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# Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies

The Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies (CASIS) is a non-partisan, voluntary association established in 1985. Its principal purpose is to provide informed debate in Canada on security and intelligence issues. Membership is open and currently includes academics, concerned citizens, government officials, journalists, lawyers, students, as well as former intelligence officers.

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Note: The Editor welcomes all submissions. The views and opinions expressed in the CASIS Newsletter do not necessarily reflect those of the Association or any of its members.

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#### **Association News**

#### A Message from the President

It was indeed an honour and a privilege to be elected President of CASIS at the Annual General Meeting on 30 September 2000, succeeding Wesley Wark. May I take this opportunity to express my thanks and appreciation to Wesley for his excellent stewardship of CASIS, and for his on-going assistance and contributions to the work of our Association.

The CASIS 2000 Conference held at the Chateau Laurier here in Ottawa proved to be a landmark event. Those of you who attended will have been aware of the wide ranging program of panelists, the acclaimed speakers, the large and distinguished turnout, the valuable presence of colleagues from the international security and intelligence communities, and the stimulating discussion in the meeting rooms and corridors. I might add that the Conference continues to resonate well for CASIS around the Ottawa community and in related circles abroad.

Looking ahead, I see the major task of my Presidency as being to build on our strengths in order to further augment our membership, enhance our programming and address emerging issues on the Intelligence Studies agenda. In order to make CASIS membership even more attractive, and to further expand access to the important literature on Intelligence Studies, my Executive is currently negotiating an arrangement with <a href="Frank Cass & Company">Frank Cass & Company</a> of the UK for CASIS members to become eligible for a concessional subscription fee to the journal Intelligence and National Security, and, in addition, to discounts on the purchase of books from their Studies of Intelligence booklist. We are hopeful that this arrangement will be put in place early in the new year.

Planning is moving ahead for the CASIS 2001 Conference to be held at Dalhousie University in Halifax (Editor: see notice below for details). Based on the model of CASIS 2000, the CASIS 2001 meeting is being planned as a joint initiative with other research institutions, including the Carleton Centre for Security and Defence Studies, the Dalhousie Centre for Foreign Policy Studies, and possibly other partners as well. I envision an expanded role for partnerships between CASIS and universities and other organizations in convening follow-up workshops and seminars on issues arising from our annual conferences, and on specialized topics of current interest in Intelligence Studies. Our aim would be to promote participation in Intelligence Studies activities across the country, especially on the part of younger faculty and students, and to help sustain specialized interests in the various sub-fields of Intelligence Studies in anticipation of our annual national conferences.

To assist members and other in accessing the Canadian literature on Intelligence Studies, a Select Bibliography of Canadian sources was compiled for distribution at CASIS 2000. An expanded Security and Intelligence Bibliography of books and articles is now available on-line at the <u>CASIS website</u>. Among the other ideas currently being explored is the creation of a responsive mechanism to help journalists identify expertise in the various areas of Intelligence Studies, and a on-line facility to help students seek information on career prospects in the fields of Security and Intelligence.

May I take this opportunity to extend my very best wishes to CASIS members for the new year, and to thank you all for your continued support and good-will.

-Martin Rudner

## CASIS 2000: A Summary of the Main Themes

Focusing on "The Future of Intelligence," CASIS 2000 was held in Ottawa on September 28-30, 2000. Outgoing CASIS president Professor **Wesley K. Wark** who, along with Ms **Angela Gedron** and her team of hard-working volunteers, was largely responsible for the success of this conference provides us with the following conference roundup.

The CASIS conference consisted of nine panels and ranged widely over a variety of topics during its three days of sessions. The final panel, "Conference Round-Up," held on Sunday, September 30 from 10:45 to 12:00, was designed to capture as many of the strands of thought presented during the conference as possible and to offer a final opportunity for discussion from the floor.

