

bout de papier

Vol. 26, No. 2

**Le concours de photos 2011
Canada in the World**

**Hittite News: Roger Lucy and
Timothy Harrison on Trojans,
Digs and Diplomacy**

**South Asian Trilogy: Personal
Perspectives on Afghanistan,
Pakistan and India**

BY KATHY GANNON, TALAT MASOOD & DAVID MALONE

L'Ouest et le monde musulman

PAR FERRY DE KERCKHOVE



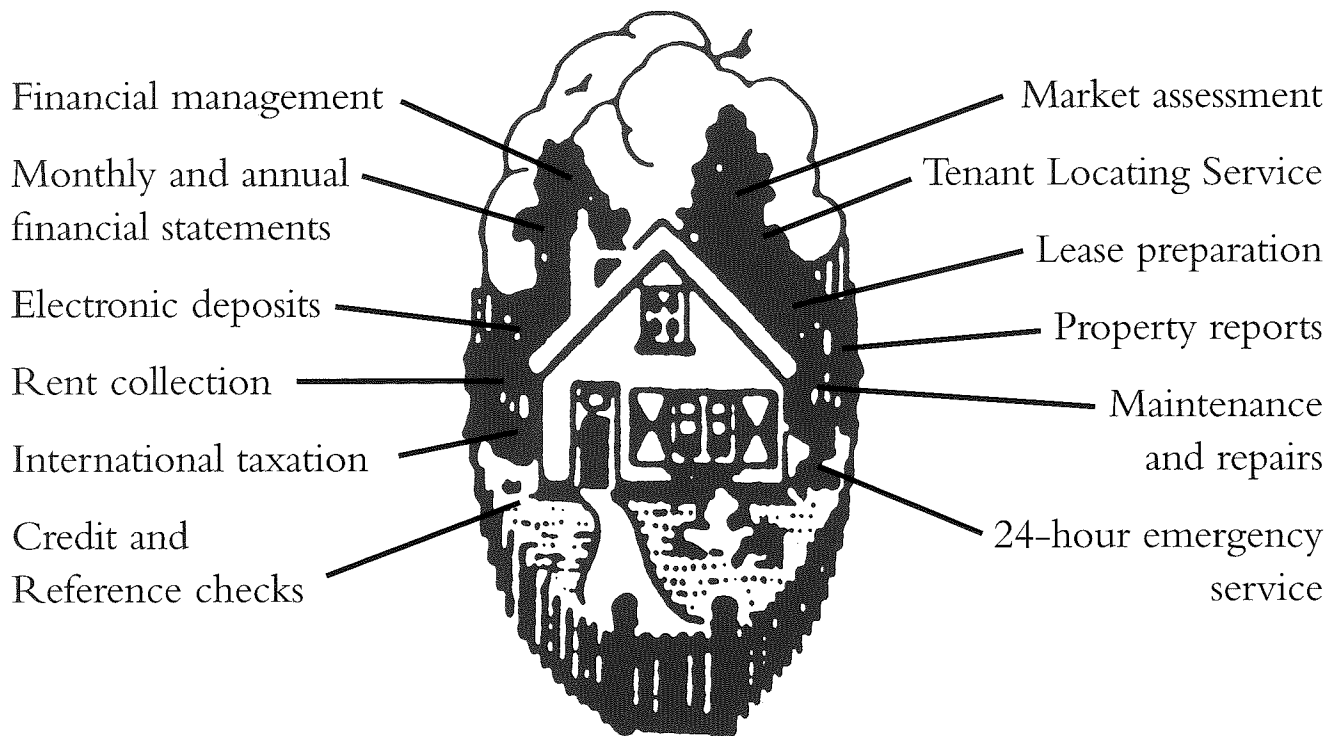
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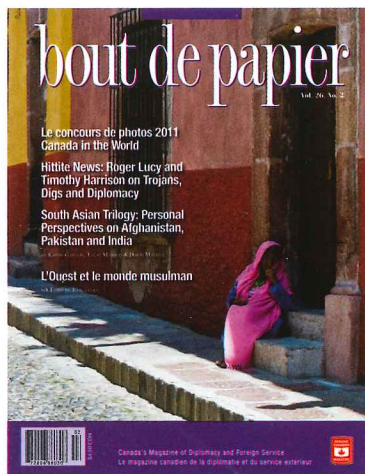
FALL/WINTER 2011

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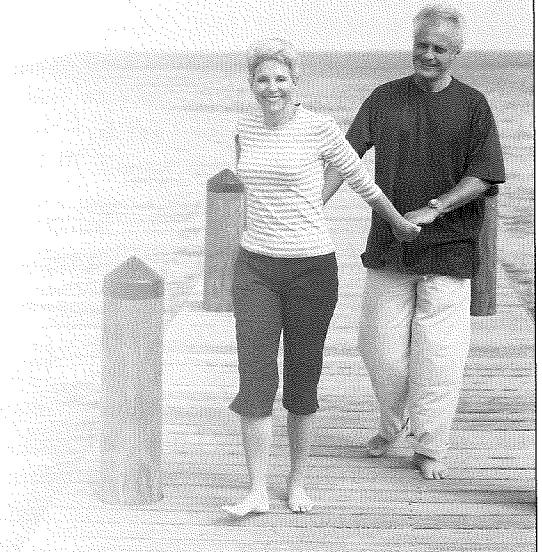
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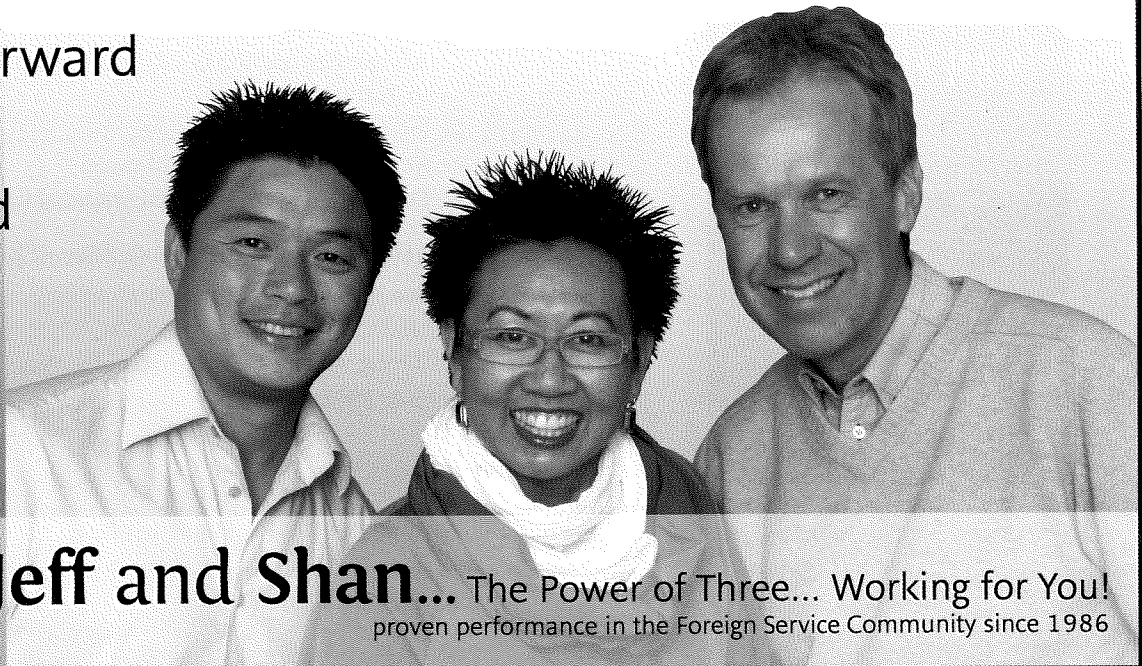
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Les « joies » du transport aérien...

Mes parents étaient en affectation à Rome lorsque je me suis transformé en petite peste (ou, si vous préférez : préado). J'étais élève erratique au Lycée Chateaubriand, mais scout énergique dans la première troupe Saint-Louis-de-France, fier de mon foulard bleu et blanc. Beaucoup de choses me rendaient perplexe à cette époque (comme aujourd'hui, d'ailleurs), mais j'avais au moins une certitude : j'adorais les avions.

Enfant, j'avais une passion – je collectionnais tous les Dinky Toys sur lesquels je pouvais mettre la main. Mes parents, parfois exaspérés par mon sens idiosyncratique de l'émerveillement, me promettaient un Dinky Toy pour chaque « A »...secret répréhensible n° 1 de l'éducation des enfants : les pots-de-vin fonctionnent. Un jour, à bord d'un appareil de CP Air survolant Lisbonne, j'ai, à ma grande surprise, constaté qu'il y avait des tonnes de Dinky Toys tout là-bas en dessous de nous. Le copilote m'avait invité dans le poste de pilotage pour jouir de la vue panoramique. Je n'en revenais pas ! Les jeux étaient faits : j'aimais encore les Dinky Toys, mais les avions, c'était autre chose !

Plus tard en Italie avec ma famille, je collectionnais le fanion de toutes les lignes aériennes à Rome – de Lufthansa à Panair do Brasil. « Mon père travaille à l'ambassade du Canada, et j'aimerais... » – inutile d'en dire davantage. Mes parents avaient, semble-t-il, compris qu'il valait mieux ne pas me demander d'où provenaient les petits fanions et leurs bases – ils auraient sans doute été plus horrifiés qu'étonnés !

Chose étrange, je ne ressentais pas le besoin de piloter un avion, mais, oh combien la vie d'un agent de bord me paraissait aventureuse ! Australie et Nouvelle-Zélande, safaris en Afrique, lamas au Pérou – je n'aurais plus rien à envier à Tintin. Encore plus tard, alors que mon père était en mission au Caire, il lui est arrivé de commander des saucisses anglaises du Kenya. L'espèce de gruaux bavants de graisse et agrémenté d'un soupçon de matière rose

ne m'a fait ni chaud ni froid, mais – si je me rappelle bien – les saucisses sont arrivées sur un VC-10 d'East African Airways à quadrimoteur vrombissant – ça, c'était cool !

Des années plus tard et sur le point de terminer mes études, je me suis présenté à l'examen FS. J'avais l'œil sur l'ACDI – fasciné par les sociétés non occidentales – mais j'ai reçu des Affaires extérieures une offre aussi inattendue qu'intéressante. Ma carrière désormais derrière moi, mais surtout depuis 9/11, ma fascination pour les voyages aériens est tempérée par une profonde méfiance à l'égard des aéroports, de leurs dirigeants et de l'industrie elle-même. Je reste un voyageur incorrigible, mais j'ai appris à m'attendre au pire – c'est du moins ce que je croyais.

Aujourd'hui à la retraite, je me rends au Pakistan, dont l'hospitalité est reconnue (et où j'avais récemment servi), pour compléter la biographie d'un général à la retraite et éminent défenseur de la paix. La visite ira bien, mais je suis paradoxalement lent à déceler des indices de situation problématique. Il faut plus de temps qu'auparavant pour traiter mon visa de touriste, mais, peu importe, il est habituellement valable pour un mois lorsque j'en fais la demande. Mes billets sont déjà réservés parce que les prix grimpent sans cesse, mais le visa que j'obtiens ne vaut que pour trois semaines. Je devrai le faire prolonger à Islamabad, mais on me dit qu'il n'y a pas lieu de m'inquiéter car il y a une période de grâce d'une semaine.

Quelques jours mouvementés se passent. Les visas sont désormais approuvés par le renseignement militaire ; je constitue peut-être une menace – aucune période de grâce ne m'est accordée. Un collègue m'offre ses bons offices. Un courriel est adressé à un agent bien placé dans la hiérarchie. Les journées passent, silence, aucun retour d'appel. Toujours optimiste, on me conseille la patience. La date limite approche et, après des heures avec « Lady Octel », je réserve de nouveau mes billets sur un vol deux jours avant que je devienne

officiellement un problème consulaire. Il y a de nouveaux frais considérables. Je dois les régler à l'aéroport.

Il est un peu plus de 3 h du matin. Un moustachu me crée de nouveaux ennuis de sécurité, mais je suis tout de même l'un des tout premiers à m'inscrire. L'internet est en panne, la filée derrière moi s'allonge ; par chance, on trouve ma réservation. Excellent, mais il faut régler les frais à un bureau situé à l'extérieur du périmètre de sécurité. L'inquiétude me gagne. Je trouve le bureau. Un agent, l'air perplexe, se bat contre son ordinateur de bureau. Carte de crédit en main, j'apprends que ces connexions sont elles aussi en panne – « pour plusieurs jours ». Le directeur local de la « meilleure ligne aérienne de l'Europe » convainc la centrale d'accepter un paiement comptant (qui sera confié à l'équipage) ; sinon, mon billet est purement et simplement annulé. J'ai des devises américaines pour mon visa et une escale, mais pas pour ces frais-là. Je navigue dans les vagues et remous de la foule à l'aéroport pour atteindre les trois ATM/GAB du terminal (chacun loin de l'autre), mais aucun n'est connecté au monde extérieur. Le bureau de change n'accepte pas de carte de crédit.

Le directeur sait que je suis piégé. Les portes de l'avion sont sur le point de se fermer. Il décide de payer les frais lui-même et de faire confiance que mes amis à Islamabad les lui rembourseront le lendemain matin. Un agent me gronde gentiment de mon « arrivée tardive ». Je monte à bord. Les joies du transport aérien sont peut-être vraiment choses du passé et j'en retire de nouvelles leçons, mais j'ai aussi grandement renforcé ma foi dans le savoir-vivre des gens au moment où on pourrait s'y attendre le moins. J'aperçois les montagnes du Caucase, au lever du soleil, dans la splendeur majestueuse de leurs pics enneigés. Je m'émerveille devant elles, comme l'enfant d'antan survolant Lisbonne. ☺

– Stuart Hughes

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Mettons la diplomatie en valeur

In assuming the presidency of PAFSO I wish to thank my predecessor Pam Isfeld for her leadership and commitment to the interests of Canada's foreign service. I know that I arrive at a critical juncture. The results of the government's Strategic and Operating Review – yet another major cost-cutting exercise for DFAIT – will emerge in the weeks ahead along with a picture of how deeply human resources will be affected at DFAIT and CIC.

Our marginalization needs to stop and be reversed. Mercifully, we seem to have moved beyond tired debates over the value of a foreign service in the digital age. Few seriously question the need for a professional diplomatic corps to help governments navigate ever-shifting international landscapes, especially at a time of precarious global economic stability. However our own government, energized by its majority, might be usefully reminded of the essential role foreign service officers will play in carrying out its ambitious international agenda. Who else will it rely on to support democracy in the Arab world, sell more goods and services to Asia, help rebuild Haiti, or reunite immigrants to Canada with their family members? Reconciling this expanding agenda with a shrinking resource base will require a level of skill and creativity which the foreign service has displayed time and time again.

Nous avons besoin de conditions de service qui reflètent les réalités de la diplomatie dans le monde d'aujourd'hui. Ainsi, il faut vraiment progresser dans les « enjeux concernant les conjoints » (que le directeur exécutif de l'APASE, Ron Cochrane, a bien exposés dans un numéro antérieur de **bout**), dont les décideurs ne tiennent pas compte depuis des décennies. Le temps est aussi venu de retrousser nos manches et de régler les anomalies salariales dans les taux de rémunération entre le PPSE et le Programme de stagiaires en gestion, entre les niveaux FS-02 et CO-02 et entre les niveaux FS-04 et EX-01 que, du fait des hausses salariales que le gouvernement a imposées par voie législative en 2009, l'employeur a été incapable de régler lors de la dernière ronde de négociations, même s'il a reconnu le bien-fondé de notre cause.

Notre convention collective a expiré le 30 juin. Les négociations ont été entamées le 31 août. L'employeur a déclaré qu'il n'est pas intéressé à une entente qui conserverait

l'indemnité de départ en cas de cessation d'emploi volontaire (c.-à-d., les retraites et les démissions), un aspect important de notre régime de rémunération. En semblant imposer des conditions préalables à la négociation collective, le Conseil du Trésor crée un dangereux précédent et, dresse un obstacle qui pourrait être sérieux à un règlement négocié. Toutefois, grâce à la prévoyance de nos comités exécutifs passés, nous disposons à présent du plus important trésor de guerre que l'Association n'ait jamais eu dans le passé et nous sommes disposés à y recourir, le cas échéant, pour convaincre l'employeur de la nécessité de reconnaître adéquatement les talents et l'engagement exceptionnels que nos membres apportent à la fonction publique.

Key to achieving our long-term interests is to foster a constituency of interest – in Ottawa and in major centres across the country – committed to the robust pursuit of Canada's national interests with a realistically resourced and highly trained diplomatic service. This requires PAFSO to build a stronger public profile and be present in the national conversation. The Association therefore now has its first advocacy officer: Eric Vernon brings with him a wealth of government relations experience with the Canadian Jewish Congress. He is already working to reverse unfair changes to the *Citizenship Act* preventing children born to Crown servants abroad from passing Canadian citizenship to their own children born abroad.

Nous avons aussi besoin d'un plus grand engagement de la part des membres de l'APASE dans notre empreinte publique. Qu'il s'agisse d'une activité de rayonnement, d'une lettre à faire paraître en regard de la page éditoriale ou d'un article destiné à **bout de papier**, votre comité exécutif veut utiliser à meilleur escient vos talents et votre enthousiasme – en particulier ceux et celles qui ont joint nos rangs au cours des cinq dernières années. Communiquez avec n'importe quel membre du comité exécutif ou du personnel de l'APASE pour savoir de quelle façon vous pouvez aider à faire mieux connaître le service extérieur aux dirigeants de notre pays et à nos concitoyens. ☺

Tim Edwards was elected President of PAFSO in October 2011.

Beginning and Ending: A Canadian Ambassador in Moscow

There is a wonderful image of exhaustion and elation in *Chariots of Fire* when Eric Liddell wins the 400 metres at the Olympic Games in Paris in 1924. The cinematic treatment of that event stresses his unlikely victory (in a race longer than his accustomed shorter sprints) over two American rivals, one failing to finish and the other out-paced at the end, along with other quarter-milers in the field. Unmentioned in the film, and in most accounts of the race, was the Canadian who finished fourth, David Johnson, a Rhodes Scholar from Quebec then studying law at Oxford University. Johnson is also mentioned only once in passing in the official history of the Department of External Affairs, though he served with distinction in Ottawa and abroad after joining the department in 1941 from the Department of Finance, where he had been Solicitor to the Treasury. Johnson interrupted his work in the foreign ministry to serve at the front with the Canadian Army in Northwestern Europe. After the war, he represented Canada abroad as Acting High Commissioner in Dublin, as High Commissioner to Pakistan, as Canada's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, as Canadian Commissioner on the International Supervisory Commission in Vietnam and finally as Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. While in Ottawa, he had risen through the ranks to Associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.

His final overseas assignment with the Canadian government (though not his last work abroad) is the subject of the following correspondence. This selection of letters explains why he was appointed to the post but leaves unexplained why he was obliged to resign as ambassador after his appointment had been extended. Though his formal letter of resignation (which unfortunately was not found on this file) was evidently received by 18 August 1960, he characteristically delayed his departure until 12 November 1960 so as to avoid an untimely interruption in diplomatic contact and reporting.

In fact, David Johnson was a victim of the "gay purges" which swept through the public service of Canada, including its foreign service, in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In an interview with Dean Beeby of *The Canadian Press* nearly 20 years ago, the former head of the RCMP Security Service, William Kelly, claimed not only that Johnson had been forced to resign from the public service but that he had also been threatened with arrest and prosecution should he ever return to Canada. As Kelly put it, Johnson "was warned not to come back to Canada as he might run into difficulty, and he never did".

Contrary to that assertion, Johnson, who was highly regarded in the senior ranks of DEA and by the minister, Howard Green, was persuaded by the Under-Secretary of State, Norman Robertson, to take a leave of absence and there was no suggestion that he could not return to Ottawa or work for another government department, though the downgrading of his security clearance presumably precluded further service in DEA. The reasons for his return from Moscow were kept quiet and the Canadian government, notably through the efforts of Charles Ritchie, then Canada's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, secured an appointment for him as Resident Representative of the Technical Assistance Board of the United Nations in Nigeria, where he served for two years. Before he took up his international assignment and again after it was over, Johnson met with former colleagues and others in Ottawa. After his formal retirement from the public service of Canada, Johnson went first to London, England, though there is no indication on his personnel file that he did not return to Canada before his death on 3 January 1972.

The following reprinted correspondence comes from the file on David Moffat Johnson (in two parts) in the Historical Personnel Records (RG32, Volume 822) of Library and Archives Canada. On the same file are letters of thanks for his distinguished service from Green and Robertson, who was a longtime friend and colleague of Johnson. With thanks to Paulette Dozois and Brian Beaven of LAC for their assistance in locating this material.

– Hector Mackenzie

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Ottawa, December 19, 1955

David Johnson, Esquire,
Canadian Delegation,
International Supervisory
Commission, Hanoi.

Dear Dave,

By the time you receive this letter you will have finished half a normal tour of duty in Indo-China. While it is difficult to foresee at this stage what sort of plans we should make for the Commission in Vietnam for the next full year or so, it is clear in our minds that you should not stay in Hanoi or Saigon longer than was expected when you originally undertook this assignment, i.e., August 1956. It might be possible that you could return before that time, but it is generally agreed that you should not stay any longer and we must therefore make plans for your next posting.

2. You may recall that at an early stage in the game, while you were still in New York, consideration was given to your going to Moscow. I mentioned this possibility to the Minister recently and he asked me to explore it with you once more. John Watkins will have served more than one term by next autumn and we would like to have him back in Ottawa. You are aware that Ralph Collins has been appointed to Moscow and will be arriving there within the next few days. His knowledge of the Russian language is good and he could certainly remain in charge for a few months between the time John leaves and you arrive. The date of arrival could therefore remain fairly flexible and this would give you time to take a fairly lengthy leave after the year spent in Indo-China. For purposes of discussion we might aim at a date not later than November 1. Naturally, if it suited your plans to get there earlier, so much the better.

3. The knowledge of communist techniques which you will have acquired during your stay in

Indo-China will, it seems to me, be most helpful in the Moscow environment. Your U.N. experience would also be invaluable. Further, the job is getting to be much more active and in a sense more tricky than ever since the communists have decided partly to open and then to close again the tap of cooperation. We get more visitors from the Soviet Union and I think this trend will continue; more Canadians are also going to Moscow. During the next two or three years the problem of Germany will loom large in our preoccupations and one of the keys – and the main one at that – can only be found in the Kremlin.

