceived as a right to speak, a furor for speech, [but] these films were not its translation, its reflection. No, these films were instigators of this movement. The fact that they existed as feature films, in a context where they were not asked for nor wanted, was part of that furor for speech."

The Belle Aurore was Rick Blaine's club in Paris, before he moved to Casablanca.

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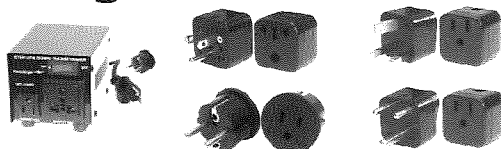
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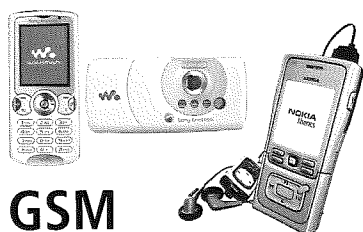
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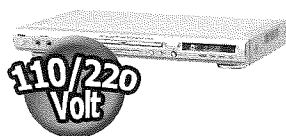


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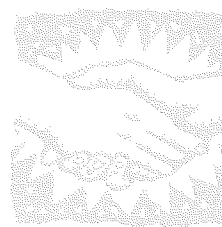
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