The summary that follows derives from the notes taken on the oral presentations by one harried CASIS president. Further thoughts on the conference themes will also be offered in the conference publication to come, which will appear as a special issue of the journal <u>Intelligence and National Security</u>, and also in book form from Frank Cass in London, England.

The presenters for the "Conference Round-Up" were:

Professor Reg Whitaker, York University
Greg Fyffe, Executive Director, Intelligence Assessment Secretariat, Privy Council Office
Stuart Farson, Simon Fraser University
George Kolisnek, J-2, Department of National Defence

The panel was chaired by **Lawrence Dickenson**, Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet, Security and Intelligence, Privy Council Office

Professor **Reg Whitaker** opened the discussion. He argued that intelligence communities were now facing what he called, the "post-post Cold War era." We are now in an age in which responses to the information revolution shape intelligence activities, a shaping process that involved not just technology but also the handling of vast quantities of information.

In addition, intelligence has to operate in a more difficult context in the new post-post Cold War world. It has to have a global focus and it has to operate within ethical and judicial limits, while confronting what Professor Whitaker called the "dark side" of globalization.

One of the challenges facing intelligence communities was the need to shift organizational structures and to utilize all sorts of network contexts. There will be an increased need for cooperation between national intelligence communities; this will mirror a similar requirement for greater inter-agency cooperation within the confines of the state. Intelligence communities will also have to gear up to increase their cooperation with the private sector, including NGOs. Yet it remains to be seen what the nature of cooperation between NGOs—a potentially very valuable source of information and knowledge about global society—and government intelligence services might be like.

The combination of a new international context and the need for new ways of working suggests that intelligence communities will have to come up with new "rules of engagement." Among the issues that will have to be confronted are the increasing importance of HUMINT, and the need for more sophisticated forms of information management. Consumer-driven intelligence is often cited as a panacea, but it has hidden problems, not least in terms of asking whether governments really know what they want from intelligence communities. Yet, analyst-driven intelligence also has its problems. Information management will have to solve the dilemma of balancing national and global agendas.

Professor Whitaker concluded by stressing that intelligence communities would have to become more entrepreneurial, especially when it came to building constituencies for their product and in constructing networks of information sharing and consultation.

Greg Fyffe focussed his remarks on the assessment function in government. He argued that it was important for assessment organizations to guard their reputations. They had to stay out of policy-making, and they had to stick to their areas of expertise, where they could deliver a product seen as valuable and to some degree unique in government. It is not easy, always, to determine what drives, or should drive, the intelligence process. But assessment organizations always had to confront the problem of grabbing and holding the attention of decision-makers.

Looking at the global scene, Greg Fyffe remarked on the ways in which, especially in responding to the so-called "Revolution in Military Affairs," the United States was far out ahead. The degree to which the United States led the world in the intelligence field itself created problems, not least in terms of endeavours to keep up with American technology and its application.

The future would see a great change in the speed at which intelligence communities operated. There would be a requirement not just for fast delivery of intelligence, but also for a quickness in prediction and speculation about future trends and threats.

The possibilities of the internet were very great, especially for open source intelligence efforts. The notion that it might be possible to embed secret networks in the net suggested new potentialities for intelligence communities.

Greg Fyffe also remarked on the need to learn lessons from history, and in particular to learn lessons from the failed Soviet experiment in intelligence, where the intelligence system had been fatally deranged by ideology and political constraints.

Stuart Farson called attention to the issue of the organizational culture of intelligence in Canada. An intelligence "culture" had to be defined and measured in broad terms. It included political decision makers, government agencies, Parliament, the media, and the Universities. In examining this cultural context, Stuart Farson asked whether, at the political level, elites use and value intelligence sufficiently. His view was that they do not. At the bureaucratic level, Stuart Farson argued that there were two problems: leadership and excessive secrecy. In terms of Parliament's role, Stuart Farson saw a regression from the levels of attention of the late 1980s and early 1990s. As far as the media was concerned, Stuart Farson argued that they frequently got "the whole thing wrong," by failing to understand the detailed structures, laws, and methods of work of the Canadian intelligence community. Another component of a broadly defined "intelligence culture" was the Universities. Stuart Farson noted that while universities courses in intelligence were relatively rare in Canada and scholarly experts few in number, it was important and gratifying to note that academic courses on intelligence were usually sold out and that student interest in the topic was high.