4. For these and a variety of other reasons I think Moscow is going to become increasingly important in the immediate future and I for one would be delighted if you could accept this assignment.

5. I would not wish to be firmly committed to this proposal, nor would the Minister, but I thought that I should give you this indication of our thinking so as to obtain your reactions.

6. Do send me a note and let me know how this strikes you.

Yours sincerely,
Jules Léger

SECRET AND PERSONAL

Canadian Delegation /
Délégation du Canada
Hanoi, January 2, 1956

Jules Léger, Esquire,
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs,
OTTAWA, Canada.

Dear Jules,

I have your letter of December 19th asking me what my reactions would be to a posting to Moscow.

My answer is that I should be flattered to be selected to go to Moscow. If all goes well here, I should like to be able to count on about two months in Canada between postings. This would give me about four or

five weeks leave and about three or four weeks in Ottawa during which I could be briefed in the Department and make other preparations.

I realize that you are making a preliminary enquiry and in no sense a firm offer. Hence I am not mentioning the subject matter of your letter to anyone in this office. Naturally I should be grateful to hear from you as soon as any definite decision has been taken.

With best wishes for the
New Year.

Yours sincerely,
David Johnson

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

March 5, 1958

Mr. David M. Johnson,
Canadian Ambassador,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Dear Dave,

Your normal tour of duty in Moscow will expire in July. At this stage Departmental planning is very much up in the air. I intend, however, once the elections are over, to raise some problems of personnel with the Minister. There are several appointments which should be looked into in April or May.

For planning purposes, I would therefore very much like to have a word from you as to how you envisage your own future, i.e., whether you would like a second full tour of duty in Moscow, or a shorter tour after home leave; or, whether you would prefer another posting either in Ottawa or abroad.

I am sure you will realize that the Department cannot be committed to any course of action until after the elections; it would, however, be helpful to have your views at a fairly early stage, particularly if you preferred not to return to Moscow after having taken home leave.

Yours sincerely,
Jules Léger

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Moscow, March 14, 1958.

Canadian Embassy /
Ambassade du Canada
Jules Léger, Esquire,
Under-Secretary of State
for External Affairs, Ottawa.

Dear Jules,

Many thanks for your letter of
March 5 informing me that my tour
of duty will expire in July next and
enquiring how I envisage my future.

I should like to take some Home
Leave beginning about August 1.
After that it would be agreeable to
me to return to the USSR for another
tour of duty or to be given another
posting abroad.

Yours sincerely,
D.M. Johnson, Ambassador

**E.W.T. G [ill], Note for
Personnel File: D.M. Johnson,
2 October 1959.
Secret, Personnel Information.**

In an interview with David Johnson
I told him that we were exploring
possibilities of replacing him in
Moscow some time next year and
that it might take place in the
early spring. Turkey was under
consideration as a posting for him.

Mr. Johnson said he was
agreeable to meet the department's
wishes, either in staying on at
Moscow for his full second tour or
in being moved. He expressed a
preference to serve abroad rather
than at home and he would be quite
willing to go to Turkey, if we needed
him there. He would also be willing
to accept a position in Latin America
and mentioned Mexico and the
Argentine as places where he will
be willing to serve.

As regards Moscow, he thought
that a knowledge of Russian was
a most important attribute that
an Ambassador could have. He
said that the Soviet leaders were
conversationally inclined and

instinctively sought out those who
could speak Russian. This gave
Russian-speaking Ambassadors a
preferred position. He mentioned
that the U.S. and the U.K. were now
attaching considerable importance
to a linguistic requirement in their
postings.

**E.T.W. Gill, Memorandum
for Personnel Division,
18 August 1960.**

**Personnel Information.
Private and Confidential.**

Mr. D. M. Johnson

Mr. D. M. Johnson, Canadian
Ambassador in the U.S.S.R. has
submitted his resignation and
this has been accepted by the
Under-Secretary.

Mr. Johnson plans to leave
Moscow in the latter part of October
or early November and proceed to the
United Kingdom where he proposes
to live for the next year.

Will you please prepare, for my
signature, letters to Mr. Johnson
giving him information about his
leave credits, superannuation
benefits and removal arrangements.

E.T.W. Gill

**David M. Johnson
[Canadian Embassy, Moscow]
to N.A. Robertson [USSEA],
6 September 1960.**

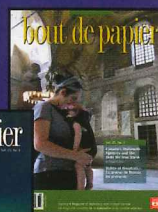
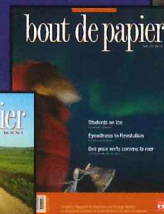
Personal and Confidential.

Dear Mr. Robertson,

Many thanks for your letter of
August 26 [not on file], which enables
me to make plans for the future.
Here are my comments on it.

Let me first deal with the date
of the termination of my tour of
duty in Moscow. I suggest on or
about November 12. The reason
for selecting this time is that
November 7 is, as you know, an
important day here and is likely to
be even more important this year
than usual because of the expected

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presence in Moscow at that time of top Communist leaders. It seems to me it would be useful to remain a few days after November 7 in order to observe developments and report on them.

There is no difficulty about your suggestion that I keep my plans fluid for some time. My plans after I leave Moscow remain, as set out in my letter of July 5, to spend some months in London brushing up law at the Inner Temple but these are flexible plans which can be changed.

I am proud to have served in two government departments for nearly twenty-five years and would seriously consider any suitable post offered me in Ottawa or elsewhere in Canada or abroad. I do not object to a post abroad as long as it does not carry heavy representational duties. In fact, I have given some thought to technical assistance possibilities in underdeveloped countries.

Since it is difficult to do much from Moscow, I decided to wait until

I had settled down in London before exploring possibilities.

You will realize that I have been away from the practice of law for a long time now. Hence it seems to me that a post where a legal background would be useful would be more appropriate than one which could only be satisfactorily filled by an active practising lawyer of long experience.

However, there is no reason why I should bother you with all these details. It was kind of you to offer to examine openings in Ottawa but please do not feel under any obligation to do so.

Yours sincerely,
David M. Johnson

**N.A. Robertson to D.M. Johnson,
6 October 1960. Personal and
Confidential [o/s SECRET].**

[Notes above letter and proposed timing of departure]

"This is agreeable to me.

I am glad that you are prepared to consider seriously any suitable post which may be open in another Government department here. In these circumstances, I would suggest that we leave the matter of your resignation in abeyance since it would be to your advantage to transfer from one Government appointment to another rather than to resign and thereafter accept another position in the Public Service. Therefore I propose, for the time being, to have your departure from Moscow processed as an ordinary transfer to Ottawa."

[There follows an explanation of the possible implications of his resignation for leave entitlement and reimbursement for removal expenses.] ☺

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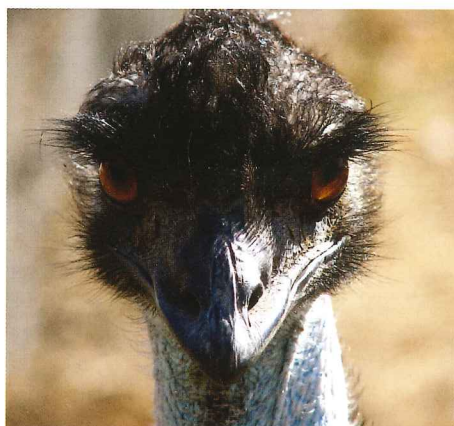
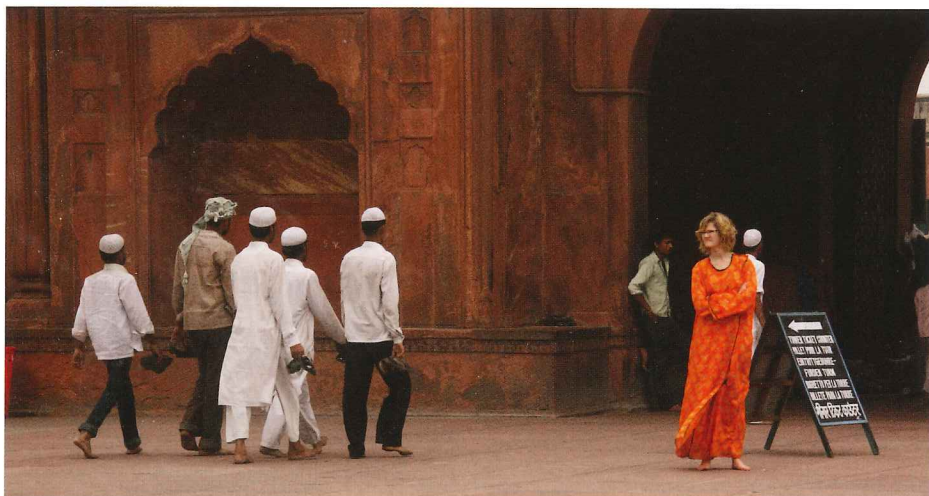
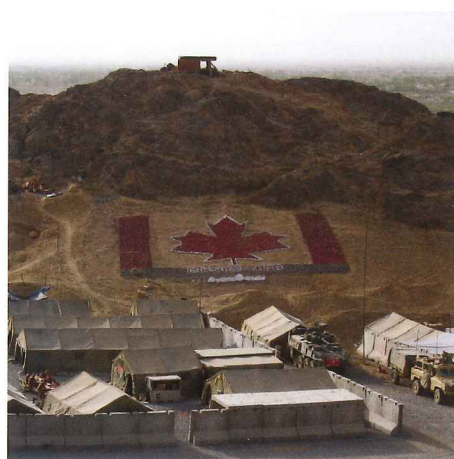
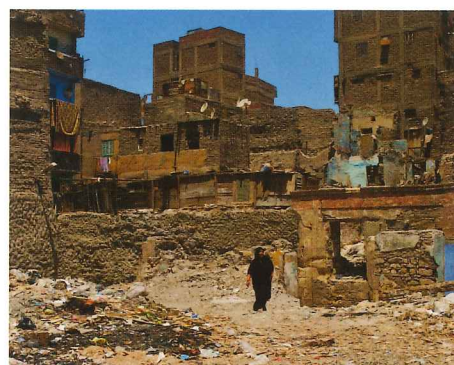
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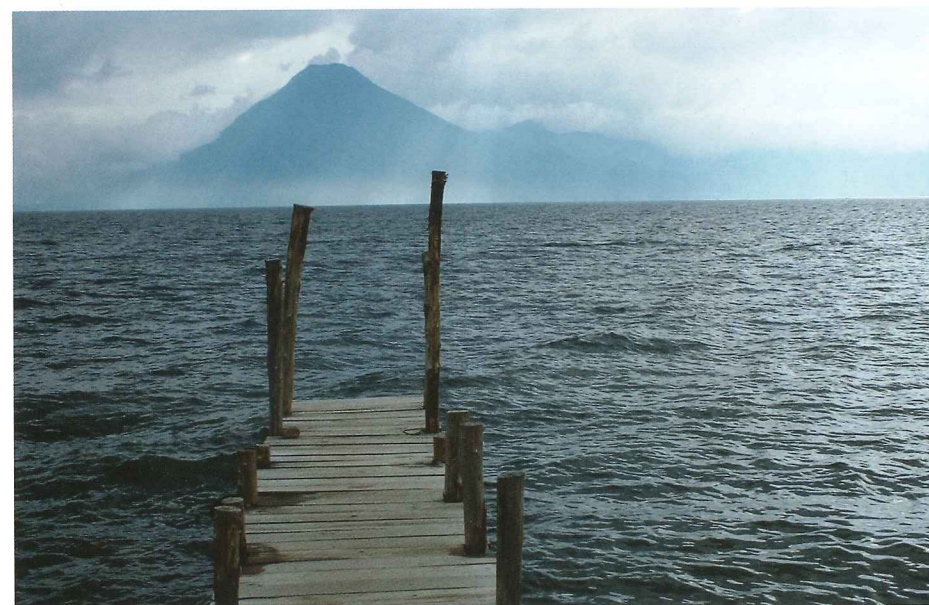
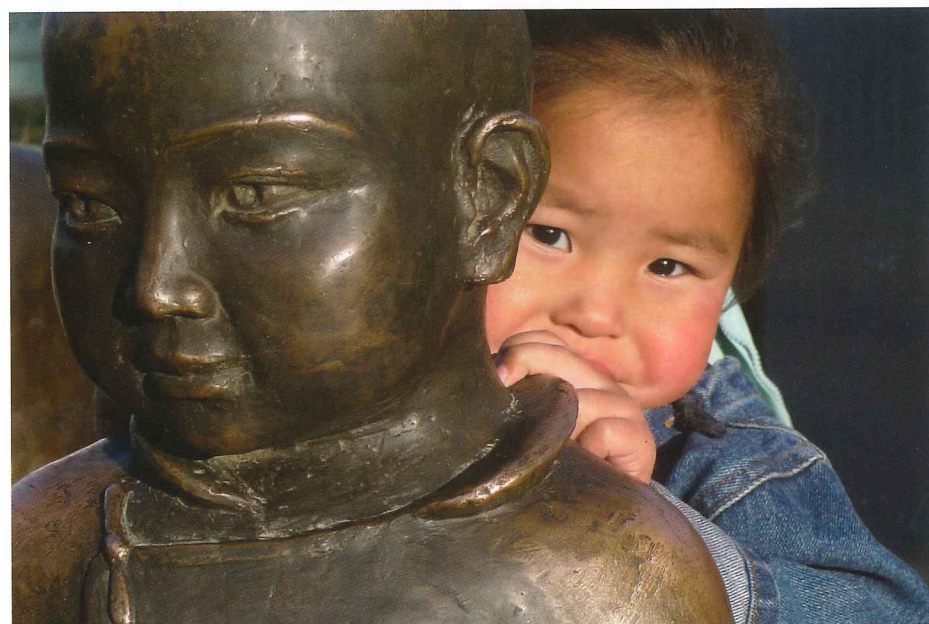
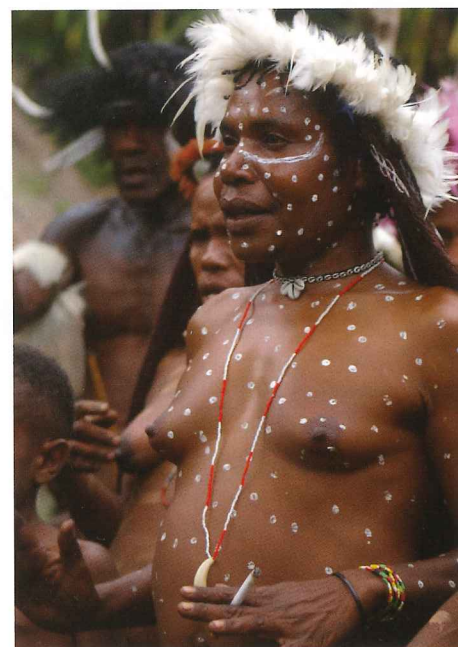
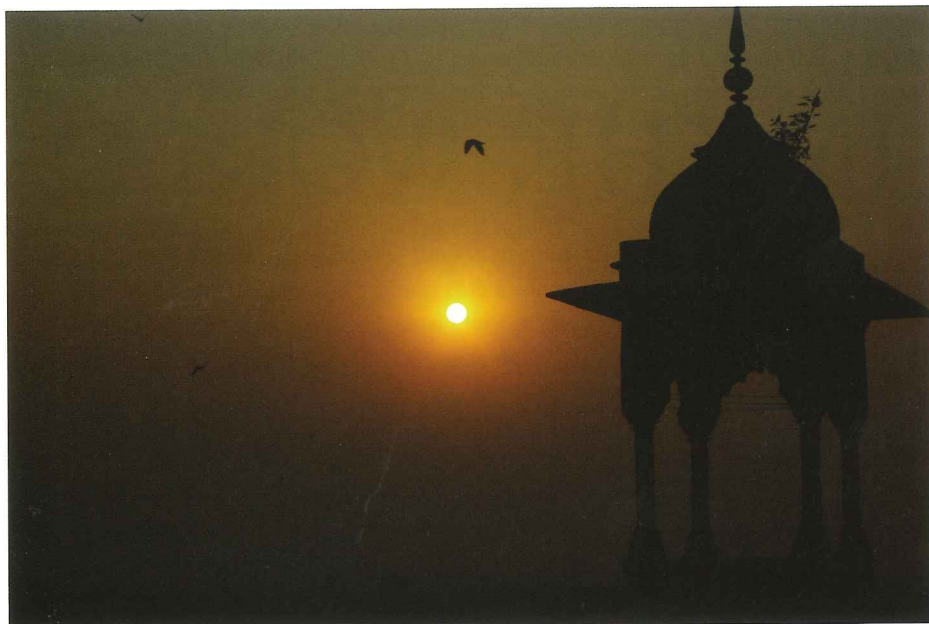
CANADA IN THE WORLD

PAFSO's "Canada in the World" contest set a new record with over 200 photos submitted. **bout** was proud to publish the winning photos of the 2010 contest and even more so this year. La photo primée de cette année a été prise par Nicolas St-Pierre. La photo de Nicolas, « Tokyo la nuit », a été retenue pour sa composition, sa créativité et son impact visuel. Nicolas, qui est actuellement en mission à Beijing, a pris la photo à l'aide d'un œil-de-poisson lors d'un voyage au Japon en avril 2010. Many thanks to all those who made this photo spread possible – no lack of talent among our members. 🍷



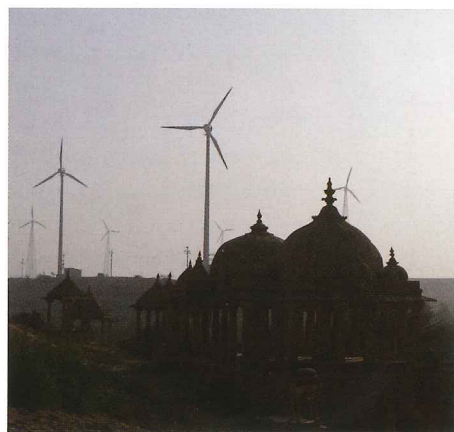
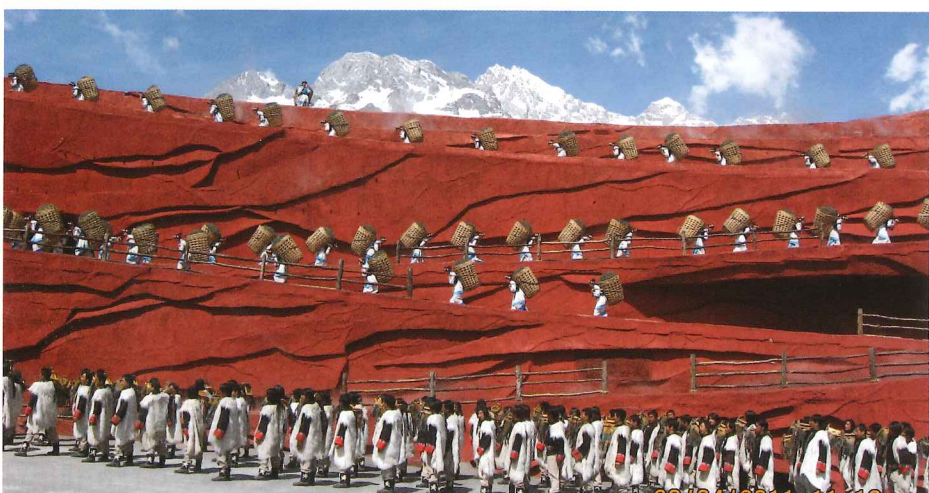
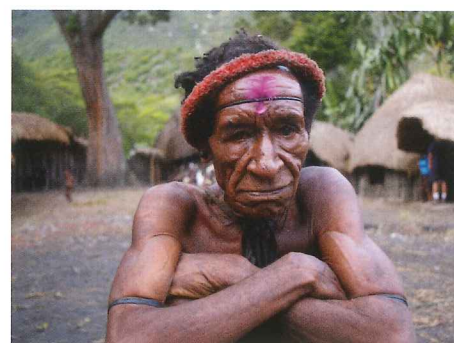
Gagnant : Nicolas St-Pierre, Tokyo, Japon (en haut à gauche).

Honourable Mentions: Joya Donnelly, New Delhi, India (bottom left); Caroline Amyot, Le Caire, Égypte (en haut à droite); Kevin Rex, Kandahar, Afghanistan (middle right); Kapil Madan, Australia (bottom right).



Honourable Mentions:

Zak Karkaria, New Delhi, Inde (en haut à gauche); Christine Leroy, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolie (milieu à gauche); Mark Schroeter, Lake Atitlán, Guatemala (bottom left); Claudia Gongora, Mexico City, Mexico (top right); Cindy Munroe, Papua, Indonesia (middle right); Jennifer Morgan Jones, Wadi Rum, Jordan (bottom right).



Honourable Mentions:

Amy Bundy, Curaçao (top left); Kevin Rex, Port-au-Prince, Haïti (middle left);
 Amy Alexander, Lijiang, Yunnan, China (bottom left); Cindy Munro,
 Papua, Indonesia (top right); Christine Climenhage, Port-au-Prince, Haïti
 (2^e à droite en haut); Ritika Nandkeolyar, Rajasthan, India (2nd from bottom right);
 Kirk Duguid, Caracas, Venezuela (bottom right).



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HITTITE NEWS: ROGER LUCY AND TIMOTHY HARRISON ON TROJANS, DIGS AND DIPLOMACY

*Editor's Note: Long-time contributor to **bout**, Roger Lucy, is fascinated by early Bronze Age cultures and offers us a new take on the epic siege of Troy, an Aegean neighbour of the almost forgotten Hittite Empire... Meanwhile, Professor Tim Harrison of the University of Toronto has been excavating in Antakya, Turkey at Tell Tayinat, a site at the other end of the country that is also Bronze Age. Lucy informs us that, seen from the distant Hittite capital, there may have been rather more to the siege of Troy than a pretty face; Harrison shares word of kings, lions and possible treaties: "Hittite" news from ancient Anatolia from two "usually reliable sources"!*

The Trojan War: A Diplomatic History?

by Roger Lucy

We all know the tale, be it from Homer or Hollywood. Troy (also known as Ilios) was a prosperous state on the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles (Hellespont). Its king, Priam, had several sons including Hector, a hero, and Paris (also known as Alexander), a wastrel. One day Paris was hanging out, when three goddesses, Hera, Athene and Aphrodite (Juno, Minerva and Venus), appeared and asked him to act as judge in a contest as to who was the most beautiful. The divas reinforced their claims to the title with inducements. Hera offered wealth – but as a wastrel prince, Paris had plenty of that; Athene offered wisdom – but Paris had never seen any need for that; Aphrodite offered him the heart of the most beautiful woman in the world (herself excepted, but – as mother to his cousin Aeneas – she was, in effect, family). This offer Paris could not refuse, and Aphrodite got the prize – a golden apple.

Aphrodite could not directly deliver on her side of the bargain. The lady in question, Helen, lived across the Aegean in Sparta, and was already married to its king, Menelaus. That said, Aphrodite's family connections with the Trojan court allowed her to pull a few strings to have her step-nephew Paris appointed as head of an embassy to Sparta, where – as Goddess of Love – she ensured that, on Paris' arrival in Sparta, Helen fell head over heels for him. The two eloped, an action Menelaus deemed incompatible with Paris' diplomatic status. He demanded that Priam extradite Paris and Helen. Priam by no means approved of his son's actions, but secure in the "topless towers of Ilion", rejected the request. The wronged Menelaus – who only held the Spartan throne by virtue of his marriage to Helen – then called on his brother and overlord Agamemnon, High King of Achaea, for justice. Agamemnon assembled a coalition of the (sometimes less than) willing from his vassals, gathering a fleet of 1,000 ships – which Homer

lovingly catalogued in hexametre verse – and sailed to Troy. Unfortunately, siege technology 3,200 years ago was not well developed, and far from shocking and awing the Trojans, the Greeks could do little but attempt to blockade Troy, plundering the environs and beating off Trojan sallies and the relief efforts by Troy's allies. Finally Odysseus (Ulysses) came up with a cunning plan – the Trojan Horse. The result is well known. Troy fell, was sacked and its people were slain – Paris among them – enslaved, or fled with Aeneas to Italy to become proto-Romans. Helen went home with Menelaus. Needless to say, the reputation of the diplomatic profession has never quite recovered from the actions of one of its first practitioners.

The core of this story was set down by Homer 500 years after the alleged events, and has often been dismissed as myth. That there might be truth behind the legend began to emerge in



Karatepe: southwest gate cavalry



Storm god of the Hatti

"If you Alaksandu transgress the words which stand on this tablet then these thousand gods will destroy you, together with...your wife, your sons, your lands, your towns,...your possessions and erase your seed from the dark earth." Now that's legally binding language!

the late 19th century, when Heinrich Schliemann dug up a site reputed to be Troy – to discover a late Bronze Age citadel with signs of violent destruction. Archaeology, including discoveries of ancient tablets and inscriptions, has since revealed a world of great power rivalries, centering on the Hittites – who dominated Anatolia – and their neighbours. Troy, controlling the lucrative trade routes between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea was one source of contention. Schliemann and later archaeologists also went on to discover two other virtually unknown civilizations, the Minoans centred on Knossos in Crete, and their Greek-speaking successors, whom we call the Mycenaeans, after Agamemnon's citadel. However – like Homer – they probably called themselves Achaeans, or Danae. Versions of both names also occur in Hittite and Egyptian texts.

Recent excavations have shown that Troy was far more than an impressive citadel. It had an extensive lower town and was clearly a commercial centre of some importance and considerable wealth. Its strategic site allowed it to extract a rich revenue in harbour and customs dues from ships passing between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Troy had long been a satellite of the powerful Hittite empire and its fall coincided with a series of major upheavals which convulsed the eastern Mediterranean in the 12th century BCE, sweeping away the Hittites, Mycenaeans, many city states of the Levant and even threatening Egypt's overthrow. The Egyptians called these invaders the Peoples of the Sea. Egyptian depictions of their ships and warriors, references to some of them coming from Crete, and remains of Mycenaean pottery throughout the affected regions indicate a strong Greek presence among them – although whether this presence was the cause or an effect of the fall of Mycenaean Greece is not known. Other groups heavily involved in the overthrow of the Hittite empire and city states of northern Syria were the Phrygians from the Balkans, and the Luvians, a people from western and southern Anatolia, related to the Hittites.

In the 13th century BCE, the stylus and clay tablets were the main writing materials. Unlike paper records, which are destroyed when cities go up in flames, clay is baked and preserved by fire. The burnt archives of Syrian city states, such as Ugarit, contain drafts of unsent pleas for help as the invaders descended. Inventories, likewise "cast in stone" by the burning of Mycenaean centres such as Pylos or Knossos, also seem to indicate some sort of mobilization was taking place. Archives found at the site of the Hittite capital of Hattusa, alas, are

silent on the circumstances which overwhelmed their empire. However, extensive diplomatic records have been recovered from the site (both in the form of treaty texts and correspondence) which throw light on the international situation in the century or so leading up to the catastrophe. They contain tantalizing references to names which bear a close resemblance to those found in Homer such as Ilios, Troy, Alexander and Achaea. Increasingly it appears that both Troy and Achaea were significant concerns to the Hittites.

In the 13th century BCE there were essentially four other great powers whose rulers the Great King of Hatti (as the Hittites called their empire) deemed worthy to address as "my Brother": Egypt – whose influence ran from Khartoum to Tripolis; Babylon and Assyria in Iraq; and Achaea – centered on southern Greece and the Aegean. Unlike the largely centralized Egyptian state, the Hittite Empire was a confederacy based in central Anatolia with a peripheral network of vassals extending west to the Aegean, north-east into present-day Armenia, east into the upper Euphrates and Tigris valleys, and south into northern Syria. These vassals were bound by a network of marriage alliances and treaties. There is a growing consensus that the Hittite names for one of these vassals, "Wilusa", and the district in which it was located, "Taruwisa", correspond to Ilios and Troy. Archaic Greek had a "W" sound, which most Greek dialects had lost by Homer's time. However, many of Homer's references to Ilios only scan poetically if the "W" is voiced, i.e. as "Wilios". This may indicate that, in composing the Iliad, Homer incorporated some much earlier oral material, dating back even to Mycenaean times.

Wilusa was the most northerly of a group of western Anatolian states called the Arzawa Confederacy. Wilusa had fallen under Hittite suzerainty around 1600 BCE, and while the other Arzawa states had been lax in their alliance to Hatti, the kings of Wilusa had, according to a surviving treaty between Muwattalli II, Great King of Hatti (1290–1272 BCE) and Alaksandu King of Wilusa, maintained their loyalty. As a consequence, Muwattalli II undertook to shore up Alaksandu's dynasty. The similarity between the Wilusan king's name – Alaksandu – and Paris' alternate name – Alexander – does not mean they are one and the same. The treaty predates the traditional date of the Trojan war (and the archaeological date of the destruction of Troy VII) by over a century. However epic poetry does have way of collapsing chronologies. (In the Old English

poem *Widsith*, the hero boasts of his employment by numerous Germanic kings, located as far apart as England and the Ukraine and ranging in time from the 3rd to the 6th centuries AD.)

The treaty with Wilusa follows much the same formula as other treaties with Hittite vassal states. The treaties are personal and not inter-state agreements – concluded between the two kings and renewed after a succession. They begin with a preamble giving the historical background to their relations; no doubt these reflect the Hittite version of events, and may be a bit free with the facts. (A somewhat later treaty between Hattusili II (1265–1240) and Ramses II of Egypt concluding 20 years of war blithely claims that Hatti and Egypt had always been at peace). Hittite/Wilusan relations reportedly stretched so far back that the name of the Great King who concluded the first treaty was no longer known. In the treaty Muwattalli II then promised Alaksandu that he would keep him on the throne and support his designated successor. (This clause was, in fact, honoured a generation or so later by Tudhaliya III (1240–1214), when a successor of Alaksandu's, Walmu, was overthrown.) There follow largely boiler-plate defensive and offensive alliance clauses. Alaksandu promised to provide troops and chariots both when Hatti went to war with a major power (such as Egypt or Babylon) or with any of the tribes of western or northern Anatolia. He also pledged to intervene if one of the other Arzawa states rebelled (Muwattalli II notes that the people of Alaksandu's Arzawan neighbours are treacherous) or if there was a coup or internal revolt within the core Hittite lands. Alaksandu also undertook to resist any invasions of his territory and to write immediately to the Hittite king if he learnt of any plots against him or Hittite rule. Alaksandu was obliged to return any political refugees or escaped PoWs, as well as any peasants or craftsman absconding from Hatti. On this, however, Hatti was not bound to reciprocate – “It is not permitted to give a fugitive back from Hatti.” (In fact, in the treaty between Hattusili II and Ramses II, the Hittite King did agree to return Egyptian fugitives.)

Alaksandu was required to have the treaty read out to him three times a year as a reminder of his obligations. The treaty concluded with a long list of “oath gods” – Hittite, Wilusan and international who were guarantors of its terms including: the Storm God of Hatti, various other storm gods, war gods and tutelary gods, Hebat Queen of Heaven, Ishara Queen of the Oath, the god of the hunting bag, the mercenary gods, the god of Wilusa's underground watercourse (recent excavations have indeed uncovered a subterranean aqueduct, built possibly 1500 years earlier) and many others. If Alaksandu observed the treaty, these gods – and the Great King of Hatti – would ensure that he prospered and grew old, but: “If you Alaksandu transgress the words which stand on this tablet then these thousand gods will destroy you, together with...your wife, your sons, your lands, your towns,...your possessions and erase your seed from the dark earth.” Now that's legally binding language!

Unlike with some clients, no obligation is placed on Alaksandu to pay tribute or provide regular troops to the Hittite

army. Some treaties involved a marriage alliance, with the client king marrying a Great King's daughter or sister. In such cases the Great King was oblivious to Trudeau's dictum about the state having no place in the bedroom. The Hittite princess was to become the client king's sole wife. (Existing wives were dismissed or demoted to concubines.) One client king from present-day Armenia, whose culture may have had a very broad interpretation of *droit de seigneur*, was told very bluntly that he must not harbour any sexual designs on his Hittite wife's sisters and above all, when visiting Hattusas, he must avoid any contact with palace women. He was reminded that his predecessor, who ignored this protocol, had paid the supreme penalty.

Only one letter between the Great King of Hatti and the King of the Achaeans (“Achiyawa” in Hittite) has been identified. Sometime in the mid 13th century, Hattusili II wrote to an Achaean king (his name, unfortunately, is lost, but his brother had an unambiguously Greek name) to complain about the actions of one Pijamaradu, a marauder who was using Millawada (Miletos) – an Achaean outpost on the south-west coast of Asia Minor – as a base from which to raid the territories of Hatti's vassals along the Aegean coast. These activities had been tolerated by the Achaean king, because of past disputes with Hatti. Pijamaradu's depredations had included raids on Lesbos and Wilusa. He had carried off craftsmen, whom he handed over to his brother-in-law Atpa, the Achaean king's representative in Millawada. One of Hattusili II's vassals had persuaded Atpa to return those captives who had belonged to the Hittite crown. Hattusili II, noting that “...a war would not be good for us”, asked his Achaean “brother” to persuade Pijamaradu to settle somewhere on the mainland of Achaea and bother Hatti no more. Unfortunately, any improvement in Hittite/Achaean relations did not last. In the following reign, Tudhaliya III required his vassals



Karatepe: northeast gate chariot

along the Levantine coast to enforce a trade embargo on goods from passing between Achaea and Assyria. As a land power, there was little Hatti could do about maritime depredations by Achaea or its surrogates. However, there is evidence that, around this time, Millawada fell under Hittite control.

While the Hittite texts translated so far are silent on an actual Achaean attack on Troy/Wilusa, the city did succumb to a siege (perhaps more than once). Aside from Pijamaradu's raid there are other signs of Achaean interest in Wilusa. Excavated Mycenaean pottery indicates active trade links. Other contacts were less peaceful. Inventories preserved from the Mycenaean town of Pylos include numerous slaves taken from the Asian coast of the Aegean, including "To-ro-ya", i.e. Trojan women. That Alaksandu had a Greek – not an Anatolian – name, and that his throne and his succession needed special guarantees from the Hittite king, may indicate he came by it less than legitimately. Recent archaeological research indicates that Troy, then at the height of its wealth, suffered a major earthquake in the mid 13th century BCE and subsequently was sacked. It has been speculated that the Achaeans seized Wilusa to compensate for the loss of Millawada. This may explain the plight of one of Alaksandu's successors, Walmu, and the need for Tudhaliya III to intervene to restore him. Wilusa never quite recovered. Around 1180, it was sacked again, amidst the chaos that engulfed the both the Mycenaean and Hittite civilizations.

Indeed perhaps the fall of Wilusa left the door open to the Phrygian invaders, coming from the Balkans, who helped precipitate the fall of Hatti.

As noted earlier, chronology is not one of epic poetry's strong points (although Greek legends do refer to an earlier sack of Troy led by Hercules). However, it seems increasingly clear that Homer has dimly preserved a tradition of Achaean assault(s) on Wilusa. Scholars have also deduced from his "Catalogue of Ships" that Homer is describing the political geography of a Greek world as it existed in the 12th century BCE, not that of his own day. If so, the geography was very one-sided, as neither Homer, nor any who later expanded on his epic, ever mentioned the Hittites, even though they dominated the region at that time. Even more than the Mycenaeans, they have vanished from Western memory. Not until the late 19th century did the Hittites' central role in the late Bronze Age reemerge. Yet, even now, it is not the rediscovered glories of Hattusa, and a wealth of documentation chronicling Hittite power, that seize our imagination, but the elopement of Helen and Paris. It is Helen's face which launched those thousand ships, not some Achaean power-play to outflank the Hittite Empire. ☺

*Roger Lucy is a retired Foreign Service Officer who has contributed a number of articles on ancient diplomacy to **bout**. He is currently writing the definitive work on the Canadian Ram tank.*

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Canadian Archaeology in Turkey

with Professor Tim Harrison

Archaeology was once described as “the sport of kings”. Today that sport is more of a test of endurance given field conditions in some sites. Perseverance also may be needed in overcoming bureaucratic inertia, if not political concerns. Whatever the case, a successful archaeological programme calls for solid public diplomacy skills, plenty of teamwork, and a little luck. The University of Toronto’s dig at Tell Tayinat in southeastern Turkey is likely Canada’s most significant and successful archaeological endeavour abroad: Professor Tim Harrison, Chair of the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations, tells us more.

bout: Despite Hollywood films and the field’s somewhat romantic history, there are not that many professional archaeologists around. What prompted you to enter the profession?

Harrison: For a whole host of reasons. I spent much of my youth abroad, in the Philippines, where my parents were involved in social work with a Christian community. I grew up speaking Tagalog. In fact I recognized the cover photo on a recent issue of **bout** immediately (three nuns looking across Lake Taal): the other side is where I grew up as a child! When you are the product of two worlds, fascination with other cultures and their history is almost inevitable. The two intersect in the ancient Near East, which has been the cradle for so many of our cultural and spiritual traditions. So the leap to archaeology came almost naturally.

bout: You are a Bronze Age specialist, why?

Harrison: Because, for me, it is the most interesting phase of human social and cultural development. The Bronze Age was when humankind moved from stone tools to metal, when the first cities are established and the social and political systems needed for the creation of the nation-state first took root. It was when competition for resources and territorial control gave rise to organized warfare. Trade and migration became very important, and religious beliefs and ideology became major motivating factors in social conduct. Writing systems evolved significantly.

bout: Where does your field site, Tell Tayinat, fit in with all of this?

Harrison: Right in the middle. Tell Tayinat and its nearby sister site, Tell Atchana, sit on the Antioch Plain by the Orontes River. At their peak these towns had populations upwards of 5,000 to 10,000, and flourished between 3500 and 500 BCE. They were the seat for a succession of Bronze and Iron Age kingdoms, before eventually being succeeded by Antioch, which at its peak we are told, was surpassed only by Rome as the greatest city of the classical world. The archaeological record suggests that Tayinat and Atchana were important centres for the production and distribution of metal objects and other crafts, which found wide circulation throughout the ancient Near East.

The sister settlements were situated in what, in ancient times, formed a key intersection between the highland Indo-European cultures of Anatolia and the lowland Semitic populations of northwestern Syria and the Levant. In fact, it has become increasingly clear that Tayinat and Atchana were remarkably diverse multi-ethnic and multicultural communities, not unlike the region today, and a very long time before these concepts became prevalent here in Canada – there truly is little new under the sun! In the late second millennium BCE (the late Bronze Age, ca. 1500–1200 BCE) they were also on the periphery of Egyptian territory under the Pharaohs, and were caught in the fight for control of the region between the Hittites of central Anatolia and Ramses II, which led to one of the world’s first known international peace treaties – arguably formal diplomacy started here too.

The sites were first excavated in the 1930s, Tayinat by the University of Chicago, and Atchana by the famous British archaeologist, Sir Leonard Woolley. Some remarkable discoveries were made that now grace museums from Istanbul to Antakya (modern Antioch). These include a temple that has long been thought to be for a close parallel for the great temple of Jerusalem.

Work was interrupted by WWII; it was not until the late 80s that a new permit was issued. However, there were further complications – including the untimely passing of my mentor at the university for whom the new permit had been issued – further postponing the resumption of fresh fieldwork. Excavations finally resumed in 2004, and one of the great finds thus far has been a cache of cuneiform tablets (in Assyrian script), among which was another peace treaty, this one between one of the local rulers and the great Assyrian Imperial King, Esarhaddon.

bout: Fifty years to resume work?

Harrison: It's not as strange as it sounds. World events played a role, but major projects such as excavations also need sustained leadership. Sometimes personal circumstances work against the resumption of work. In my case, things worked out well. I had completed my doctoral studies and begun teaching at the University of Toronto when I was invited ("challenged", might be the more accurate description!) by my colleague Aslihan Yener to resume excavations at Tayinat. To be honest, I had planned to start with something on a smaller scale, but I soon realized that I might not have another opportunity to work in Turkey; if I hoped to resume the work at Tayinat, it was then or never.

bout: Obtaining a permit is not a given, despite a strong professional reputation?

Harrison: Yes, it takes a lot of diplomacy, informal and formal, to receive authorization to proceed, and considerable effort to ensure that your license is renewed each year. A lot of cultural and political sensitivity is involved with archaeological projects.

I was quite fortunate. First, the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa was well-disposed to having the University of Toronto undertake the project. They welcomed the idea of a major Canadian and Turkish cultural undertaking. Second, the Canadian Embassy in Ankara was extremely helpful. Jean-Marc Duval, the Ambassador at the time, and his successor, Michael Leir,

communicated with the Minister of Culture and his officials to underscore Canadian interest in seeing the project authorized, and the Public Affairs office at the Embassy has been consistently helpful ever since in troubleshooting. Very few permits for foreign expeditions have been issued over the past decade, and I am sure that the combined good will of both embassies made the project possible.

bout: What is next on your agenda for Tell Tayinat?

Harrison: We are working with Turkish colleagues and their universities to involve their students in the project so that we can train the next generation of archaeologists, transfer knowledge about the site, and share our enthusiasm for Tayinat with the people who will eventually be responsible for it.

That said, the preservation of the site involves a lot more than training a new generation of archaeologists. We recently received formal approval from the Cultural Ministry and local government authorities to establish an open air archaeological park. It will be designed to help protect the extraordinary cultural heritage preserved at Tayinat and Atchana, while rendering them more accessible to the broader public. The park's facilities will include a visitor's centre and museum, which will help to celebrate their cultural legacy and provide invaluable educational benefits, and a research centre equipped with a laboratory and artifact storage facilities. To support this undertaking, we have created the "Friends of Tayinat", a charitable organization that seeks to raise the funds needed to help establish the park.

bout: Last thoughts?

Harrison: I am very privileged to head the largest bilateral cultural cooperation project between Canada and Turkey, but I hope others will follow suit. Turkey is a rising presence in the region and a growing economic power, and if my experience is anything to go by, building bridges early makes for a much privileged relationship in the longer term. ☺



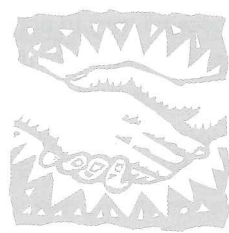
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Tell Tayinat's Great Lion

by Timothy P. Harrison

The University of Toronto's Tayinat Archaeological Project (TAP) unearthed a monumental gate complex to the citadel of Kunulua, capital of the Neo-Hittite Kingdom of Patina in south-east Turkey. Associated with the gate, but found discarded out of position, was a magnificently carved stone lion figure, measuring approximately 1.3 m in height and 1.6 m in length. The lion is poised in a seated position, with ears back, claws extended and roaring. A second sculptural piece, part of a large statue base, depicts a human figure flanked by lions, an iconic ancient Near Eastern cultural motif known as the "Master and the Animals", which symbolized the civilizational imposition of order over the chaotic forces of the natural world.

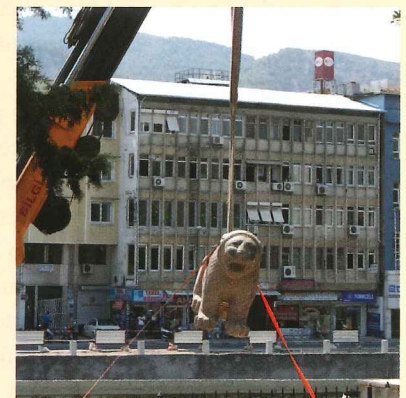
The gate complex is reminiscent of the great staircase excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley in 1911 at the royal Hittite capital at Carchemish. The presence of lions, or sphinxes, and colossal statues astride the Master and Animals motif in the citadel gateways of the Neo-Hittite royal cities of Iron Age Syro-Anatolia continued a Bronze Age Hittite tradition. It accentuated their symbolic role as boundary zones, and the role of the king as the divinely appointed guardian, or "gate keeper", of the community. By the 9th and 8th centuries BCE, these elaborately decorated

gateways had come to serve as dynastic parades, legitimizing the power of the ruling elite. The gate reliefs also formed linear narratives, guiding their audiences between the human and divine realms, with the king serving as the link between the two worlds.

The Tayinat gate complex appears to have been destroyed following the Assyrian conquest of 738 BCE, when the area was paved over and converted into the central courtyard of an Assyrian sacred precinct. Smashed remains of stelae carved in Hittite Luwian Hieroglyphic script hint of an earlier Neo-Hittite religious complex that might have once faced the gateway approach. Scholars have speculated that the reference to Calneh in Isaiah's oracle against Assyria alludes to its devastation of Kunulua (Tayinat). The destruction of the Luwian monuments and conversion of the area into an Assyrian religious complex may represent this historic event. The Tayinat lions also provide new insight into the innovative character and sophistication of the diminutive Iron Age states that emerged in the eastern Mediterranean in the aftermath of the collapse of the great civilizational powers of the Bronze Age at the end of the second millennium BCE. 