Stuart Farson saw a need to reconceptualize intelligence throughout the intelligence culture. Further thought needs to be given to the divide between secrecy and openness. Intelligence needs to be able to embrace long-term perspectives in order to cope with the challenges of the future.

Stuart Farson also argued that it was important to understand the discontinuities in the evolution of intelligence. The Anglo-Saxon model of intelligence as a profession, ably defined by Michael Herman, was in itself a discontinuity from past practice. The Cold War had seen break with the past; the post-Cold War era offered the same.

Stuart Farson argued that the post-Cold War world had created a new set of global issues which could no longer be usefully defined in national security terms. Responses to such issues required the concerted efforts of a global community. He suggested that government intelligence communities should stop trying to produce all source intelligence reporting and should respond to the new global realities with significant organizational and cultural changes. In particular, he argued that government intelligence should get back to a focus on national security threats, while a separate agency with different methods and structures, and using open source intelligence, should be tasked to look at global issues. Finally, there was a need for an organization hooked into the intelligence community to focus on the Canadian national interest.

George Kolisnek remarked that we are living in a very different world now, a virtual world, and frequently operating within our own informational spheres. The key characteristic was the abundance of information and the absence of knowledge. This problem was not, of course, unique to intelligence communities. But intelligence finds itself at the cutting edge of informational change, trying to find out what is happening at the margins of the battlefield, or the margins of the world. Intelligence was not just a matter of trying to establish a factual basis, but also had to deal with increasing efforts at imagery manipulation.

A key question was how does Canada fit into the new world of virtual intelligence? George Kolisnek argued that we must identify and utilize our strengths. One strength was our diversity—of cultures and knowledge.

More debate about the future was clearly needed.

(Editor's Note: For press coverage of CASIS Conference 2000, See Alex Roslin, "Here a spy, there a spy," Hour Magazine, 26 October. Available online at

http://www.afterhour.com/magazine/index.asp?id=478&parution=843)

Geoffrey R. Weller: 1942-2000

#### CASIS Loses One of Its Own

By Stuart Farson

A memorial service was held for Geoffrey Weller on 9 September 2000 at the University of Northern British Columbia, the institute he was instrumental in establishing.

Geoff began his teaching career at Bishop's University in Lennoxville, Quebec. In 1971, he moved to Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, where he rose to be chair of the Political Science Department and later Vice-President Academic. While at Lakehead he established the Lakehead University Centre for Northern Studies, the Northern Ontario Medical Program with McMaster University, and the Association of Circumpolar Universities. In 1999 he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Lapland, Finland, for his work on northern development.

He began work as UNBC's first president in January 1991. He oversaw the university's early development, its academic plan, the construction of the Prince George campus, the development of its regional mandate, and the hiring of many faculty and staff. In 1995 Geoff stepped down as President but continued at UNBC as a professor in the International Studies Program.

In the many tributes at his memorial much was made of his contributions to university administration, to circumpolar education and health policy. Little oddly was said of his own academic work or his significant contribution to intelligence and security studies. This note hopes to set the record straight.

The Geoff I knew was the peripatetic version--equally at home in Washington, London, Sydney or Ottawa. He was a great believer in the international conference as an academic vehicle. He saw it as the way not merely to keep up with what was cutting edge but to find out what people were thinking in his field. And it was in the formal conference arena that he demonstrated both skill and character. In addition to his own work he was a particularly skilled discussant. His commentaries were always objective. His criticisms always fair and without barb or slight. And though frequently laced with humour, such humour was never at the presenter's expense.