The gate reliefs also formed linear narratives, guiding their audiences between the human and divine realms, with the king serving as the link between the two worlds.



Dick Gorham

1927–2011

On June 18, 2011, Dick Gorham died and Canada lost a dedicated public servant and a passionate citizen. Tributes and memorials flowed in from kings, governors, premiers, businessmen, journalists, colleagues and friends. The canvas of Dick's life and achievements was vast but these few comments will focus on his contributions to Canada as a member of our foreign service. The writer has immensely benefitted from (and shamelessly plagiarized) the recollections of Dick's foreign service colleagues.

Richard Vessot Gorham, B.A. M.A., LLD, ONB, of Gorham's Bluff, NB, began a life of world travel with a stint in the merchant marine at 18 that took him to the Mediterranean, Spain and Northern Europe. His foreign service career first took him to Japan, cementing a deep and lifelong love for that country, which included mastery of Japanese, one of seven languages in his repertoire. Over 30 years, Dick also served in India and Cambodia, as well as a second tour in Japan before his appointment as Canada's Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. He also served as Roving Ambassador and Permanent Observer to the Organization of Latin American States.

Warmly gruff, honest, direct, and down to earth, Dick possessed the ability, foresight, and energy to bring together all those who could contribute to achieving the objective he had in hand at the moment. He was a vital person; a mentor and friend with so much passion for the career and concern for everyone he worked with. And his colleagues responded, many seeking to serve again with him in subsequent assignments.

As one colleague has eloquently put it, Dick « aura été pour moi une source vivifiante d'inspiration au début de ma carrière au ministère des Affaires étrangères. Son pragmatisme, son sens de l'action, son franc-parler et son énergie étaient exceptionnelles dans ce contexte! Il aura marqué fortement l'image que je me faisais de ce que devrait être un diplomate canadien compétent. Nous

avons besoin d'un plus grand nombre d'hommes et de femmes de sa trempe. »

In the same vein, Dick, the foreign service professional, was highly intelligent and incisively perceptive but also a great teacher and a demanding, but considerate boss. Two of Dick's attributes, both as relevant today as at any other time, stand out for me.

First, his generosity of spirit in sharing his impressive knowledge and experience especially with his juniors and, concomitantly, his openness and ability to listen to everyone, whatever rank or station. He was considerate of others' ideas and opinions while welcoming vigorous debate as new ideas emerged. Dick was as patient with the imperfections of the aspiring young as he was impatient with the self-aggrandizement of the haughty; he was not impressed by titles or ranks, but responded to effort inspired by good intentions. He always gave credit where credit was due, an example for many who grew in his shadow.

Second, was his philosophy of inclusiveness. Embassies, in Dick's view, worked best and most effectively with everyone, Canadian or otherwise, on the team, part of the family. In many ways, Dick was a pioneer in holding this view and, while the "all one family" approach has now been formally adopted by other foreign services, regrettably it has yet to take firm hold in our own.

Finally, no commentary about Dick would be complete without mention of his sense of humour and the accompanying lust for life and adventure. Two anecdotes, one personal, one from a colleague of Dick's when he served as SSEA Mitchell Sharp's press officer.

Adventure. We once visited the Gorhams at their seaside getaway on Sajima Bay in Japan and Dick suggested that he and I go for a sail. We managed to rig the Gorham's Yamaha version of the Laser and set sail, already a feat as neither Dick nor I were tiny. As we left their mooring (no life jackets of course), and headed to the open sea with

nothing but the Pacific between us and San Francisco, Dick casually noted that he had never been out in the boat before but that he had watched the boys do it numerous times and it didn't seem too difficult. All was well until it came time to "come about" and head back to land. Several hours and many dunkings later, two bedraggled souls heaved themselves onto a beach many kilometres from our start point. My sailing, from that time forward, has been confined to water where I can see at least two shorelines.

Going the extra mile in high spirits. While in the Minister's press office, it was clear to those around that Mr. Sharp had the highest regard and affection for Dick, and great confidence, indeed admiration, for his work with the press gallery. Returning from meetings in Europe, and while overflying New Brunswick, Mr. Sharp thought he would provide Dick with a surprise. He arranged with the pilot for a slight alteration of course to permit an important public announcement to all on board. The pilot instructed all to look out the left side of the aircraft as they were now passing over a very historic Canadian site, Gorham's Bluff, directly below. As Mr. Sharp recounted this story (apparently with a rueful grin), no one, least of all Dick, reacted to the announcement. Dick, going the extra mile with his media charges, had a roaring party going in the back of the aircraft that defied competition.

Dick Gorham. Exemplar of the best in the foreign service, and, above all, a good and steadfast friend. Farewell.

Reid Morden is a retired Foreign Service officer with postings in Karachi, Geneva, UN Del New York (twice), and Tokyo. His last Public Service appointments were as Director of CSIS, DM of Foreign Affairs, and CEO of AECL. Also worked with Paul Volcker in the UN Iraq Oil-for-Food Inquiry and was an advisor to Justices O'Connor and Iacobucci in their Arar and Al Malki et al Inquiries.

Jim Nutt

1919–2011

A strong sense of a happy past and affectionate regard for his friends were among the most characteristic qualities of Jim Nutt.

He was born in Calgary and his roots were important to him. He retained a love of the West throughout his life, although his first memories were of his elementary school teacher in Hull, England, where his father had moved after the death of his mother and with whom he corresponded for many years. The high school in Calgary that he attended after the family's return to Canada also made a lasting impression and he maintained contact with fellow students throughout his life.

A second initiative, of deeper significance and for the realization of which Jim was solely responsible, was the formation of RHOMA – the Retired Heads of Mission Association.

With the outbreak of the Second World War Jim volunteered for the army, transferring to the RCAF shortly thereafter. During flight training at Trenton he met Grace Nidderly, with whom he was to share over 60 years of happily married life. Another association of that time was with Freddie Sharp, one of his instructors at flight school (and later Chief of Defence Staff of the Canadian Forces), who remained a close life-long friend. Jim was discharged from the air force in 1945 with the rank of Flight/Lieutenant and went to Toronto University where he obtained his BA, followed by Osgoode Hall Law School.

The facts of his career with the Foreign Service are well known and one need here say no more than that when I first joined the Department of External Affairs in 1950 he was affectionately known as "the little dynamo" (there was a large one as well) and never, to my knowledge, belied his nickname. He made notable contributions in Defence-Liaison and his name is closely associated with the Law of the Sea; much of his time was devoted to Canada-USA

relations and he had postings in Washington and as Consul-General in San Francisco, New York and Los Angeles. In Ottawa he served as Assistant Undersecretary with responsibility for administration.

This was an apt assignment that coincided with his interest in friends and colleagues and their welfare. This was by no means a merely professional matter but became an important motif in his life both before and after retirement. His first initiative, with Freddie Sharp, was the formation of a luncheon discussion group named "CHIMO". (Jim acted as Chairman and delighted in repeating that this was no

acronym but posed the question "Are you friendly?" in a South Pacific language; to which the same word gave an affirmative reply.) This was indeed a friendly group of retired senior officers from the Military and External Affairs who met very convivially for excellent briefings and discussions on current affairs. A second initiative, of deeper significance and for the realization of which Jim was solely responsible, was the formation of RHOMA – the Retired Heads of Mission Association. It is a thriving organization whose objectives are to provide a means of continuing contact between former heads of mission and, hopefully, preserve and make available their experience and wisdom acquired over many years. A third outlet for his energies and source of pleasure was his membership in the White Pine Fishing Club which he joined as a founding member when it was reconstituted in 1970 and of which he was legal adviser and historian. He was a keen fisherman in his early years but latterly his interests turned towards environmental protection and he was happy to row his grandchildren as they

NOW — AND THEN?

A sleigh-ride into eternity;
A blaze of consciousness;
A chance to savour "now";
That is life, it seems.

No self-determined option;
We arrive or we do not.
Why you? Why me? God only knows!

We surely come by sheerest chance;
The odds against arrival astronomical.
Imagine the countless unborn,
Who miss life, just!
For them no consciousness, no "now",
No sleigh-ride whatsoever,
Only unbroken eternity.

For us the born, the gift's mortality,
Which insists that life be transitory;
What once was not, now is, will not be.
If that be truly so,
Will life have ever been
In the long eternal run?
Yet now we are, or seem to be.

For us the living, the riddle of life
Is what on Earth to do with it?
"The pursuit of happiness" is prescribed;
Re-creation of a basic sort promotes
Continuity of our species; and,
To insert a purpose far less carnal,
Development of the soul is urged:

A chance to emulate God's work –
to create
A miracle perhaps: immortal
consciousness;
Or at least a civilized congregation;
Whilst we wait upon this Earth
And so ensure we do not visit ruination,
Perhaps extinction, on the human race,
Our own unearthly – nay
earthly – alternative!

What counts in life are all the "nows"
And how one does indeed contribute
To a state of civilized homo sapiens.
But watch it! Lest you miss
All life's fertile "nows", but the last:
The end of the sleigh-ride;
The resumption of eternity – for you!

Unless, perhaps, the soul doth rise!
"Now", outside worldliness,
Not outside wonderment.
The sleigh-ride of life, indeed
A passport from "now" upon this Earth
To a state of everlasting grace.
Now and forever conjoined.

*Begun in 1986
Completed August 1993
Jim Sutcliffe Nutt
Ottawa, Canada*

sought the largest trout rather than himself wield a rod.

Family was important to him and he took great pride in the annual exhibition put on by his daughter Carol and the gymnastics club at the Maryland high school where she taught. By the same token he was deeply involved with his son Ronnie and his grandchildren, by whom he was affectionately known as "Papa Jim". He and Grace often

travelled to England to maintain contact with relatives there and visit with my family. We travelled the length and breadth of the British Isles in my VW Beetle searching out the ruins of Niddery Castle in Scotland, his father's old house in Barnstable, the Yorkshire Moors and Hebrides. No adventure daunted him and, while he did have his discontents (he worried about the world situation), he was fun to be with. He had a

true gift for friendship and was himself the most loyal and reliable of friends, an invariable gentleman, than whom no one is more worthy of affection and respect. He is sorely missed.

*Jim Langley was Canada's Ambassador to Mexico, Brussels and the European Communities. He is a Senior Editorial Board Member of **bout de papier**.*

David Anido

1947–2011

Editor's Note: *David Anido's passing saddened many in the foreign service for reasons that are made obvious in the heartfelt tribute to him below provided by his family. That is especially true for those of us at **bout**, past and present. David was an extraordinarily energetic and insightful member of our board for the better part of a decade. **bout** would not be the journal it is today without the contributions of David and his peers.*

David Anido passed away peacefully at home in Ottawa on August 31, 2011, at the age of 65. He was much loved by his wife Jane, their two daughters Elizabeth and Alexandra, whom he adored, his sons-in-law Greg and Daniel, and grandchildren Zara, Hana and Jacob. He will also be dearly missed by his brother Philip, sister-in-law Diane, and niece and nephews Helene, Edward and Charles.

David George Hadcock Anido: His Life

Born in England on June 5, 1946, he set sail with his parents, the Reverend John and Barbara Anido to spend his early years on Quebec's north shore. Rev. John served as the Anglican priest in Harrington Harbour and Mutton Bay.

In 1952 with his new brother, Philip, David returned to Canterbury where he was a top junior scholar at St. Edmund's School. After five years in England, the family

returned to Canada where David attended Bishop's College School (1957–1964) and Bishop's University (1964–1967). He excelled as a scholar, was a devoted son, a wonderful brother, and a great friend and joyful mentor to many.

As a summer student, David served with appropriate "fierce pride" as a lowly bandsman and lofty Ensign in the Old Fort Henry Guard. He also spent time working at Expo 67. In recognition of his distinguished scholarship and ever willing commitment to university life and his community, as a leading actor in major plays and an award winning inter-varsity debater, Dave won the highest recognition at Bishop's University, the Golden Miter Award.

At 21, David moved on to Simon Fraser University to earn an Honours First Masters of Arts degree. His acclaimed thesis was written on the Theatre of the Absurd and with it he won a Commonwealth Scholarship to write his PhD at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand.

Before he was 26, David had won two more precious prizes, the lustrous First Class PhD, and the most-treasured, Jane (now Director of Programming, CBC News and Centres, Toronto). They married in May 1973 and set off for Australia to start their life together. There he earned his pilot's licence and managed theatre company tours across New South Wales, but the pull of Canada was ever present and in 1974, David and Jane set up home in Ottawa. Here their life together blossomed. David began his career first with the Canada

Council and then with Foreign Affairs. His postings in Rome and Tokyo were the highlights of his career where he served as Canada's Cultural Attaché in Italy and Cultural Counsellor in Japan. Service to his Church, The School of Dance, the Canadian Mediterranean Institute, and the Canadian War Museum, are witness to his perpetual energy, broad interests, and devotion to his community. Above all David was a great and loyal friend to many all over the world.

In retirement, his library and his quest for learning were David's second love. His first was and is his family, Jane, Alexandra with husband Greg, Elizabeth with husband Daniel and the treasures they have brought to him, his grandchildren Zara, Hana and Jacob who are his eternal love.

He was a loving husband, daddy, brother, uncle, godfather, pilot, sailor, explorer, hang-glider, skydiver, canoeist, actor, sheep shearer, chairman of various committees and boards. David played the didgeridoo, the bugle and the Taiko drums – especially as riotous entertainment at the end of a dinner party. He could quote rafts of Shakespeare, he read voraciously, including the great philosophers and poets, and political and military history. He was a joker, debater, teacher and storyteller with a booming voice and a grand passion for seeing humour and absurdity where you'd least expect to find them. David was simply larger than life. We will miss him in our lives, but our memories are vivid, colourful, dear and rich. ☺

Spies Left in the Cold?

The slow start of Canada–US Intelligence cooperation

by Kurt F. Jensen

The foreign intelligence mandate of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade is one of its lesser known responsibilities. The department collects, collates, and disseminates foreign intelligence in support of the foreign policy process.

The department's active engagement in foreign intelligence dates to about 1940, although little was done before 1941. A distinct foreign intelligence unit did not come into being until 1950.

Today, as a member of the "Five Eyes Alliance", Canada's most significant foreign intelligence relationship is that with the United States. While Canada and the United States share a close intelligence relationship, it is not a partnership between equals but one, nevertheless, from which both draw benefits.

The most important element of Canada's foreign intelligence activities is that of Signals Intelligence (SIGINT), carried out today by Communications Security Establishment Canada (CSEC). Canada's engagement in SIGINT grew out of an effort initiated by the Department of External Affairs (DEA) today named the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), a story which has been described elsewhere (Kurt F. Jensen, *Cautious Beginnings: Canadian Foreign Intelligence, 1939–51*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008).

The wartime signals intelligence relationship between the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand is often viewed as the foundation of the broader intelligence relationship which exists today. Such a perception is overly simplistic. Other significant intelligence exchanges and cooperation agreements developed independently during the war and flourished in the years thereafter, as intelligence organizations were

reorganized, restructured, and resourced for peacetime mandates.

Significant among these was the foreign intelligence relationship. In recent years, the DFAIT foreign intelligence function has often suffered the vagaries of resource battles. While today we read about the struggle against terrorism, largely dominated by CSIS, we often forget the significant role which the department has played in Canada's intelligence history. The goal of this article is to highlight the important role of the department in cementing the foreign intelligence relationship with the United States.

Intelligence ties between the DEA and the American CIA have existed for nearly 60 years. An intelligence relationship began earlier, in the midst of the Second World War, with the CIA's predecessor, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS).

The exact date when DEA established ties with the OSS is not available in the public archival record. In the initial phase, however, the link does not appear to have involved any exchange of intelligence material.

A SIGINT exchange between Canada's Examination Unit (the wartime SIGINT organization established by DEA) and the US Army began some time before August 1942. At about the same time, External Affairs had created a Special Intelligence Section, under E.H. Norman, to operate autonomously within the new Examination Unit with a mandate to prepare intelligence assessments based on SIGINT and intelligence material from other sources. In October of the following year, Norman was sent to Washington to discuss establishing an exchange liaison with the OSS. This was not an expansion of the SIGINT relationship but an initiative to exchange intelligence assessments which were based, in part, on SIGINT material.

Norman's Special Intelligence Section's liaison relationship with the OSS comprised exchanges primarily of Japanese diplomatic messages covering economic policy and "Japanese efforts at exploitation and organization of conquered territory." No material covering Japanese diplomacy in general, particularly in Europe, was included. Some French and Spanish material was also made available.

The OSS could not provide a satisfactory guarantee of protecting the Canadian intelligence material, resulting in a compromise whereby an OSS official read reports in the office of Lester B. Pearson at the Canadian Legation in Washington. The OSS could use the Canadian material, albeit with utmost discretion. In exchange, Canada received various weekly bulletins and research data from the OSS.

OSS officers came to Canada in early 1943 to study Canada's success in collecting, analyzing, and exploiting correspondence between German POWs in Canada and their families in Germany for intelligence, something OSS reported as constituting "a veritable gold mine for our work," with hopes that more formal collaboration could be established.

The perception of the OSS by Ottawa was poor. In an interview many years later, George Glazebrook, one of the wartime intelligence officers and postwar head of the Canadian Joint Intelligence Committee, recalled that the OSS was "overwhelmed by size, inexperience and romanticism." He despairingly described an OSS officer responsible for French matters as "a professor of something who had once had a holiday in France."

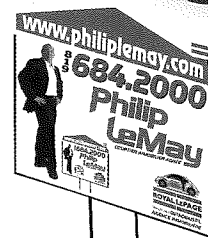
At one point Canada considered terminating its relationship with OSS on SIGINT-derived assessment although there is no confirming evidence that this occurred.

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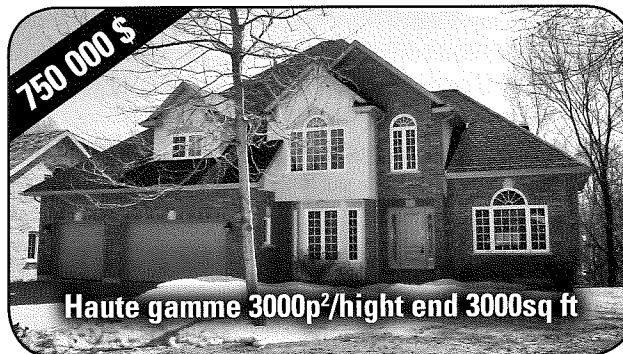
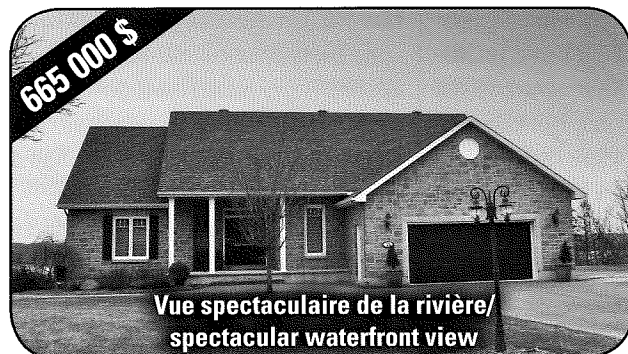
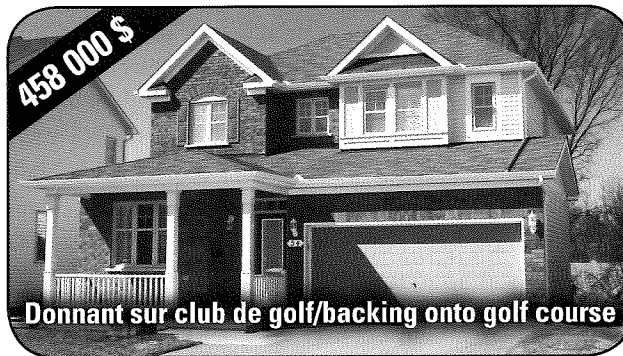
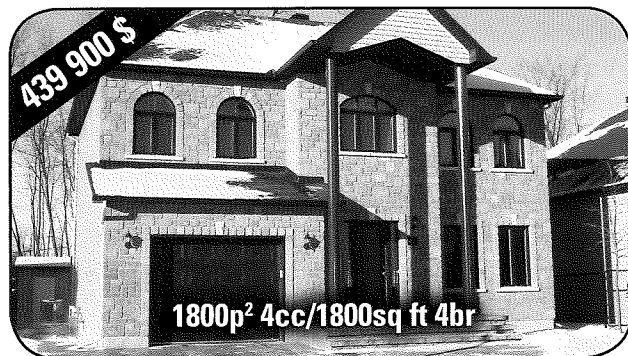
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Certainly, Canada continued to be generally unimpressed by the quality of the OSS. Thomas Stone, one of the wartime leaders of Canadian foreign intelligence, wrote that "not only are OSS intelligence reports on Europe bad but...they must be read by people that have a tragically insufficient knowledge of their field on which to base any critical study of the reports."

"Wild Bill" Donovan, the head of the OSS, made at least one visit to Canada, where he met with Canada's enigmatic Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who recorded the event in his diary as, "Had a pleasant talk with General Donovan re: orientals on the Pacific Coast. Glad to make his acquaintance."

Canada's foreign political intelligence unit had been very small throughout the war and seems to have continued largely unchanged into the early postwar period. While a postwar intelligence architecture was being contemplated, External Affairs and National Defence had different visions of how this might look with the External Affairs model, based on a British proposal, winning the day. In the late 1940s, Canada established its own Joint Intelligence Committee (CJIC), Joint Intelligence Bureau (CJIB), and a Joint Intelligence Staff (CJIS), all based on British structures.

These new intelligence bodies were never perceived as being part of the foreign political intelligence unit at External Affairs. As in Britain, the CJIB was a military intelligence body; the CJIC was an interdepartmental management tool. What was different, however, was that External Affairs reserved for itself the direction of these new bodies. It was agreed that the Chairman of the CJIC would be an officer from the Department of External Affairs. The same was true for the CJIB, after some initial personnel turmoil. The rationale for ceding leadership to External Affairs was a recognition that Canada's foreign affairs department was in the best position to follow international events and to advise on the urgency of taskings in support of formulating foreign and defence policies.

With the end of the war, the intelligence relationship between External Affairs and the OSS came to an abrupt end. In October 1945, William Langer, the eminent Harvard

historian and one of the senior intelligence analysts in the OSS Research and Analysis Branch, informed Thomas Stone, by now at the Canadian Legation in Washington, that his organization had been transferred to the State Department and no further intelligence exchanges could follow until the State Department had reviewed the relationship and pronounced whether or not it was to continue, although he hoped that the exchange would be re-established.

No response was received from the State Department for several years regarding a resumption of the intelligence exchange which had existed between External Affairs and the Research and Analysis Branch of the disbanded OSS. One cause of the delay was the tardiness of the State Department in formalizing a role for the OSS unit. Not until 1946 did the State Department formally establish its Intelligence and Research Bureau (INR), using the former OSS analytical resources as its core.

It took several more years before External Affairs-INR relations were established. During the intervening years, the State Department intelligence unit showed no urgency in establishing a relationship with Canada. The seeming impasse began to break in September 1949 when James George, an External Affairs officer, was sent from Ottawa to meet for lunch with State Department INR representatives Allan Evans, the Director of Intelligence Research, Nathan Pelkowitz (or Pelcovits), the Canada Analyst, and several others, to propose an exchange relationship.

George briefed the group on the service intelligence exchanges which existed between the Canadian and the American armed forces and expressed a desire to expand this to include conventional political intelligence exchanges. The INR group was sympathetic to the Canadian proposal and Evans suggested that Canada request a copy of an INR publication, such as the periodic reviews describing conditions in Eastern Europe which were prepared as guides for the Voice of America broadcasts. Such a request was viewed by the INR members as innocuous and likely to act as a catalyst to more enhanced intelligence exchanges.

An extensive intelligence exchange between External Affairs and INR,

however, did not materialize immediately. It took until early 1952 before External Affairs began to receive an ample range of INR intelligence products.

In 1950, DEA established the Defence Relations 2 Division (DL2), the first formal intelligence unit within the department. Until that time, foreign intelligence had been subsumed within existing geographic divisions.

The Central Intelligence Agency, the eventual successor to the OSS, came into existence in 1947. As with INR, there was no immediate establishment of an intelligence relationship between the Agency and Canadian foreign intelligence. The first step in establishing a political intelligence exchange between External Affairs and the American national intelligence agency occurred in February 1949 when G.G. Crean, the External Affairs Chairman of the CJIC, and a senior Canadian foreign intelligence officer within DEA, met with R.H. Hillenkoetter, the Director of the CIA, in Kingston, Ontario, to discuss the establishment of a liaison arrangement between the CIA and Canadian foreign intelligence. While Crean met with Hillenkoetter as the Chairman of the CJIC, as the concomitant director of External Affairs' DL2, the broader foreign intelligence interests of Canada are not likely to have been far from his mind.

The meeting between Crean and Hillenkoetter, which seems to have been a CIA initiative, suggested placing a CIA liaison officer in Ottawa "in view of the ever-growing close relationships, particularly in defense matters, between Canada and the United States, [and] that the establishment of such a position would be of benefit to both of our organizations." Crean supported the initiative and suggested to Hillenkoetter that a CIA liaison relationship should be established with the CJIB and the Director of Scientific Intelligence of the Defence Research Board. While Crean held out the possibility of establishing a liaison relationship with External Affairs for foreign intelligence, he wanted to discuss this further internally before coming to a decision.

In June 1949 the CIA sent two officers, Col. Robert A. Schow and James Jesus

Angleton, to Ottawa to discuss a liaison arrangement. The visit was a failure. Schow and Angleton were interested in a broad exchange of intelligence material, particularly in counter-intelligence, the forte of Angleton, whereas the cautious Canadians wanted the exchange to focus on economic and scientific intelligence. The Americans were also interested in securing Canadian assistance in conducting espionage abroad, something which Canada was not prepared to embark upon at that time. While the Canadians and the CIA remained in contact no exchange arrangements followed.

Early in 1951, Lt. Gen. Charles Foulkes, the Canadian Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, visited Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, the Director of the CIA, in Washington to reopen the question of liaison arrangements. Foulkes pointed out to Bedell Smith that no clear link existed between the CIA and Canadian intelligence agencies and that the latter were anxious to review CIA National Intelligence Survey papers. Bedell Smith agreed to provide Canada with Agency studies. Bedell Smith also encouraged a Canadian "intelligence team" to come to Washington to discuss exchanges and requirements with their opposite numbers in the CIA. In April, Ivor Bowen, the new Director of the Joint Intelligence Bureau, and J.A. Langley, Director of Scientific Intelligence, went to Washington for further discussions with their CIA counterparts. As a result of the visit, Canada decided to send as many of its CJIC papers as possible to the CIA, excluding any which bore on Canadian policy regarding third parties (or the United States).

The CJIC-CIA relationship blossomed although it was far from ideal. The relationship did not include the foreign intelligence unit at External Affairs, notwithstanding that the CJIC was directed by an intelligence officer from External Affairs who, within his own department, headed the foreign intelligence division.

Canada was always cautious in the field of intelligence. Indeed, a decision was soon taken in 1951 specifically not to establish a distinct secret foreign intelligence collection service. Consequently, there were severe limits on what foreign intelligence

material was available to Canada, both for its own use and as exchange material with allies. By 1952, the CIA was complaining that the Canadian contribution to the bilateral relationship, provided through the CJIC, was inadequate, claiming that Canada was "the poorest contributor of all those collaborating with the CIA." The CIA was correct that Canada had relatively little covertly collected intelligence to exchange. Having foregone establishment of a secret intelligence service, Canada relied on overtly collected information, which did not resonate well with the aggressive and secret operations of the CIA. Conversely, the cautious Canadians, while admittedly limited in what could be collected, were never caught illicitly collecting information. In response to CIA prodding, Canada established an Interview Program within the CJIB (later mover to DEA) in 1952, to debrief defectors from Eastern Europe as well as travellers who had observed or gained access to areas or subjects of intelligence interest. The CIA had urged the Canadians to pursue something along these lines for some time. In June, at one of their regular meetings, Foulkes informed Bedell Smith and his "Chief of Interrogation" about the Canadian initiative. While input and advice from the CIA on subjects to be interviewed would be solicited, CIA members would not be permitted to participate in debriefings.

For much of the early years of the Canadian relationship with the CIA it was conducted by the CJIC and the CJIB, both of which were part of National Defence. The CIA, however, remained interested in developing a relationship with the intelligence unit at External Affairs.

Some time after Allen Dulles became head of the CIA in 1953, George Glazebrook, while Director of Defence Liaison 2 (DL2 – the foreign intelligence unit), made a visit to Washington to discuss direct links between External Affairs (DL2) and the CIA. There had been earlier talks between External Affairs and the CIA but little had come of these because of the view in DL2 that the CIA did "practically everything that a professional wouldn't do." By the early 1950s Canadian perceptions had clearly moderated and Glazebrook concluded an

exchange agreement with the CIA. A liaison officer from the Agency was to be stationed in Ottawa to service the relationship. Because of operational concerns expressed by Glazebrook, he was invited by Dulles to draft the letter of instruction for the CIA liaison officer.

The intelligence relationship between the CIA and the foreign intelligence division of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade has been of longstanding and, presumably, mutual benefit to both parties.

The CIA's first Canadian intelligence partner was the CJIC, the CJIB and Defence Scientific Intelligence. Throughout the early years, the CJIC and the CJIB (until 1950) were headed by senior intelligence officers from External Affairs.

The hesitancy by DEA throughout this period to formalize ties with the CIA is difficult to fathom. Wearing their CJIC or CJIB hats, the DEA officers showed no reluctance to exchange intelligence with the CIA. In the absence of clarifying archival material, one can only assume that the hesitancy with which the CIA and External Affairs established ties reflected the cautious nature governing all elements of Canadian foreign intelligence, particularly that conducted by the DEA.

The more proactive ties which were established between foreign intelligence at External Affairs and INR at the State Department merely caused less concern, possibly being viewed as an enhancement of conventional ties existing between two foreign ministries with a track record of cooperation. ☺

Kurt F. Jensen is a retired foreign service officer, with many years experience in foreign intelligence, who has written extensively on Canadian foreign intelligence programs, including Cautious Beginnings: Canadian Foreign Intelligence, 1939–51 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008). All quotes in this article are from archival sources.

South Asian Trilogy: Personal Perspectives on Afghanistan, Pakistan and India

Canada's death toll in Afghanistan stood at 157 at the time of writing. It is a sobering figure. The withdrawal of Canadian troops from Kandahar represented a milestone in our engagement with South Asia, but have we reflected on what was actually accomplished, how we conducted ourselves, and what – from a policy perspective – we will need to do in future? Although **bout** cannot take the lead on answering that question, readers have said that they want more forthright discussion of issues critical to the Foreign Service. They want the big picture. For Afghanistan that means taking Pakistan into account, and for Pakistan, India remains absolutely central. So **bout** approached three experts for their respective insights:

- Canada's **Kathy Gannon** (an award-winning journalist and author of *I for Infidel*) describes an Afghanistan that has changed little from the horror that was the aftermath of the Soviet invasion.
- Pakistan's **Lieutenant General (Retd) Talat Masood** (*security analyst, international media commentator, and democracy advocate*) asks readers to see the conflict in the region comprehensively, and to understand not only the sense of existential threat that Pakistanis face, but how much the country has endured with wars to the west, conflict to the north, and the abiding threat they sense from the east.
- Former **High Commissioner David Malone** describes an India that is focused on its own development and on a broader game as the region's rising economic power – a country that demands attention, and earned it.

Our contributors offer thought-provoking perspectives on three key countries of a region that is of central concern to policy makers and those who carry it out.

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Afghanistan and the Devil's Deal

by Kathy Gannon

It's been 10 years since the start of Operation Enduring Freedom, when the world stood as one with the United States. The Taliban's Mullah Mohammed Omar had refused to hand over Osama bin Laden, offering instead to put him on trial in Afghanistan or before a court in an Islamic country. The offers were refused and war was declared.

Much has happened in the past 10 years. Canada has lost 157 soldiers. The combined coalition has a sad casualty figure of more than 1,700. Thousands of Afghans have also been killed, nearly a third of them by coalition forces. The benefit of anniversaries is the opportunity they provide to reflect.

To that end I embarked on a trip last October that took me from Kunduz in northern Afghanistan, to Baghlan, the Panjshir Valley, Kabul and Kandahar. The mission was to discover how Afghans felt about Operation Enduring Freedom – a decade on. Had their lives improved? Did they feel more secure? Was life looking up for them? The answers were sadly uniform and in a word they all said: “No. No. No.”

It's not for lack of good intentions on the part of the international community that Afghanistan resembles the chaotic country of nearly 15 years ago, embroiled in much the same mayhem that gave rise to the Taliban. Let me offer some insight into Afghanistan that comes from more than 20 years in the region and which might provide clues as to why it is in the condition that it is and what warning signs were evident at the outset of all this.

It was October 2001. The Taliban had let me return to Kabul. The US was heavily bombing Taliban positions. Their Northern Alliance allies were hunkered down in the small northern corner of the country that they controlled, waiting for the bombing to clear the way for them to move in. The first city to fall was northern Mazar-e-Sharif. It fell to Uzbek warlord Rashid Dostum, a close western ally at the time. Dostum's history and reputation was one of brutality and mass murder. True to

form he eventually massacred hundreds of prisoners whose bodies were found with their hands bound and tied. That should have provided some clues of what was to come. But it was missed – or ignored, and there was more.

Sitting in Kabul hunkered down in the dark basement – the Taliban ordered a city-wide blackout thinking that if the aircraft overhead couldn't see them they couldn't hit them – I listened as the planes roared overhead. Tanks and armored personnel carriers, piled high with black turbaned Taliban and the occasional Arabs were the only vehicles rumbling down the darkened streets. Inside the lantern-lit basement I kept contact with Northern Alliance leaders via satellite telephone. I knew most of them from their last stint in power between 1992 and 1996.

It was their bitter internecine fighting that killed 50,000 people in Kabul alone,

devastated vast swaths of the city and gave rise to the Taliban. Then they had divided the city into neighbourhoods and the rest of the country into fiefdoms. I remember a particularly brutal day in 1993 when I went to a neighbourhood of ethnic Hazaras after an attack by militias loyal to Abdur Rasool Sayyaf, a key Northern Alliance leader and current powerbroker in today's Kabul. On that day in 1993 a sobbing elderly looking man threw a large shawl filled with bloodied hair at my feet and dragged me into a foul smelling room. There lay five women, all of whom had been raped and scalped by Sayyaf's militiamen.

A Human Rights Watch report called some of the Northern Alliance leaders (allied with western forces), including Sayyaf, “some of the world's most serious human rights offenders.” The report, (which documented thousands of deaths in a single year of their rule prior to the

It's not for lack of good intentions on the part of the international community that Afghanistan resembles the chaotic country of nearly 15 years ago, embroiled in much the same mayhem that gave rise to the Taliban.



Taliban coming to power), chastises the international community for its often used excuse that “no one has clean hands” to justify its choice of allies. “There are literally millions of Afghans without

ignored key provisions within it. The United Nations that brokered the agreement was silent. The Agreement was clear: No international soldier of the newly formed International Security Assistance

from the proceedings. What happened? Instead of being banished, they were given front row seats, embraced and hailed as heroes. One woman who tried to challenge them had to go into hiding.

The terrorist training camps that flourished in Afghanistan did not come with the Taliban. They were there throughout the government headed by the Northern Alliance.

‘blood on their hands.’ And many of them would be eligible to serve as officials in Afghanistan’s government, or run for office. Some have, and have served with distinction,” says the report. “Yet many qualified Afghans are today afraid of taking part in governance, fearful of more powerful militia leaders whose hands... are indeed stained with blood. The truth is that most Afghans want these factional commanders and officials involved brought to justice.”

Anyone looking at Afghanistan’s sad history would have found no end of clues pointing to the turmoil and deception that would follow their coming to power once again. I was aware, in October 2001, that these leaders had promised the United States that they would keep their militias out of Kabul once the Taliban were eventually routed. All the Northern Alliance leaders, Sayyaf included, had militias. I called Sayyaf to find out what he would do with his fighters. It was just two days before the Taliban would flee Kabul. I mentioned that Washington was saying it had received assurances from the leaders that their fighters would stay out of Kabul. He laughed: “We will all be there. No one can keep us out.” That lie and the flood of militiamen who rampaged into the city, taking over houses, killing some of the few Taliban stragglers, throwing their bodies into a nearby park, should have warned everyone of worse to come.

By December 7, 2001 the Taliban were routed and an agreement known as the Bonn Agreement was signed, establishing President Hamid Karzai’s first interim government. Everyone signed on to it yet the Northern Alliance commanders

Force (ISAF) would come to Kabul while militias were present within the city limits. Yet in late December 5,000 ISAF soldiers were in Kabul along with thousands of heavily armed militiamen. Lakhdar Brahimi, the UN special representative at the time, said they were unable to enforce that provision of the agreement, but he added they had at least managed to get some of the militia out of the homes they had arbitrarily confiscated when they roared into town a month earlier.

The Bonn agreement drove a deeper wedge between Afghanistan’s ethnic groups and marginalized the majority Pashtun ethnic group, driving many back into the mountains and into the ranks of the Taliban, the backbone of which had been Pashtun tribesmen. The Bonn Agreement also put into positions of power ethnic minority leaders, all of whom had militias. Pashtuns meanwhile were represented by Hamid Karzai, who had no militia. Marshall Mohammed Fahim, an ethnic Tajik, Mohammed Mohaqik, an ethnic Hazara and Dostum, an ethnic Uzbek, used their positions and their militias to harass and marginalize ethnic Pashtuns. A deputy police chief in Zabul told me he sent 2,000 young Pashtun men to Kabul to join the security forces. They were harassed and humiliated. All but four have joined the Taliban he said. Zabul province is now mostly in the hands of the Taliban.

When the grand jirgas or councils were held to decide an interim government, there were those in Kabul, many of them strong willed women, who wanted the warlords like Sayyaf, Dostum, Fahim, Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, who died recently in a suicide bombing, excluded

The terrorist training camps that flourished in Afghanistan did not come with the Taliban. They were there throughout the government headed by the Northern Alliance. In fact Sayyaf, and not Mullah Mohammed Omar, featured prominently in Washington’s 1995 annual report on terror. It warned of Sayyaf, for whom the Indonesian terrorist group Abu Sayyaf is named, and his links to terrorist training camps. It was also Sayyaf and Northern Alliance leaders in power in Kabul at the time who allowed bin Laden to settle in Afghanistan from Sudan in 1996, not the Taliban. It was Rabbani, who was president at the time, that gave Afghan citizenship and passports to more than 600 Arab nationals. And it was Hajji Mohammed Qadir, a minister in Karzai’s first interim government, who gave a welcome speech at a lunch for bin Laden in eastern Nangarhar province soon after his arrival in Afghanistan. Today Qadir’s son Hajji Zahir sits in Parliament and his brother, Din Mohammed sits on the High Peace Council tasked with negotiating peace with the Taliban.

In Afghanistan the international community is seen by many as either being in bed with the Taliban or contributing to the instability that characterizes their country. Is it really any wonder if the police chief and a key western ally in southern Kandahar is Abdul Razik, a former warlord suspected of large scale drug trafficking, or if an official at the Kandahar Air Base, home to thousands of Canadian soldiers until recently and now to tens of thousands of US and NATO troops, is self-declared Maj. Gen. Abdul Razik Sherzai, another Afghan kingpin? What worries many analysts in Afghanistan is that reconciliation will be a devil’s deal between a corrupt government controlled by warlords and kingpins and the Taliban. Or worse a civil war. Caught in the middle – again – will be Afghans, who struggle to find hope for the future. ☺

Pakistan and the Aftermath of 9/11: What the West Fails to See

by Lt Gen (ret'd) Talat Masood

I have an affinity for Canadians. Close members of my family live in Canada, I have known many of your High Commissioners and I was a guest of the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service a few years ago for a conference on security and South Asia. I am also a founding member of the "Ottawa Dialogue", a very useful Track 2 effort that brings Indians and Pakistanis together with Canadian support to promote peace and strategic stability in South Asia.

Canadians must wonder what was accomplished in Afghanistan and the region now that you have withdrawn your troops from Kandahar. As you reflect on your experience I hope that you will think about the impact of that conflict on Pakistan. I also hope that our traditional friendship remains healthy despite difficult times and the misunderstandings that inevitably come with them.

There is so much that the West fails to see about the aftermath of 9/11. It begins with the fact that Afghanistan and Pakistan are very different countries but also are like "Siamese twins": what happens to one has huge consequences for the other. Treating the two countries in isolation is short-sighted, for the West and for ourselves. Perhaps the same can be said for Pakistan and India, you can't de-hyphenate them even if you want to.

In our part of the world things also turn upside down in no time. Osama bin Laden's presence in Afghanistan was once welcomed by the Americans during the Jihad in the West's battle against communism. What a pity he returned to Afghanistan – it is a tragic irony that not a single Afghan or Pakistani was involved in 9/11, and yet it is Afghanistan and Pakistan that have been the worst affected in the aftermath.

The war was a mistake in many ways. The main reason – not understanding the

region – was summed up by Henry Kissinger: "America discovers a country after it invades it". He is very correct. Perhaps the conflict should never have been declared a "war": Al-Qaeda was never a state actor. Elevating what should have been a massive international police and Special Forces operation to a war against terrorists and whole nations was bound to create problems. Afghanistan also was so tribal and so devastated by conflict by the time the Americans invaded that even thinking of it in terms of traditional nation states was an error.

"America discovers a country after it invades it."

– Henry Kissinger

Mullah Omar and the Taliban of Afghanistan were acting in the classic Pashtun and Afghan tradition of hospitality, never turning over a guest even if it means spilling blood. It was a war precipitated by ancient tribal customs that few 21st century Westerners would have understood. The invasion pushed bin Laden into Pakistan and, as Pakistanis see it, the poison of that war bled into our country.

Occupying the country presented more problems. Liberation and occupation are different, the euphoria of one gives way to guerrilla war against the other. America also tried to reinvent Afghanistan in an image of its choosing, but real social change comes from the ground up – think of the Arab Spring – and not from ideas imposed from above – think of Iraq. Egyptians, Tunisians and Libyans (unlike Afghans) "own" the changes they brought about themselves.

Big opportunities were missed: the vexing problem of drugs was not effectively addressed. It gave rise to a mafia, an

informal and huge criminal economy with strong centres of power outside the state. It corrupted the political leadership and bureaucracy. Of course, the drug mafia in Afghanistan has taken root in Pakistan too, including among the millions of Afghan refugees we now host.

Complicating matters, while the US and the West failed to resolve the issues that gave rise to the Taliban in Afghanistan, the US diverted its attention to Iraq. The Taliban re-emerged in Afghanistan as the people saw little or no improvement in their lives. Conflicts that had been tribal-based were

now militia-based, largely fuelled by the drug industry (it may be advantageous to producers, but also can be as cruel to ordinary people as it is pervasive).

That brings me to the situation in Pakistan. Our Tribal belt is a mirror image of the devastation next door. The Durand Line that separates the two countries runs through traditional boundaries among the Pashtun. It was never recognized by the Afghans; every attempt to enforce the boundary (most recently with biometric identity controls) has been fiercely resisted by people on both sides. That Pakistan should "seal" its border is completely unrealistic.

Prior to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) were self-contained, self-reliant, largely autonomous and generally peaceful. Pakistan changed little in the management of this huge portion of our territory after inheriting it from British India. It was a mistake: we failed to bring FATA into Pakistan's political mainstream

or address FATA's economic and human resource needs. Smuggling remained central to its informal economy making it an easy target for the drug lords and their allies among the militants. An opportunity to raise educational standards and build a sense of belonging to Pakistan was missed that might have helped prevent such intense radicalization against the presence of the US and its allies in Afghanistan.

The growth of militancy in FATA is largely a legacy of the US-supported Jihad against the Soviets. That helps explain why militants there have participated more in fighting the US than in fighting the communists. The vacuum the West left in Afghanistan after defeating the Soviets created political space for the militants.

institution in US-Pakistan relations is the Army's Inter-services Intelligence agency or ISI. Of course, there may be plenty to criticize and I am not the one to defend the ISI, but let's try to be objective. Take three examples:

- The West would like it to be transparent – but a “transparent” intelligence agency is an oxymoron – is the CIA transparent? How could it function if it were?
- The ISI should be accountable – but few institutions in Pakistan are truly accountable. The Army “answers” to Parliament, but we know that the Foreign Minister is effectively accountable to the Army for relations with India and the US. Pakistan is moving to

The West sees duplicity but we see double standards: when the US and its allies moved to clear the militants and their IEDs from the border areas, they failed; in fact the many countries that have been part of the coalition in Afghanistan have not been able to control any part of the country. Yet Pakistan somehow must control its side on its own. Both sides face a similar problem: for tribal militants death means little, it is a transitory phase of life and you can't win against that, you can't break their will if that is how they see life.