It was, however, as intervener from the floor that Geoff's character came through. Too frequently, it seemed it was left to Geoff to ask the question that others shunned or to put the record straight through salient

comment.

I first met Geoff not in person but through his conference papers. Between 1979 and 1984 Geoff produced a series of papers about the RCMP Security Service and the wrongdoing it had committed in the name of national security. At the time such work was leading edge as many of these presentations predated the McDonald Commission's final report. His later published work built on the ideas found in these original unpublished papers. They focussed on the

#### The Geoffrey Weller Memorial Award

To honour Dr. Geoffrey W eller's memory, CASIS has established a yearly competition for undergraduate students writing in Canada in the field of intelligence and security studies. The first awards will be announced at the CASIS 2001 AGM, to be held at Dalhousie University.

need for intelligence agencies to be properly accountable and adequately controlled by elected officials. In the time immediately before his death, Geoff had been particularly busy working on a comparative study of Inspectors General. His published articles on this theme suggested that this would have been a significant contribution to the field had he had more time to complete it.

In addition to his own research interests, Geoff played an important role in shaping intelligence studies. He was a founding member and staunch supporter of CASIS and its aims. He served for many years on its Executive, including a stint as the organization's President. He was also one of less than a handful of academics in Canada who had developed a specialized course on intelligence.

It is a fitting tribute to his contribution to CASIS and intelligence studies that our organization has decided to establish an academic undergraduate prize in his name. I hope all members will consider giving generously to the fund needed to support the prize.

# CASIS ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2001

The Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies (CASIS)
Invites submission for its annual conference, hosted by
Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia,
September 28-30 September 2001

We invite proposals that deal with the broadest possible range of topics in the area of Intelligence and the Challenge of Globalization. We welcome both individual submissions and complete panels.

We also welcome submission from graduate students.

Please send proposals, including a one page abstract for each paper and a one page CV that includes both a mailing address and an email address for each participant. We strongly suggest that all proposals be sent via Email.

The deadline for submission is May 1, 2001

Proposals and supporting material should be sent to mailto:casis@dal.ca

# **Canadian Intelligence News**

#### Tamil Tigers Using Canadian Non-Profits and Businesses as Fronts for Funding

An internal CSIS report leaked to the *National Post* says 13 non-profit organizations and businesses in Canada have links to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a group identified by CSIS as a fundraising front for the Tamil Tigers. The documents also reveal that the Liberal government has received explicit warnings about this fundraising activity, a revelation that raises further questions about Finance Minister Paul Martin's attendance at a dinner hosted by LTTE in May 2000.

Shortly after the 6 May 2000 dinner, a member of the Black Tigers, the Tamil Tigers suicide squad carried out an attack in Colombo, Sri Lanka that resulted in the deaths of a cabinet minister, his wife and 21 bystanders.

In a speech before the House of Commons, the then Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy said Canada was taking steps to criminalize such activities, in keeping with a United Nations agreement it had signed and helped to draft.

A 19 December 2000 Toronto Star editorial said draft legislation that would strip charitable status from organizations found to have terrorist connections is making its way to cabinet. (See Stewart Bell and Justine Hunter, "Axworthy to staunch terror funds flow: Government on the defensive in wake of Tigers' deadly bomb," *National Post*, 9 June 2000; Stewart Bell, "Groups act as fronts for terror," *National Post*, 9 December 2000; "Alliance calls for ban on fundraising for terrorist groups," *National Post*, 14 December 2000; and James Travers, "CSIS targets charities that fund terrorism," *Toronto Star*, 19 December 2000)