The West needs to understand how much damage the conflict has inflicted on us. Every major effort to uproot militants on our side of the border has resulted in greater instability. The conflict over the Lal Masjid mosque in Islamabad in 2007 did enormous damage to President Musharraf's regime. It made “martyrs” of miscreants in the eyes of many Pakistanis. Action in South Waziristan, the Tribal Areas and Swat (near Islamabad) produced more deadly attacks all over the country including Lahore and Karachi. Three million Afghan refugees settled in Pakistan over time (some analysts put it at five million at the peak of the conflict). Many were in camps that encouraged more radicalization. They changed the demographic balance in Baluchistan, in Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa, and even in Karachi.

Economic damage is difficult to gauge but some government analysts insist it has reached \$35 billion. Over 35,000 of our citizens have died in clashes since the American invasion, many of them our troops and innocent civilians. All were co-religionists killing each other, a deeply troubling issue for conscientious Muslims. Incredibly, some Western friends believe Pakistan wants to destabilize Afghanistan. Do we need more refugees or have more people killed? We are nearly bankrupt and face power shortages daily. We need no new economic setbacks. Despite strategic divergences with the West, there is no military logic in the idea that Pakistan wants instability in Afghanistan, it's quite the opposite.

While the two countries are “twins”, India and Pakistan also are interlocked. Partition did not put us on different continents. Kashmir remains unresolved and it

Conspiracy theories, as we know, are especially popular with those who don't like to face up to their own responsibilities in troubled times.

They became seasoned fighters with strong sanctuaries on both sides of the border, they created parallel structures to governments, and they continue to challenge the writ of two states.

The occupation of Afghanistan stirs much anger in Pakistan towards the US and the West. Even if there is a huge disparity in power between the two, it does not mean that you can ignore the pride of a people (no matter how low they may be in that phase of their history). Superpowers also tend to compartmentalize issues rather than deal with relations as a whole. Pakistanis do not understand that and confuse compartmentalization, and the conflicting signals it produces, with conspiracies. Conspiracy theories, as we know, are especially popular with those who don't like to face up to their own responsibilities in troubled times.

The problem of compartmentalization gets worse when you publicly demonize a country – even if you are right on some issues – or debase it and humiliate its people. That creates a defensive climate in relations that will fail to get the best out of both countries. But if you must demonize, get it right. The most demonized

greater accountability, but it will take time and support to strengthen such democratic practices.

- The ISI “must have known” that bin Laden was in Abbottabad – yes, it was a serious failure of intelligence on our part, but Pakistan did alert the Americans a year earlier that there might be a high value Al-Qaeda target there. If the ISI was sheltering bin Laden, why draw attention to Abbottabad? It makes no sense.

If others need to stop demonizing, we Pakistanis must learn to deal differently with a superpower. It has a different and top-down mentality; the key is to take advantage of what superpowers can offer so relations are not one sided and we are seen to benefit from that cooperation. We also need to end the use of proxies in our struggle with India and in Afghanistan (something I have advocated for years) because we become hostages of our proxies in such complex circumstances and, worse, then suffer from “blowbacks”. But whatever our shortcomings, the vast majority of Pakistanis have concluded that superpowers ask more of us than they do of themselves – and want us to fight their wars.

seems no one in the West today has a word to say about human rights violations there. We carry the enormous burden of the backwash of the war next door but no one pays heed to our concerns about Indian influence there or does much to allay our fears of an Indian threat on two borders. Let's not forget that some 80 percent of India's military might is pointed toward Pakistan. That brings me back to the issue of compartmentalization – by not taking a comprehensive approach to relations with us in the context of South Asian tensions, the West creates the impression that it is acting with India and against the interests of a vulnerable Pakistan.

Meanwhile, India enjoys a special relationship on nuclear matters with the US and others while we do not – and in Pakistan that is seen as discriminatory. Add to that the immense unpopularity of American drones killing people on the Pakistani side of the Afghan border and the inevitable collateral damage that comes with them, throw in the effect of CIA agents like Raymond Davis on our streets, and you have the makings of badly fractured relations with Pakistanis – fuelled by media that love a good conspiracy theory.

Regrettably, we face another great challenge: our democracy is quite fragile after a decade of General Musharraf and previous "military" regimes. Authoritarian rule, civil or military, always undermines state institutions. So when great pressure is brought to bear on weak governments and faltering institutions, do not expect too much – especially if we think you are not seriously addressing some of our key concerns – notably India and Kashmir. You do not help yourselves if you put an already weak democratic government on the defensive.

What both sides should see clearly is that the West needs Pakistan and we need you. Both sides need to stop demonizing the other. Both the West and Pakistan need a stable, secure and prosperous Afghanistan. Both need a long-term commitment to build a better future in a South Asia where tensions are greatly reduced. I am convinced that many Canadians already understand that. We all have a lot of work left to do before 2014 and beyond. ☺



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David Malone on India: Excerpts and Interview

From the introduction to *Does the Elephant Dance? Contemporary Indian Foreign Policy*, by David Malone, Oxford University Press, 2011, 448 pp., \$ 45.00.

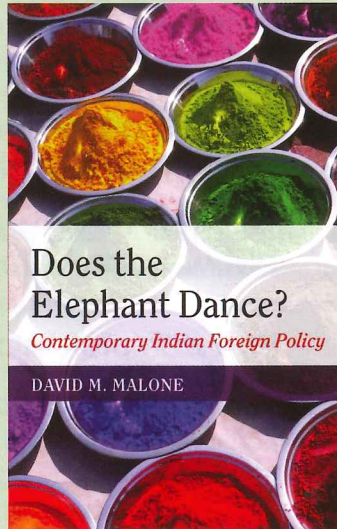
"...India is a huge, boisterous nation bursting with optimism for its future..., while struggling to reduce the severe poverty afflicting hundreds of millions of its citizens. Like the USA, India is primarily inward-oriented. Goings on within India, of great local interest and often of some international significance given India's growing weight, could readily absorb the sum total of attention that Indians devote to public affairs... India has, throughout history, had trouble arousing much interest in the world beyond its borders. This self-absorption, if this analysis is correct, arose in part from the Himalayan range that appears to protect India from the north (although several invaders from the north have accessed India through Afghanistan) and perhaps, a sense that India sufficed onto itself.

But today, we witness an India reaching out: its private sector is doing so aggressively, carving out markets for itself globally, investing widely and taking over industrial and service icons abroad. Nonetheless, corporate India faces frustrations within its home country particularly with regard to business conditions and barriers to effective inward investment...

The size and population of India is now complemented by sufficient economic progress as to guarantee it a place at the global high table of influence. With the elevation of the Group of 20 to the level of leaders in 2008 as the key assembly of globally significant countries, India was offered an opportunity to play a major role. Even earlier it had joined Brazil, China, Mexico and South Africa as a "dialogue partner" of the Group of Eight, the forum for policy discussion among leading industrialized countries. While at the G-8 India and the other guests playing a subsidiary role found their unequal status grating, if not insulting. In contrast, at the G-20 they were not only equals, but clearly mattered more than a number of Western participants in economic global discussions...

Thus, it was India's economic significance that lent weight to the country's international profile. Its foreign policy, regional concerns, and geostrategic views were largely unknown to the rest of the world, as they are to most Indians, who remain overwhelmingly preoccupied with the struggle for improved conditions within their own country.

However, as of 2008, its international relations mattered more (at least to non-Indians). In that year India escaped from the partial international purdah into which its 1974 nuclear test and to a lesser extent its 1998 tests had consigned it, thanks to multilateral acceptance of its nuclear cooperation agreement with the USA..."



bout: Why the fascination with India (which obviously predates your Head of Mission assignment and the book)?

Malone: I grew up in part in Iran, a truly beautiful country but a very sombre one in many ways even before the revolution of 1978–79. Thus, the contrast with India – a riot of colour, noise, overt entrepreneurship and ceaseless bustle, was doubly striking. I had been travelling to India for many years prior to my diplomatic assignment there, to see small bits of it (land travel around India was and remains a slow and often grinding proposition), always yearning to return. As well, with the balance of influence and of economic weight within Asia shifting after China's and then India's economic reforms in the late 1970s and early 1990s respectively, it became more likely that the first century of the new millennium would be Asia's, the last having been, incontestably, America's.

bout: What does India's emergence mean for Canada, especially given our relatively large diaspora population?

Malone: ...is our sub-continental immigrant population incidental or central to future relations? Our diaspora population forms a human bridge between India and Canada, a very positive foundation for human ties between the two countries, and, to some extent, for economic ones. That said, most Indo-Canadians hail from Punjab, a prosperous, important but small, state on the periphery of the nation, bordering on Pakistan and having suffered greatly from partition and later from the separatist free Khalistan movement and the Indian government's reaction thereto. Happily, we also have a strong Gujarati community and smaller communities from other corners of India. What is most positive about the diaspora's role in the bilateral Canada-India relationship is that, in spite of all the hardships

early Punjabi immigrants faced in Canada, including blatant racism and discrimination, the pluralistic nation that has developed within our borders since 1960 has allowed Indo-Canadians to prosper, become active in politics and report back home positively on their country of adoption. However, contemporary India's interest in Canada, modest at best, relates more to economic links and our access to the US market. Canadian natural resources are attractive to a fast-growing country of 1.2 billion inhabitants, as is our market for services (at which India excels, often at very low cost).

bout: Was Canada wrong to react so negatively to India's nuclear testing (which prompted Pakistan's acquisition of the bomb)?

Malone: At the time of India's nuclear test in 1974, Canada reacted strongly in part because the test was engineered by pirating and adapting Canadian nuclear technology provided to India for other purposes. So Ottawa's sense of betrayal was well-founded. That said, there was not much thought in Ottawa, or elsewhere in the West, about India's increasingly cramped geo-strategic position between China which had defeated India in a border war in 1962 and first tested a nuclear weapon in 1964 and Pakistan (where intelligence suggested that research on a nuclear weapons capacity had started, with Chinese help, as early as 1971). Nor did the West find Indira Gandhi's hard-nosed foreign policy, involving a degree of alignment on Moscow qualified by high-minded rhetoric, very appealing. In any event, by the mid-1980s New Delhi had its own reasons for complaining about what it saw as Ottawa's complacency in face of the terrorist aspirations and activities of fringe groups within the Indo-Canadian community supporting the cause of an independent Punjab. So the two countries engaged in a prolonged mutual sulk for reasons each felt very strongly about.

bout: Can India become a real regional superpower without first getting sub-continent's house in order – resolving its conflict with Pakistan and addressing vexing “internal” conflicts like Kashmir?

Malone: De facto, India is reaching beyond its neighbourhood in joining the tables of international influence such as the G-20 (at which no other South Asian nation sits). On the other hand, its military capacities are tied down by internal challenges (Maoists insurgency, separatist movements in its north-east, the unsettled status of Kashmir) and its ability to project power beyond its own immediate region for the moment relies on its doughty navy, the most impressive of its armed forces. In a sense, India is “outgrowing” its region in more ways than one, but this makes neighbours resentful or at least apprehensive. I was repeatedly told in Pakistan, during interviews for the book, that what worries Pakistanis most about India at present is watching it “pull away”. At another level, Indian prime Minister Singh, when asked about possible great power status for

Canadian natural resources are attractive to a fast-growing country of 1.2 billion inhabitants, as is our market for services (at which India excels, often at very low cost).

India in the future, dismisses the notion completely as long as the country is unable to lift out of misery its hundreds of millions of ultra-poor.

bout: Longer term, is India's great future seriously compromised by the threat of climate change and the drying up of rivers that begin in Tibet (experts predict dire consequences by 2050 for India and Pakistan alike)?

Malone: The challenge for India and much of Asia is not so much a shortage of water (during a good monsoon year, it rains as much in Delhi as in London), but rather management of water resources, and on this India's performance has been very weak. Excessive pumping of ground-water for wasteful agricultural uses, little effort to capture the monsoon's bounty, and poor management of rivers leads both to dire droughts and water shortages but also to murderous floods, as in Bihar several years ago, and Pakistan over the past two years. Climate change may aggravate the havoc, but none of it is beyond man's wit to manage.

bout: If you could steer Canadian policy on India what would be your top priorities?

Malone: First off, over the past ten years or so, and increasingly under the current government, Ottawa has been focusing on India, and so have a number of important Canadian private sector and educational institutions. And India has been responding, for example, at a symbolic level but very impressively, with a cultural and literary Year of India in Canada in 2011. The Indian private sector is increasingly scouring Canada for opportunities. On the other hand, foreign companies, including Canadian ones, tend to find the Indian market both enticing (1.2 billion consumers!) but also scary because of uneven enforcement of laws and regulations, slow judicial processes, widespread corruption and some of the worst

infrastructure and highest costs for expatriates in major urban areas in the world. So, while Ottawa has been pressing ahead hard on an umbrella economic agreement with India, and Canadian universities are hosting ever-increasing numbers of Indian students, it is not clear that wider Canadian engagement with India is proceeding quite as energetically as it could or should. Our universities, for example, should not just attract high fee-paying Indian students to their campuses, but also encourage their Canadian students to spend time in India, from which much future global employment will flow. Several of my younger European friends who happen to have Indian experience have done singularly well in the international business world. Likewise, Canadian companies, facing significant and real barriers to rapidly profitable entry to India, should reflect on how well long-standing Canadian companies in India have done – for example, Sun Life, Bombardier, SNC Lavalin and Scotiabank, to name four pillars of the Canadian business establishment well known throughout India. ☺

L'Ouest et le monde musulman

par Ferry de Kerckhove

"The religious convictions that we hold in our hearts can forge new bounds among people, or they can tear us apart."

Obama, *Le Caire*, 4 juin 2009



Ferry de Kerckhove

Quand on me demande de donner un titre de conférence sur des questions liées à l'Islam ou au dialogue des civilisations, je me rends compte de l'ampleur du sujet et de l'impossibilité de cerner le sujet avec toute la précision voulue. Il y a donc infiniment plus d'omissions dans ces quelques pages que de jugements profonds, sans compter les préjugés inévitables liés aux origines de l'auteur. La seule chose qui me dédouane c'est qu'à part « ma » victoire sur

l'URSS à l'OTAN, presque toute ma carrière et une bonne partie de ma vie se sont déroulées en pays musulmans, me donnant peut-être un soupçon de crédibilité. Et puis j'étais présent à l'Université du Caire quand le Président Obama a livré son discours sur le renouveau des relations avec le monde musulman. Un moment rare, malheureusement suivi de peu d'effets...

1. L'intolérance montante

Un premier constat : l'intolérance est à la hausse et nous traversons une véritable crise de société à l'échelle planétaire. Mais elle n'est pas uniforme et peut-être cette absence d'uniformité offre des pistes d'action. Encore faut-il savoir pourquoi l'Indonésie, qui a ses terroristes fondamentalistes, présente quand même une image de tolérance plus grande que le Pakistan. Et je dis « image » parce que même entre les élites de Karachi, de Lahore et de Peshawar, il y a des variations dans le degré d'intolérance. Et de quelle tolérance parle-t-on?

Religieuse ou sociale?

Et les choses empirent...

Comme me le faisait remarquer Stuart Hughes (ancien analyste politique en Turquie et au Pakistan), le monde musulman passe lui-même par des mutations tant politiques que parareligieuses ou socioreligieuses, qu'il s'agisse d'une Turquie dont les affinités islamiques se sont affirmées au point de jouer un rôle marquant au service de la cause palestinienne au détriment de ses relations antérieurement privilégiées avec Israël, de l'assassinat de mes amis personnels, le Gouverneur du Panjab Salman Taseer pour ses vues modernistes et hostiles à la loi sur les blasphèmes, et le ministre des Minorités, le Chrétien Shahbaz Bhatti, ou encore des attentats contre l'Église copte à Alexandrie et ailleurs, sans oublier les horribles attaques contre les Chrétiens d'Irak. Le climat de peur ou d'angoisse qui en découle a un impact sur la gente musulmane en occident, sur les perceptions de tous et chacun à l'endroit des Musulmans, y compris ceux qui cherchent à quitter les lieux où sont perpétrés ces crimes pour trouver refuge au Canada et ailleurs.

Le Canada se targue d'une société fondée sur la tolérance mais que faire pour à la fois préserver notre caractère séculier et en même temps respecter et honorer les multiples fois et coutumes religieuses qui sont devenues l'apanage de nos civilisations? À chaque semblant de réponse foisonnent de nouvelles interrogations. Aussi me contenterai-je de caricatures (non danoises) de réponses à des questions fondamentales. Prenons un point de départ nord-américain : L'intolérance en Amérique du Nord, apparemment moins inquiétante selon ceux qui ne veulent pas l'admettre, a des reflets distincts selon que l'on compare des données pour le Canada et les États-Unis.

A Gallup poll conducted in early 2010 (on self-identification and religious perceptions in America) underscores the urgency of dealing with growing intolerance. Its key findings included:

- Americans express the most prejudice towards Muslims
- Islam is the most negatively viewed religion
- Americans admit to knowing little about Islam
- Americans commonly perceive Muslims as intolerant and discriminatory towards women

- Self-reported prejudice toward Jews is most strongly associated with “a great deal” of prejudice toward Muslims (interestingly, however, the more frequently people attended religious services the more likely they were to be less prejudiced toward Muslims).

- There is little correlation between knowing a Muslim and the absence of prejudice.

Turning to less recent (2006) and perhaps not directly comparable figures from the Trudeau Foundation:

- The majority of Canadians (54 percent) disagree with the suggestion that there is too much immigration.
- Canadians almost unanimously (93 percent) oppose the suggestion that non-whites should be prevented from immigrating to Canada.
- The great majority of Canadians (68 percent) disagree with the notion that people who want to immigrate to Canada should have their religious beliefs and values screened and approved before they are allowed in.
- Seventy-five percent of Canadians agree that Muslim immigrants make a positive contribution to Canada.
- Fifty-seven percent of those who report having a negative impression of Islam agree that Muslim immigrants make a positive contribution to Canada.
- Half of Canadians (49 percent) feel immigrants should be free to maintain their religious and cultural practices.
- Canadians are much less accepting of multiculturalism when it conflicts with gender equality. Some 81 percent feel that immigrants should adapt to mainstream Canadian beliefs about the rights and role of women.
- More than half (53 percent) of Canadians have little to no contact with Muslims, while 46 percent “occasionally” or “often” have contact.
- Half of all Canadians (49 percent) say their impression of Islam as a religion is “generally positive”; the more contact Canadians have with Muslims, the more positive their impression.
- Among those having a negative impression of Islam, the most commonly stated reason was “treatment of women” (21 percent); others included: “violent”, “association with terrorism”, “intolerant”, and “extremism/fanaticism”.
- One in three Canadians (29 percent) say Muslims are “rarely” portrayed fairly in the media and 7 percent say Muslims are “never” portrayed fairly.
- Only 19 percent of Canadians feel it is “very likely” that Canada will experience terrorist attacks in the near future carried out by Canadians with a Muslim background (40 percent think it is “somewhat likely”).
- Almost seven in ten (68 percent) reject the notion that ordinary, law-abiding Canadian Muslims should personally feel “very” or “somewhat” responsible for violent crimes carried out by others in the name of Islam.
- Almost eight in ten (78 percent) of Canadians think American foreign policy is a cause of Islamic extremism and terrorism.

On voudrait croire que les données positives de la Fondation Trudeau soient encore valables aujourd’hui. Mais comme l’a démontré la Commission Bouchard Taylor, les minorités, même au Canada, sont fragiles. Une autre étude a révélé que même si le Canada est « le pays le moins islamophobe de l’Occident », ce sont quand même les musulmans et arabes qui sont le groupe « ethnique » le plus ciblé par le racisme par rapport aux amérindiens, noirs, juifs, etc.

Selon la Commission Bouchard Taylor, l’intolérance raciale est trois fois plus forte au Québec qu’en Alberta. Il y a donc lieu de se poser la question de l’islamophobie et ses origines et de voir si des ponts peuvent être jetés au niveau de la compréhension du phénomène. Le Conseil musulman de Montréal considère que l’islamophobie est une forme de haine contre tout ce qui est islamique, culture, doctrine, lieux de culte, monde musulman comme entité politique, phénomène historique, et autorités religieuses. Et il est fort probable qu’avec la descente aux enfers du Pakistan et le cycle de violence sectaire qui y règne, les préjugés défavorables des Canadiens envers les pays musulmans, notamment le Pakistan, risquent d’être à la hausse. C’est en tout cas ce que craignent certains chercheurs pakistanais.

On voudrait croire que les données positives de la Fondation Trudeau soient encore valables aujourd’hui.

2. Immigration and Diversity in Society

I am not sure if the definition of Islamophobia adopted by the Muslim Council of Montreal is entirely correct – our world seems defined more by perceptions than any objective reality (assuming the latter can be defined). However, there is a moral sense of injustice at the individual level that must be addressed and a societal obligation to define what was referred to in the Taylor-Bouchard Commission as “accommodements raisonnables” (i.e., how far should a society go in taking into account the diversity of its population). These are critical issues for any country where different faiths coexist or try to, and not just those with a Judeo-Christian background. In my view, the issue of how Copts are treated in Egypt is just as important as how Canadians as a whole deal with Islam.

Very few countries today are ethnic monoliths. This is certainly not the case for Canada, where one in five is born abroad, nor for Egypt (where this was written and where 5,000 years of civilization have brought peoples from the entire world to the shores of the Nile). But there are myths with respect to the make-up of countries of immigration as opposed to countries supposedly devoid of either immigrants or immigration policy. A former Canadian immigration officer, Mr. Gerry Kessel, wrote a remarkable paper on “Europe and immigration through a Canadian lens” (Remarks for the 2005 Annual General

Meeting of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society). In it he notes that:

"The number of 'foreign born' per capita living in many European countries is roughly the same as in Canada. Therefore, Europe and Canada both have large numbers of immigrants. In Canada it is by design; in Europe, it is largely by default. Speaking generally, it is public policy in Europe to oppose immigration. Yet, this needs to be explained as the policy opposes economic immigration but accepts refugee claimants, family reunion and neglects in a benign way illegal workers. A result is that Canada chooses the immigrants it takes. In Europe, it is immigrants who choose Europe... European governments are hardly involved if at all. Most people, including almost all refugee claimants, entering Europe illegally do so with the help of smugglers. As a result... in Europe it is smugglers rather than governments who are determining Europe's future population mix. In Canada immigration is part of our national myth. We know that without immigration there would not have been a country called Canada. This means that immigration starts out as something that is positive. This is a starting point that Europe lacks. The accepted assumption in integration is that that each generation is more integrated than the previous one. This is not proving to be the case with many immigrants from North Africa, Turkey, the Middle East and Pakistan. These immigrants seem to hold on to their culture in a way that keeps them from integrating at the rate that is the case for many other immigrant groups. For this group the current generation is less integrated than their predecessors. The rate of marriage to women from the old village is higher than ever. (In Canada and the USA the rate of intermarriage including for Muslims is almost 50 percent.) So, integration hardly starts".

it is unclear to me whether they ever really attempted to implement multiculturalism as we have done, and it is even less clear what they propose to replace it with.

3. Handling Misunderstandings

I have given many talks on Islam and the West in the Muslim countries where I have served or lived – Tunisia, Iran, the "Stans", Pakistan, Indonesia and Egypt. I always advocate a simple thesis: rather than focussing on what separates us, on our differences, we should build synergies on those differences: inter-faith, inter-ethnic, and inter-cultural. These differences provide opportunities for mutual enrichment. Through mutual tolerance they help create the conditions for a society, nationally and internationally, that both reveres diversity and has enough common linkages to allow it to evolve, adapt, develop and prosper in a climate of mutual respect and appreciation. In my view, that should be the foundation of Islam's relations with the West and the West's relations with Islam.

As for Islamophobia, we have no choice but to address misunderstandings in the West about Islam. The reverse is equally true: there are legions of misunderstandings about the West in Muslim countries. I often think that these are largely the result of us considering all Muslim countries as Islamic states. That may be closer to the truth than what many in Muslim countries believe; namely, that we in the West are a "Christian club" when in fact many Western countries can hardly be considered sectarian Christian societies today.

However, the West does see Islam through its own prism. As my great friend, the distinguished Indonesian religious scholar Nurcholish Madjid-Cak Nur, now departed, once said: "The West acts differently when it faces Islam than when it faces Hinduism, Buddhism or Confucianism". Public opinion surveys confirm this and some scholars argue that the reason the West, including the US, looks differently at Islam as compared to other

"The West acts differently when it faces Islam than when it faces Hinduism, Buddhism or Confucianism."

– Nurcholish Madjid-Cak Nur, religious scholar

What Gerry Kessel describes helps explain why some countries have chosen legitimately different paths in adapting to such immigration flows. Canadian policy is based on integration and even "insertion" under the overarching national doctrine or "principled policy" of multiculturalism. In France assimilation is the norm, yet they still have a problem with *identité nationale*. Sadly, countries like Germany and the UK have now denounced multiculturalism as a "failed policy", but

religions is that others are not perceived as a threat. In Part II of *L'ouest et le monde musulman*, slated for the next issue of **bout**, I explore these perceptions and their implications for our shared future. ☺

Ferry de Kerckhove recently retired from the Foreign Service after serving as Ambassador to Egypt (as well to Indonesia in 2001–03 and High Commissioner to Pakistan in 1998–2001).

The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict Between America and Al-Qaeda *The Wrong War: Grit, Strategy, and the Way Out of Afghanistan*

Reviewed by Gar Pardy

THE LONGEST WAR: THE ENDURING CONFLICT BETWEEN AMERICA AND AL-QAEDA, by Peter L. Bergen, Free Press, New York, 2011, 473 pp., \$32.00; **THE WRONG WAR: GRIT, STRATEGY, AND THE WAY OUT OF AFGHANISTAN**, by Bing West, Random House, New York, 2011, 302 pp., \$33.00.

Gar Pardy retired from the foreign service in 2003 following assignments in India, Kenya, the United States and Central America. He comments on foreign and public policy issues from Ottawa and can be reached at garp@rogers.com

Without a doubt future historians will label the first decade of the 21st millennium as one of war and violence, global in its scope and effect. The 2001 attacks in New York and northern Virginia, and the sadly flawed response both by the Americans and their world-wide supporters, will be added to the list of historical “follies” that were documented so well by Barbara Tuchman some years ago.

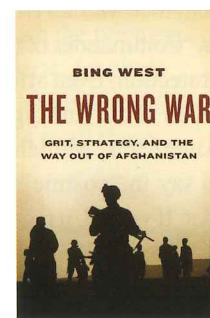
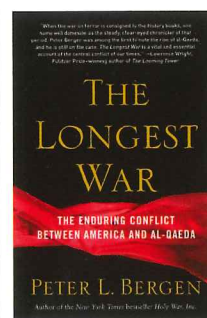
There is no indication that the two authors, Bing West and Peter Bergen, collaborated or knew of the other’s work as they wrote their books. It is one of those serendipitous and fortuitous events that they were published within weeks of each other. Although different in intent, *The Wrong War* and *The Longest War* deal with the same set of issues. The war in Afghanistan and the war with Al-Qaeda are part of the same tapestry and, as both books demonstrate, the failure of one war has meant the failure of the other.

It has now been ten years since those searing pictures of aircraft slamming into the twin towers of the World Trade Centre in New York and the disappearance of one side of the Pentagon in fire, smoke, injury and death. The subsequent collapse of both towers will stand for all time as iconic depictions of the birth of the new millennium.

The crash of the fourth aircraft in the fields of central Pennsylvania was only marginally less searing in comparison with the immediacy of the other events. The decision by some of the passengers on the fourth aircraft to attack the hijackers, knowing that sure death would follow, in some ways presaged subsequent American policies. As both of these books demonstrate, those policies prolonged the tragedy, saw the deaths of tens of thousands (only a few of which could be directly associated with the 9/11 tragedy), and cost trillions of dollars. Today, with no success in sight, those policies continue to drain American resources – ethically, spiritually and financially – to the point where the firmament of the “city upon a hill” is in danger of sliding into irrelevancy.

These are American-centric books. Canada and other allies of the Americans in both of these wars are not included, even incidentally. While allies have paid significantly in lives and money for their involvement, central to both is the knowledge that the United States sets the stage, directs all actors, and will decide when these wars come to an end and on what terms. Allies are bit players and are expected to play roles until such time as Washington concludes that continuing the wars will not further American aims either domestic or foreign. These books demonstrate that there are times when it is wiser and, certainly less costly, to stay out of American adventures as we did in 2003 in Iraq.

Peter Bergen is an experienced print and television journalist. He has long been on the terrorism trail and was one of the first western journalists to interview Osama bin Laden back in 1997. Early in his narrative Bergen makes the central point of his book: not only were the policies of the Americans wrong in the aftermath of 9/11, we have been lucky that Al-Qaeda has been equally ham-fisted. Its efforts to provoke regime change in the Middle East, to get western troops and influence out of the region, and the expectation that attacks on the



United States (the “far enemy”) will cause US-backed Arab regimes (the “near enemy”) to crumble, have been an abject failure. While both books were written before the current turmoil in the region, it is safe to say that the latter have little to do with the exhortations of Osama bin Laden, nor do we know where this struggle for the heart and soul of the Middle East will lead in coming years. The only thing certain is that justice, civility, and neighbourly friendliness will not be its main features.

Bergen details bin Laden’s belief that the United States was a “paper tiger” (based on American decisions to withdraw from Lebanon in 1983, Somalia a decade later, and the unwillingness to “stay the course” in Vietnam even earlier). As with acolytes everywhere, there were those around bin Laden who confirmed “his delusions.” Even the collapse of the Soviet Union and its defeat in Afghanistan fed into bin Laden’s belief that the United States, like the former Soviet Union, was weak and ripe for attack. In his cosmology, an attack would remove the one prop ensuring the survival of his “near enemies” in the Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia. Bergen tracks the fact that bin Laden had his detractors in the movement who understood the folly of a large scale attack on the US. Some thought that it would provide the motivation for a strong American response while others saw it as undermining the comfortable and safe relationship with Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader. None foresaw the swiftness of the American response with its invasion of

Afghanistan within a month of the airplane attacks in the United States.

Bergen writes that bin Laden was able to keep his planning for the 9/11 attacks secret through subterfuge. Partly on the basis of religion, bin Laden also was able to convince Mullah Omar, who styled himself as "Commander of the Faithful", to provide protection. Even after the 9/11 attack, when asked about turning bin Laden over to the Americans, Mullah Omar was compelled to say in "cosmic" terms, "we cannot do that. If we did, it means we are not Muslims; that Islam is finished". As well, bin Laden and his followers were able to give Mullah Omar the one person who stood in the way of the Taliban's complete dominance over Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Massoud, the leader of the coalition of anti-Taliban groups known as the Northern Alliance. Two days before the 9/11 attacks, Al-Qaeda successfully killed Massoud. Ironically, the assassination provided the Americans with firm allies in the north once it was decided in early October 2001 to invade Afghanistan and begin the process of defeating the Taliban and driving Al-Qaeda into hiding in Pakistan.

Bergen also approvingly quotes Napoleon's advice "Never interrupt your enemy when he is making a mistake", noting that in the subsequent decade the Taliban, Al-Qaeda and the Americans were guilty of ignoring such advice. For the Americans there were two major blunders. The first was its inability or unwillingness to provide sufficient force to capture bin Laden in the Tora Bora area of eastern Afghanistan. In November-December 2001, bin Laden and many of his supporters had narrowly escaped from Kabul and were only a few days and even hours ahead of American troops.

The American military commander General Tommy Franks subsequently explained his refusal to send in more troops when there was good evidence that bin Laden was in the region:

"My decision not to add American troops to the Tora Bora region was influenced...by several factors: The comparative light footprint of coalition troops in theatre, and the fact that these troops were committed to operations ongoing across

Afghanistan; the amount of time it would take to deploy additional troops would likely create a 'tactical pause' which would run the risk of losing the momentum our forces were enjoying across Afghanistan [and] uncertainty as to whether bin Laden was in fact in Tora Bora. Intelligence suggested that he was, but conflicting intelligence also reported that he was in Kashmir... NW of Kandahar [and] at a stronghold on the Iranian border."

However appropriate in military terms General Frank's decision might have been, it set the stage for the failure to achieve the major goal for the war in Afghanistan – to decapitate Al-Qaeda and eliminate it as the inspirational force for terrorism in many parts of the world. Bergen disagrees with General Frank, detailing the troops that were available to quickly deploy into the Tora Bora region. He highlights this as one of the earliest blunders of the fight against terrorism and in the war with the Taliban. Dejectedly, Bergen notes that at the end there were "probably more journalists at Tora Bora than there were Western soldiers."

The second blunder, only four months later, was the decision to take the American "eye" off Al-Qaeda (and the war in Afghanistan) and begin preparations for the invasion of Iraq. Bergen records that in late November 2001 Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld told General Franks that President Bush "wants us to look for options in Iraq." He notes (and others have confirmed) that this detracted enormously and tragically from fighting the war in Afghanistan. Western euphoria following the early successes in Afghanistan, despite the escape of bin Laden, was overwhelming and misplaced – especially in Washington as subsequent events bore out. While it took two plus years for the Taliban to rejuvenate it now did so in an environment where there were few if any constraints.

Half defeated enemies are the worse kind, as the world has come to know. When bin Laden retreated into the wilds of tribal Pakistan he was only 44 years old, and the nature of his organization and his appeal throughout the world actually became stronger after his escape from Tora Bora. As the war in Afghanistan and the war against terrorism live on, original objectives

disappear and are replaced by the need for exit strategies. Today the Americans have come to realize once again that wars are easy to start but satisfactory conclusions are increasingly elusive when 50 dollars of explosive can decimate a million dollar machine and maim lives. Moreover, we now realize that there may be more danger to the welfare of your citizens from your own bankers than from religious fanatics in a distant corner of the world!

Bergen's book is a worthy addendum to Lawrence Wright's 2006 Pulitzer Prize winning book *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. He picks up and finishes the story that Wright so magnificently wrote of the beginnings of our modern age of terrorism (largely associated with the Middle East). Bergen writes with knowledge and understanding of the past decade's war against terrorism and is not shy in identifying the policy faults of the American government. Al-Qaeda has been successful thanks to the attraction of its message in many parts of the world. While it has been severely weakened in the past decade and by bin Laden's death, its "franchises" in Southeast Asia, the Middle East and North Africa – along with "home grown" terrorists in many western countries – means that this war will remain a prominent and serious feature of our world. Bergen concludes: "Bin Laden's ideas have circulated widely and will continue to attract adherents for years to come. Arresting people is generally a relatively simple matter. Arresting ideas is another thing entirely...*The Longest War* continues."

Bing West is a rare writer. He writes about war and insurgencies based on extensive military (Marine) experience both on the ground and from within the Pentagon; he was an Assistant Secretary of Defense during the Reagan years. *The Wrong War* reflects his numerous visits to Afghanistan where he was embedded with military units in the middle of some of the fiercest fighting American troops have experienced. His reflections on the Afghan war are those of the grunts on the ground (West has been called "the grunt's Homer") but his conclusions are those of a man who has thought deeply about war in our age and especially

when the objectives are more than war itself can deliver.

Central to West's conclusions is the failure of American strategy in Afghanistan from early days to the present. As Peter Bergen demonstrated, the failure to capture Osama bin Laden and the inability to do anything to prevent the rebuilding of the Taliban in tribal Pakistan were such foreboding events that the military mission in Afghanistan was effectively doomed. The failure of American strategy became most apparent after 2005 when the Taliban had reorganized making it all but impossible to establish an Afghan government in Kabul whose writ ran further than its suburbs.

West was embedded with American troops in two of the "most violent provinces – Konar in the northeast, and Helmand in the south...where more coalition troops were killed...than anywhere else." Central to the book's success is the easy manner in which West tracks American strategy over the ten years of war, especially the on again-off again idea that counterinsurgency (COIN) was central to victory. There were six American commanders between 2002 and 2009 who, in West's view, "followed no single strategy." Early on, the "emphasis was upon chasing down Al-Qaeda fighters" followed by two years of counterinsurgency with emphasis on convincing "village elders to support the occasional forays of Afghan officials into the countryside." When this failed there were vain efforts urging "Karzai to adopt reforms rather than assigning provincial posts based on tribal and crony patronage." The Taliban came back with a vengeance in 2006 and western troops "shifted back to raids and gunfights" as the Taliban "assumed shadow control because they hadn't been defeated in 2001."

By 2008 the American Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was worried enough to say publicly that "I'm not convinced we're winning in Afghanistan. I am convinced we can. That is why I...am looking at a new, more comprehensive strategy for the region." West comments, "Seven years of failure before looking at a new strategy was an indictment of military as well as political leadership. By the time Bush left office, the Taliban resurgence had spread widely."

President Obama, while clear-headed on the war in Iraq, was less so on Afghanistan from the beginning. As others have written (see Bob Woodward's *Obama's Wars*), Obama succumbed to the standard advice of his military advisers who saw "more boots on the ground" as the road to success in Afghanistan. To disguise that this was only milk in new bottles, there were numerous reports that the additional troops would be able to focus on counterinsurgency, conveniently forgetting that it had been tried a few years earlier.

West examines the application of counterinsurgency ideas in Afghanistan. He compares it to "the 'old' counterinsurgency theory" used in the Philippines, Malaya, Algeria and Vietnam stressing that in those countries military activities were "focused against the enemy." However, the 'new' counterinsurgency, in both Afghanistan and Iraq, "stressed services and protection to the people, while downgrading killing or capturing the enemy." West emphasises that "beating the Taliban" was no longer part of the American lexicon. Secretary of Defense Gates, in a speech at the National Defense University in 2006, declared that, "Where possible, kinetic [force] operations should be subordinate to measures to promote better governance, economic programs to spur development, and efforts to address the grievances among the discontented." In the same year a new COIN manual was released (supervised by General David Petraeus). It stressed that "revolutionary war was 80 percent political and 20 percent military...Political factors have primacy in COIN." The turnabout could not be more dramatic: in the previous manual (written in the aftermath of the war in Vietnam) the strategy was to "Concentrate on destruction or neutralization of the enemy force, not on terrain."

The war in Afghanistan has become a lesson on how to negotiate out of a bad situation with little expectation that it can become better. Perhaps it was to be expected: in 2009 Secretary Gates said that "If we set ourselves the objective of creating some sort of central Asian 'Valhalla' over there, we will lose, because nobody in the world has that kind of time,

patience and money." That same year President Obama is quoted as saying that Afghanistan would not be a "Jeffersonian democracy." Hence, once it became clear that the central concept of counterinsurgency to "clear, hold and build" in the contested areas would prove unachievable over any reasonable period (many military personnel sarcastically described their activities as "mowing grass"), the American military added a fourth element to its counterinsurgency strategy. They called it "transition".

The new element appears to be the initial step in disengagement and negotiation. It seems rooted in comments made by Vice President Joe Biden: "the president has made something exquisitely clear to each of the generals: He said, 'Do not occupy any portion of that country that you are not confident within 18 months you're going to be able to turn over to the Afghans.' " Transitions have been announced in three provinces where the insurgency has had little impact. It suggests that the American timetable in Afghanistan is little influenced by Afghans but rather is dictated by the need to start withdrawing as the presidential election approaches.

West's descriptions of the problems with the war in Afghanistan are nuanced, based on experience and knowledge that only a thoughtful soldier would have. Unfortunately, his prescriptions are flawed by those same factors. He sees the answer as staying in Afghanistan with fewer conventional forces by building "an adviser task force." He suggests that the American military should hand off "nation building" to the State Department and de-emphasize population protection. West, ever the warrior, sees current policy as enfeebling "our warrior ethos and has not led to victory." As others have found over the years that a "warrior ethos" has little to do with winning wars in complex places where foreigners are given a wary eye. Despite the national pain that will follow, the Americans now need another "Vietnam" moment when disengagement and withdrawal is more honourable than soldiering on in a place where, as Kipling wrote over a hundred years ago, "the arithmetic of the frontier" is insurmountable.

Winter in Fireland: A Patagonian Sailing Adventure

Reviewed by Paul Durand, recovering diplomat

WINTER IN FIRELAND: A Patagonian Sailing Adventure, by Nicholas Coghlan, the University of Alberta Press, 2011, 400 pp. \$34.95.



I first became a fan of Nick Coghlan's writing when reading his dispatches from our embassy in Colombia in the late nineties. In these reports, he combined the two

qualities that make *Winter in Fireland* a gripping read – an irrepressible spirit of adventure which took him into the most daunting situations, and an ability to describe his experiences in lucid prose. This book, following on his previous publications about Colombia and Sudan, places him solidly in the company of the best travel writers – those hardy souls who have explored the world's nether regions and lived to tell the tale. (Available at Chapters, via Amazon.ca or direct from the University of Alberta Press.)

The voyage starts in Capetown, South Africa, where, in 2003, Nick and his wife Jenny had begun a two-year posting. There, they conceived of the ultimate sailing adventure; around the tip of South America, through the Beagle Channel and the Strait of Magellan, then into the Pacific. This region, notorious as a sailors' graveyard, is beset by ferocious storms, numbing cold and unpredictable currents: the most difficult sailing area in the world. In addition to the challenge, they were motivated by a certain amount of nostalgia, having worked in Argentina immediately after graduating from university in the UK. While there, they travelled extensively in the region and were particularly attracted to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego.

Nick and Jenny complement each other very well for this type of venture; both have extensive sailing experience – among other exploits, they had completed a four-year circumnavigation of the world before

joining DFAIT. Nick is the captain while “the crew” – Jenny – adds invaluable expertise in all things electronic including computers, satellite phones, GPS, radar, etc. (these latter were especially useful in the sometimes uncharted waters of the Cape Horn region). In addition to complementarity, there obviously exists a good deal of compatibility, allowing them to withstand living at extremely close quarters for extended periods.

In South Africa they purchased and fitted-out the *Bosun Bird*, a Canadian-designed Vancouver 27 with a good reputation for rugged seaworthiness. At 27 feet, she was small – the minimum for this type of voyage, but similar in size to their previous boat, *Tarka the Otter*. After extensive fitting up, they weighed anchor in Capetown in September 2005 and began the first leg of the journey, across the Atlantic to Brazil.

He talks of eight-metre waves and 50-knot winds, sudden squalls and always the freezing, wet cold.

As the real journey begins, Nick's sailing expertise comes to the fore. He explains, with the easy ability of one who knows his stuff, sailing tactics, gear, and various levels of marine history and lore (fans of Patrick O'Brian will be relieved to know that they don't have to acquire a whole new nautical vocabulary in order to enjoy this book).

After a brief landfall in Rio de Janeiro, they begin the deep plunge into the south, making various stops along the Argentine coast. Plagued by engine problems, they put up for repairs for several weeks in Puerto Deseado, giving us a glimpse of life in this remote and increasingly forgotten coastal town in southern Argentina.

South America is familiar territory, and Nick puts the trip into historical and personal context as they make stops along the way. This provides depth and colour,

because they are following in the footsteps/wakes of fascinating characters, such as Drake, Magellan, Cook, Slocum, Chatwin and an assortment of pirates. The history here is remote but consequential; he describes British and German naval confrontations during the world wars; Chile/Argentina border jostling, and the Falklands war, along with other interesting personal and historical anecdotes.

With well-warranted apprehension, they keep pushing south; through the Roaring Forties into the Furious Fifties, and eventually entering the Beagle Channel, with the Big Island of Tierra del Fuego to the north and a succession of Chilean islands down to Cape Horn to the south. He talks of eight-metre waves and 50-knot winds, sudden squalls and always the freezing, wet cold. This is not hospitable territory; and now, five months out of Capetown, the fun has just begun.

In March, they arrive in Puerto Williams, Chile, the southernmost town in the world (to the chagrin of the Argentines, who long claimed that honour for Ushuaia, several miles to the north) and prepare to hunker down for the worst of the winter before proceeding across the bottom of the world and into the Pacific.

Puerto Williams is not everyone's idea of a vacation spot; it's isolated, cold and nearly deserted. But they make the best of it, getting to know the handful of eccentric locals, hiking and climbing when weather permits, reading, and preparing for the next big push in the spring. Nick is a keen observer of nature and provides interesting information on birds, plants and animals, including the Canadian beaver, which was introduced here in the 1940s with disastrous ecological results. The intended fur trade failed and the released animals, having no natural predators, multiplied exponentially, changing river courses, creating vast bogs and degrading large tracts of land.

There is a compelling account of the tragic demise of the Yahgan tribes who were hunted, then proselytized, to near extinction,

and the missionaries whose futile attempts to “save” them usually ended in disaster.

Finally, on August 20, as winter eases and conditions improve, they slip their moorings and begin the 1,200-mile journey through the rest of the Beagle Channel and the Strait of Magellan, up the Chilean coast to Puerto Montt. It’s an arduous journey,

requiring all the sailing skills of the two, but eventually they arrive at their final Chilean destination, having traversed the world’s most treacherous waters.