#### RCMP Close Down Probe Into Promis Software

The RCMP has announced that it is closing down a months-long investigation into allegations that it was using pirated software that Israeli and US spy agencies had rigged with "backdoors" to allow unauthorized access to files. Originally developed by Inslaw Inc., Promis software has a history that reads like a spy thriller. Sold as a case management tool developed to help prosecutors track people through their contact with the legal system, Promis is said to have caught the eye of spy agencies from both the United States and Israel. Before his case was thrown out of court, Inslaw CEO Bill Hamilton, alleged that his code had been stolen by the U.S. Department of Justice and eventually ended up being sold around the world by Israeli and American intelligence agencies. (To read more, see

http://www.cnn.com/2000/WORLD/americas/08/25/canada.spying.reut/index.html http://www.aci.net/kalliste/part37.htm, http://www.eff.org/pub/Legal/Cases/INSLAW/

# **DPRK Spies Targeting Canadian Nuke Technology**

Despite CSIS warnings about its active espionage network in Canada, Ottawa pressed ahead with its diplomatic recognition of North Korea in early February 2001. The *Globe and Mail* cited "intelligence sources" who said North Korea attempted in 1996 to gain access to Canada's CANDU reactor technology by befriending a French-Canadian engineer working on a CANDU reactor in South Korea. According to the source, North Korea directs much of its espionage activity in Canada out of a convenience store in Verdun, Quebec. The store manager arrived in Canada under the immigrant-investor program and owns a thriving computer business in Mapo, South Korea. Some of the computer business's profits are being used to fund North Korea's espionage operations in Canada, said the source. The source said CSIS's failure to prevent diplomatic recognition would cause headaches for those charged with keeping an eye on North Korea's agents in Canada. This is because the North Koreans can be expected to begin attempting to steal technology through joint ventures with Canadian businesses.

A Foreign Affairs spokesperson said CSIS was consulted before recognition was extended and did not voice any objections to the diplomatic undertaking. However, the spokesperson acknowledged that CSIS may have "expressed some concern" about recognition at high-level government meetings.

When Canada formally recognized North Korea on 6 February 2001, Foreign Minister John Manley said improved relations with Pyongyang were the best way to help improve security and fight proliferation. (See Andrew Mitrovika, "North Koreans spying in Canada," *Globe and Mail*, 18 September 2000, pA13; and Reuters, "Canada, North Korea Establish Diplomatic Ties," 6 February 2001, <a href="http://www.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/americas/02/06/canada.korea.reut/index.html">http://www.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/americas/02/06/canada.korea.reut/index.html</a>)

# Security Intelligence Review Committee Backs CSIS on Sidewinder Draft

In its 1999-2000 annual report, the Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC) dismissed longstanding allegations made in the Canadian media that CSIS has been deliberately soft-pedalling the Chinese intelligence threat.

For much of the past two years, the Canadian media has been following a behind-the-scenes battle over a joint RCMP-CSIS investigation of China's espionage activities in Canada. The investigation was referred to as "Sidewinder" and reportedly focussed on links between Chinese-Canadian tycoons, Asian crime syndicates and the Chinese Ministry of State Security. According to a number of sources (mostly unnamed) cited by the national press, CSIS project managers squelched the project's report due to political pressure from the highest level of government. The sources suggested that the Chretien government suppressed this investigation because it might endanger Canada's efforts to improve trade relations with the People's Republic.

The initial Sidewinder draft report, which was the culmination of a year's work, was submitted to a joint review board in the summer of 1997 and quickly rejected by CSIS managers. Although the RCMP half of the Sidewinder management team argued in favour of the draft, it eventually underwent a complete rewrite. The media paid scant attention to CSIS's explanation that the report was tossed out because it lacked analytical rigour, and doggedly pursued the conspiracy angle.

Backing CSIS up, the SIRC report issued an even harsher indictment of the initial draft, describing it as "deeply flawed and unpersuasive in almost all respects." The Committee went on to lament the draft's amateurish presentation, saying "Whole sections employ leaps of logic and non-sequiturs to the point of incoherence... Exemplifying the report's general lack of rigour are gross syntactical, grammatical and spelling errors too numerous to count."