On March 1, after re-supplying and re-fitting, they depart Puerto Montt and the Chilean mainland, heading out into the Pacific. In the words of the author, “On a

brilliant afternoon, we set our course to the NNW and Robinson Crusoe Island, six hundred miles away. The sun sank slowly, the wind picked up, South America faded into the night”.

A perfect ending to a gripping adventure, written by a colleague who has mastered both sail and pen.

Will the Long March to Democracy in Pakistan Finally Succeed?

Pakistan, a Hard Country

Reviewed by Stuart Hughes

WILL THE LONG MARCH TO DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN FINALLY SUCCEED? by Sheila Fruman, *Peaceworks* No. 73, issued by the US Institute of Peace, 2011; **PAKISTAN, A HARD COUNTRY**, by Anatol Lieven, Allen Lane (Penguin Books), 2011, 560 pp. \$42.00.

*Stuart Hughes is Editor of **bout de papier**, served in Pakistan from 2004–07, and retired in 2010.*

Understanding Pakistan and its politics is no small challenge for diplomats assigned to the country (and even for Pakistanis), never mind for those trying to make sense of events from afar. Fortunately two new publications have appeared that help: Sheila Fruman’s *Will The Long March to Democracy in Pakistan Finally Succeed?*, *Peaceworks* No. 73, issued by the US Institute of Peace, and Anatol Lieven’s authoritative *Pakistan, a Hard Country*, Allen Lane (Penguin Books). Both were published in 2011.

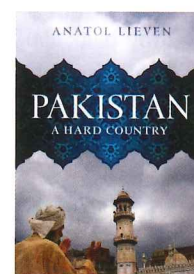
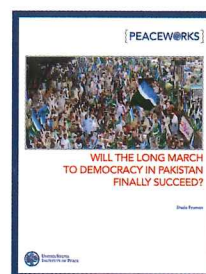
The reason for dealing with both publications in a single review is simple: they complement one another very well, and both are based on intense and extensive personal experience. Sheila Fruman, a Canadian, was Country Director for the National Democratic Institute from 2006–10 (see her article on Balochistan in Vol. 25, N° 4 of **bout**). She was a “participant-observer” in the historic transition from General Musharraf’s military and authoritarian rule to today’s flawed democratic rule. Anatol Lieven is Professor of

International Relations and Terrorism Studies at King’s College, London, and a former journalist with *The Times* who worked in Pakistan. He combines the analytical skills of one with the powers of observation of the other to produce the best comprehensive primer written to date (in this reader’s opinion) on the history, nature, structure and function of Pakistani politics.

Sheila Fruman offers a succinct review of the events and dynamics that led to Musharraf’s fall and the worrisome shortcomings of the government of democratically elected President Asif Zardari. She explains that the core issue is not so much the lurching from democratic governance to military rule and back again. Rather, it is the continuous erosion and thwarting of democratic institution building by a succession of military rulers (some elected civilian leaders had similarly authoritarian ways).

That destructive process has marked Pakistani politics almost from its inception; military rule in Pakistan is sometimes overt, often covert, but always above full civilian accountability. Pakistan today is no different: the Inter Services Intelligence agency (the ISI) is accountable to the Chief of Army Staff, the military continue to control key parts of the national agenda including relations with India, and Parliamentary oversight over the enormous military budget remains far more notional than real.

Fruman concludes with some 44 recommendations for change. These focus on civil-military relations (asserting civilian control), government (to address social, economic and security ills), Parliament



(capacity-building, effectiveness, and transparency), political parties (from feudal, personality-driven entities to democratic and representative organizations), civil society (to buttress democratic institutional-ity), the media (to help ensure transparency, accountability and fair play), and the international donor community (to harness long term support for democratic institutional-ity and bring Pakistan into the fold of 21st century democracies). This manifesto for reform offers another promise: to transform Pakistan into a country that has taken charge of its future to become an exporter of international stability and security. It is, in short, a blueprint for an engaged foreign policy for Pakistan.

Anatol Lieven’s achievement is of a different nature, which does not mean his book would be my first choice for bedside reading! His central argument is that the West’s inability to understand how Pakistan functions does not make it a “failed state”. In nearly 500 pages of closely argued text he takes us through intersecting dimensions of a surprisingly resilient country: the land, its people and its history (including the role of Islam); the structures of governance including justice, religion, the military and politics

(including the critical and misunderstood role of patronage); the widely varied character of the provinces, notably Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (formerly the NWFP); and the key issue of the day – prospects for gaining control of the Pakistani Taliban and reorienting them toward more constructive behaviour.

Central to his thesis is that Pakistan is “Janus faced”. In other words, “...many of the same features of Pakistan’s state and government which are responsible for holding Islamist extremism in check are at one and the same time responsible for holding back Pakistan’s social, economic and political development.” Arguably, the ISI – seen as deeply duplicitous by many in the West – is a perfect case in point in the military sector. It helps track down Al-Qaeda operatives with the US in the collective fight against terrorism while being seen to play patron to some of the most brutal insurgent groups

in Afghanistan. Given “the growing conviction that the West is going to fail in Afghanistan and eventually withdraw leaving anarchy and civil war behind”, for some key Pakistani decision makers, the same insurgents that attack American and allied troops (including Pakistani) are seen as important allies in containing chaos on Pakistan’s western borders, not to mention the need to thwart much-dreaded Indian influence.

Lieven also looks well into the future. Barring the highly unlikely event that the US and/or India should invade Pakistan and precipitate its disintegration, he argues that “if it eventually collapses, it will not be Islamist extremism but climate change – an especially grim threat in the whole of South Asia – that finishes it off.” In short, Pakistan without the Indus is like Egypt without the Nile. He also warns that the wide “instinctive, gut sympathy” the Taliban and extremist groups enjoy in Pakistan runs deep “not because of

Islamist extremism, but because of Muslim nationalism and bitter hostility to the US role in the Muslim world in general and Pakistan’s region in particular”. Neither issue is susceptible to quick fixes.

Lieven then narrows the focus and brings his concerns home: that countries with large Pakistani diasporas (the UK and Canada to name two) need to develop forward-thinking, long term and genuinely engaged policies toward Pakistan and the region or risk being sideswiped in domestic politics long after the ability to influence events in the region is lost. In other words, in hindsight the chapter “closed” by the withdrawal of Canadian and other troops from Afghanistan may prove to have been an opening chapter of a much broader drama. To prepare for what seems likely to follow, we could do worse than start with a careful reading of Lieven’s “Pakistan” and consider Fruman’s ambitious blueprint (www.usip.org/files/resources/Democracy_in_Pakistan.pdf). ☺



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The Problem of the Time Traveller's Tango

A Aalto channels a puzzled Dr. Watson

My notebooks for the period between the summer of 1897 and that of 1899 record few cases that greatly taxed the powers of my friend Sherlock Holmes. I spent most of those years asleep. Holmes chafed at the enforced inactivity, indulging in frantic attempts to penetrate the more obscure criminal quarters of our metropolis. (I preserve an image of awakening in my armchair one winter evening to see him framed in the doorway wearing only a tutu, raving in Pashto, his chest covered with square green spots. I have always hoped this was but a hallucination caused by an excess of post-prandial port and candied sprats.)

In addition to two published cases, I do retain records of a few others, including the scandal threatening the royal family in the matter of the inflatable kangaroo, the curious aftermath of Sir Snivels Shuffledump's renaming, the cannibalization of a certain boys' choir (arousing indignation and indigestion across the kingdom) and the foiled attempt by Pimlico home rule activists to destroy the Albert Memorial (supported by the Modern Arts Association on aesthetic grounds). While most of these records must remain private, there is one whose publication I am obliged to address.

The case began one March morning in the chambers we shared on Baker Street. Holmes and I were essaying the digestion

of Mrs. Hudson's redoubtable scones. He was working on his celebrated monograph differentiating 47 varieties of zabaglione stains on gutta-percha camisoles, I on the report of an earlier case, in which he had disguised himself as a flatfish in order to expose the development of underwater warships by a leading continental power. I was stumped for a title

A piercing cry rang out from the ground floor, followed by irregular footfalls ascending the stairs. Holmes snatched up the poker. "Quick, Watson, your revolver! From my studies of primitive cultures, I recognize the war-cry of a Momoyama warrior from the Amazon basin. Their tribal assassins wear one grass sandal and one wooden shoe, explaining that peculiar tread. Expect one at the door any minute with a blowpipe to his lips. I shall distract him with the warrior's response while you disarm him." The door resounded to a heavy blow. Holmes threw it open, raised the poker over his head and gave out an astonishing yowl.

An astonished man with a tweed suit and a dark moustache stood revealed, his left foot encased in a metal armature covered with wires and springs. Holmes quickly hid the poker. "Or, of course, it could be a middle-class Englishman who stepped into the experimental badger trap I left in the vestibule."

"Mr. Holmes?" the man enquired in an educated voice. "I need to see you urgently. But first I must remove this infernal device from my boot." I regarded him with dawning recognition. "If I may presume, sir, I believe that you are H.G. Wells, author of *The Time Traveller* and other fine tales of scientific adventure?" He replied, "Correct. And you are Mr. Holmes' celebrated chronicler, John Watson. You and I crossed paths at the *Strand Magazine* Christmas party."

Soon Wells was ensconced beside the fireplace. "I know you will find this account hard to accept but please bear with me. Dr. Watson referred to my first novel. It was due to this book that I was contacted by actual time travellers, who felt I would be more open to their existence." Holmes spluttered, "Mr. Wells, I am prepared to accept you as a rational man of science, but you will understand my reluctance to accept your story. The logical paradoxes inherent in time travel virtually preclude its achievement."

"Two days ago, Mr. Holmes, I would have been in full agreement, but I am forced to change my views. Yesterday a man called on me, giving the name Liebnitz. At first glance, he seemed normal, but little details began to tell. His clothes were cut in ways I had never before seen. He spoke fluent English with a Canadian accent, but used

words I had never heard. And he was wearing his watch mounted on a band around his wrist. A very odd thing. But his story was far more amazing.”

“He claimed to come from a century hence. The secret of time travel had been discovered, but was quickly hidden by an agency called the Timekeepers. The potential dangers were simply too great, especially the chaos that could result if people visited the past and changed events. A paradox, like killing one’s own grandparents as babies, so that you could never have been born, could destroy our whole timestream. Even a non-paradoxical change could have untold consequences.”

“But then a warped villain named Birdwhistle developed the time machine on his own. After a few careful forays into the past, generally for financial gain, he sent a time traveller back to January of 1897. The Timekeepers later found that his mission was to assassinate a Croatian engineer named David Schwarz, who was about to launch the first airship. Schwarz’s death on a street in Vienna was ruled a heart attack, but there were rumours... In any event, without his leadership, the airship project failed.”

“Now a certain German Count Zeppelin is working on a better design. History in Liebnitz’s time records that the Count succeeded and that his eponymous airships were used for both military and civilian purposes. But Birdwhistle plans to kill the Count before he can complete his project. Without the Count’s skill and perseverance, it is unlikely that the zeppelin will ever get off the ground.”

Holmes took a deep puff on his pipe. “An unusual story, fantastic yet not without points of interest. But what would this madman’s motive be?” Wells replied, “A good question. Liebnitz said the Timekeepers’ analysis had found no geopolitical or commercial impact likely to benefit Birdwhistle’s criminal enterprises. So they placed a mechanical listening device, which Liebnitz called a bug, in the villain’s headquarters. It was discovered and destroyed in short order, but not before it had revealed Birdwhistle’s motivations.”

“Birdwhistle has rivals within the criminal world. The strongest is a woman named Bertha de Kuhl. In the days from which

Liebnitz came, she is apparently in an unassailable position to crush Birdwhistle and well-guarded against all direct attacks, either conventional or via the timestream. He is convinced that the only way to eliminate the threat she poses is by going deeper into the past. He believes that, if he can prevent the dirigible airship from being developed, he can keep de Kuhl’s grandparents from eventually meeting on one, the *Hindenburg*. He has already eliminated one of the two men in this era capable of designing such a flying machine, and is on his way personally to eliminate the Count, who is in London this week.”

Holmes snorted. “Birdwhistle’s plans seem illogical. There would surely be other opportunities for the grandparents to meet.” “Quite,” said Wells. “Liebnitz’s evaluation was that the man was ‘a world-class nutbar’. But he still needs to be stopped. The contra-historical death of a figure like Zeppelin would change the future in major and possibly catastrophic ways. Hence Liebnitz’s journey to seek our help. He needs local allies because time travel only works for a variable but inevitably short time – a day or so at most – before the traveller is pulled back to his point of origin like a child’s ball at the end of a rubber cord.”

Holmes rubbed his lean jaw thoughtfully. “Just assuming that your story is true, what role is sought for Watson and myself?” Wells pulled two sheets of paper from his pocket and unfolded them. “Birdwhistle is a former bureaucrat and lives by paper reports. He is also paranoid and always disguises or encodes them. This report was recently discovered in London in an envelope addressed to Birdwhistle. It was turned over to your brother Mycroft, whom Liebnitz had brought into the picture.” Mycroft Holmes is Sherlock’s sedentary but powerful elder brother, who carries out carefully unspecified work for Whitehall. “The report is known to provide the alias that Birdwhistle will be using when he arrives to kill the Count.”

.....

1. The *Canadiens*’ “pocket rocket” 1955–75; star of “Goodbye Columbus” and “Portnoy’s Complaint”; colonial printer who was the first US and Canadian postmaster; the New Dealer.

2. Top Conservative; she wrote *To Kill a Mockingbird*; star of *Cat Ballou* and *A Dirty Dozen*; he heard it through the grapevine.
3. Won an Oscar for playing Salieri; shot at Ford’s Theater in 1865; Hamilton MP and Ontario Lieutenant Governor; wrote *The Rape of the Lock*.
4. Sultan of Swat; pioneering anthropologist who wrote *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*; general for both sides in the American Revolution; two British historians, one wrote *A Study of History*.
5. Libertarian US presidential candidate; former Canadian PM; top Reformation leader; US breeder of over 800 new plant species including the spineless cactus.
6. BC First Nations chief and Oscar nominee; the only President never to live in the White House; wrote *Rip Van Winkle*; Russian-born Tin Pan Alley great.
7. Top Bengali film auteur; blind black singer of “Georgia on my Mind”; Liberian president and Canadian philosopher; Billboard’s 2011 Woman of the Year.
8. Decreed that “all the world should be taxed” according to Saint Luke; Welsh painter attached to Canada’s WWI forces; Cromwellian diplomat who wrote *Paradise Lost*; deposed by Idi Amin.
9. Friar burned in 1600 for heliocentrism; German-American conductor and Mahler fan; he wrote *Ivanhoe*; he married Zelda and wrote about Gatsby.
10. One-eyed victor at Trafalgar; Mountie opposite Jeanette MacDonald in “Rose Marie”; country music pioneer on TV; the Governator from Graz.
11. Mr. Tambourine Man; he did not go gentle into that good night; US writers who wrote *Look Homeward Angel* and *Bonfire of the Vanities*; 18th century Irish rebel.

.....

“As you can see, the report is in the form of a puzzle. On this page, each of 11 long clues is divided into four parts. Each part refers to a historical or fictional character. The names fit into this chart, with the last name of each character forming the first name of the next character and so on. The

1	×		BENJAMIN		
2			LEE		
3			LINCOLN	×	
4		×	BENEDICT		
5	×		MARTIN		
6			WASHINGTON	×	
7			CHARLES		×
8			JOHN		×
9			WALTER		
10		×	EDDY		
11			THOMAS		

example that Liebnitz gave me was ROBERT-CLIVE-JAMES-BRUCE-LEE. You will see that the central column of the chart is filled in. The chart boxes with crosses spell out the middle name of the alias – using the first letter of the names that fit in those boxes and reading down.”

“What you are being asked, Mr. Holmes, is to decipher the report and provide Mycroft with the assassin’s alias before it is too late. He has already narrowed the list of possible names to five: Hubert Bogart, Jane Crowe, Rex Ford, Eli Houston and Michael Pollock. The middle name spelled out by the chart will be linked to both the first and last names in the alibi, in the same ways as the name-rows in the chart.”

Holmes perused the list closely. “How typical of Mycroft to leave the work to me, and not even call in person. But the puzzle is intriguing. Some of the suggested names are obvious, but others escape me entirely. Take Liebnitz’s example – one of course recognizes Robert Clive, the conqueror of India, and James Bruce, who discovered the source of the Blue Nile. But who are Clive James and Bruce Lee?”

Wells nodded. “This report was not drafted in our times. It was sent to Birdwhistle in his own era and misplaced by him during his earlier visit to ours. It therefore contains names of people unknown to us, some not yet even born. Liebnitz recognized the problem, however, and will be sending a helper from the future.” Holmes looked up. “How long have we before Birdwhistle makes his

attack? And when will this assistant be arriving?” Wells replied, “Respectively at an unknown point during the Count’s schedule tomorrow and in, ah, less than a minute. Here in your chambers.”

Holmes grimaced with irritation, but his doubtless terse reply was swallowed up by the sound of a rising wind, although not a breath stirred in the room. Abruptly there appeared in the middle of our carpet a lean figure in a flowing floor-length gown of semi-transparent scarlet material, red high-heeled shoes, long hair done up with elaborate combs and a red rose between the teeth. Under a shaggy moustache.

“Holmes,” I said *sotto voce*, “Either a remarkably ugly woman or a man in the most unseemly garment just appeared out of nowhere.” He replied, “I support the latter option, Watson, probably the time travelling helper. The attire is unusual but would not shame a pantomime dame. Or the Guards regiment, really.”

The figure crossed the room. “Mr. Holmes. A real pleasure. My name is Effie and I’m here to help. Sorry about the combs, but time travel involves dancing the tango. It really is timeless. And strenuous. Poor Liebnitz barely made it back and I was next on deck. Seven *quedabras* with a double *corte* and here I am.”

“The tango?” I asked. Holmes replied, “A new dance emerging from the Rio Plata delta. More important, look at this closure mechanism.” He applied his magnifying glass to the seam at the apparition’s

neckline, which was closed without buttons or ties. “This ridged metal strip is called a zipper. It is made of pure titanium. But zippers of this type will not be perfected until 1914, nor metallic titanium isolated until 1910. This person really is from the future.” Our visitor said, “I always like dealing with smart men. It makes things go so much faster.” Then he (or she) winked. I was appalled. Holmes seemed not to notice. Wells said, “If I understand correctly, your stay here will be very brief, so we should proceed apace.”

Effie scanned the paper and said, “Ok, no big problem. Most of these people are famous where I come from.” Within a creditably short time, she (or he) and Holmes had filled in the chart and one of the Baker Street Irregulars was dispatched with a telegram for Mycroft. We later learned that Birdwhistle had been captured and held until the Count’s departure.

Our visitor relaxed in the wing chair. After a few minutes of stilted conversation, Holmes took me aside. “Watson, I realize that you disapprove of our unexpected helper, but do try not to be quite so aloof. The future is a foreign country; they do things differently there.” After a few minutes mastering the mixed emotions his words aroused, I went over and shook our visitor’s hand. “Excellent work, Miss Effie, you saved the day. Please excuse my stiffness. I am set in ways by definition very old-fashioned to you. But I do have to say that the rose clashes with your shoes.”

Holmes looked up and mused. “Effie, once your agency had the original puzzle, why not simply return it to your time, solve it there and send a messenger back with the answer? Why involve us at all?” Our visitor replied, “Several technical reasons, but one over-riding factor: Watson’s report of the case was published while we were working on the Birdwhistle affair, just a few days ago by my timeline, in a small but influential Canadian magazine. The solution giving his alias won’t appear until the next issue, so we still had to go this route. But it means we knew I came here to help you. Better not to change history if you can help it.”

Effie was beginning to fade out. “One last thing, Dr. Watson. That story you are working, the one about the fish disguise? How about the title, ‘No Plaiice like Holmes’?” Then Holmes and I were alone.

Count Zeppelin did go on to perfect the airship, which was launched in July of the following year. Wristwatches have become

commonplace since our troops in the trenches found them so much more useful than the old pocket models. Zippers are common too, although not yet in titanium. Holmes has retired to the Sussex Downs. Wells, who went on to great fame, wrote a book in 1908 called *The War in the Air*, which prophesied a most destructive role for zeppelins. Luckily, in the real war that arrived in 1914, they proved highly vulnerable to incendiary ammunition. That war was bloody enough as it was.

Sherlock and Mycroft Holmes urged me not to publish an account of this case, lest premature knowledge of the future act to change that future. Such a report will apparently be published after my death, however, so I have decided to draft it for my posthumous readership. I am also moved to do so in the hope that, by then, mankind will have realized the dangers of applying modern science to the battlefield and may even have moved to abolish war for the evil that it embodies.

Can you duplicate Holmes’ and Effie’s feat and provide the full three-name alias of the assassin? **bout de papier** will decide the winner by drawing from a box containing all correct entries received by March 1, 2012. The winner will receive a book autographed by A Aalto. Not necessary for winning, but can you also provide the full five-part answers for each of the 11 clues as well as the full names of the other four suspects? 🌀

Free-lance prestidigitator A Aalto is honoured to present Watson’s long-delayed report. Like Count Zeppelin, David Schwarz was a real airship pioneer, whose death was as recorded above. For a fuller take on the intricacies of time travel, see the incomparable works of Connie Willis. Holmes’ words about the future reflect LP Hartley’s remark about the past – but Hartley was only two years old at the time.

Enter the Annotator More Puzzling Orientalism from A Aalto

Answers to Vol. 26, No. 1

WINNER: BOB RUTHERFORD, OTTAWA

	LIBRARY	SALON	GREAT HALL	RECEIVING ROOM	DINING ROOM
MINERAL	Realgar	Malachite	Cinnabar	Arsenolite	Grindstone
METAL	Gold	Lead	Copper	Silver	Iron
DRAGON COLOUR	Yellow	Sky blue	Red	White	Black
DRAGON DIRECTION	Centre	East	South	West	North
MUSIC SCALE (SCROLL)	Shang	Yu	Gong	Jue	Zhi
MUSIC BASE (BELL)	Da Cu	Gu Xian	Nan Lu	Yi Ze	Wu Yi

The room with the golden ingot was the LIBRARY. It was haunted by the YELLOW dragon of the CENTRE. It contained the SHANG scroll and the DA CU bell. Yi Xing therefore played the chimes to a Shang scale on a Da Cu base frequency. (See “Chinese musicology” in Wikipedia, if you are interested in the subject.)

The reason, by the way, why 2,500 years before 2011 is 490 rather than 489 is that there is no year 0.

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