SIRC noted that CSIS and the RCMP took radically different positions on the quality of the Sidewinder draft. The RCMP management team argued that the first draft was "good work that went some way to proving the initial thesis...".

(See Security Intelligence Review Committee, SIRC Report 1999-2000: An Operational Audit of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, (Minister of Supply and Services Canada: 2000), pp 3-9. This report is also available online www.sirc-csars.gc.ca)

#### Ex-CSIS Employee Says He Spied on Canada Post Union

Former CSIS employee John Farrell says he headed up a Toronto-based "dirty tricks" squad that engaged in a number of unauthorized and illegal activities, including spying on postal union activists. Farrell, who worked for CSIS during most of the 1990s and is also a former investigator for Canada Post, has taken up his case with SIRC.

(See Jeff Sallot and Andrew Mitrovica, *Globe and Mail*, 4 July 2000; Andrew Mitrovica, "Critics blast CSIS for 'dirty tricks', *Globe and Mail*, 5 July 2000; Andrew Mitrovica, "Spy was wayward teen," *Globe and Mail*, 5 July 2000.)

## Court Tells CSIS to Back Down on Questioning of Immigration Applicants

In a September 2000 ruling, the Federal Court concluded that CSIS inappropriately attempted to grill a would-be immigrant for intelligence information. Thirty-nine year-old Yao Zhao Ning, an engineer who had been forthright about his previous employment with Nanjing Research Institute of Electronic Technology, a company that works with China's military, told the court in a sworn affidavit that he had been prodded for sensitive

information about his former employer by a CSIS security liaison officer (SLO) working in the Service's Tokyo office. Specifically, the SLO asked Ning about the organizational structure of the Nanjing Research Institute, the number and names of its employees, and its research strategies and plans. As well, the SLO wanted to know which organizations used the research institute's products and details about the background of these organizations. Finally, the SLO asked if the institute used intelligence techniques to obtain technologies from foreign countries and how it incorporated these technologies into its products.

When Ning declined to answer the SLO's questions, the officer wrote in his file that Ning was "extremely uncooperative and evasive...". Immigration Canada subsequently turned down Ning's application for entry into Canada.

The Federal Court directed Immigration Canada to conduct another interview and forbade it or CSIS from asking questions "dealing with issues of security or intelligence matters related to the applicant's employer and/or the Government of China."

However, should either the Department of National Defence or Foreign Affairs choose to intervene, the Federal Court's ruling may be open to challenge. Section 16 of the *Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act*, permits its officers to collect "information or intelligence relating the capabilities, intentions or activities" of any foreign national, on the personal written request of either the Minister of National Defence or the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

(See Mike Blanchfield, "Court rebukes spy agency," *Ottawa Citizen*, 9 October 2000, <a href="http://www.ottawacitizen.com/national/001009/4656140.html">http://www.ottawacitizen.com/national/001009/4656140.html</a>; *Canadian Security Intelligence ServiceAct*, 1984, c.1.,s.1, available online at <a href="http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/eng/act/csisact\_e.html">http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/eng/act/csisact\_e.html</a>;

Federal Court of Canada, Ning v. Canada (Minister of Citizenship and Immigration), Docket: IMM-4016-99, 26 September 2000, <a href="http://www.fja.gc.ca/en/cf/2000/orig/html/2000fca27406.o.en.html">http://www.fja.gc.ca/en/cf/2000/orig/html/2000fca27406.o.en.html</a>)

## Alleged Smuggling Ring Kingpin Says He Spied on Taiwan for PRC

On 22 November 2000 in Vancouver, RCMP officers arrested the man at the centre of the largest smuggling and corruption scandal in Chinese history, Lai Changxing. Since then, Lai and his wife, Tsang Mingna, have negotiated a house arrest deal that will allow them to stay in their luxurious Burnaby condo while they await the outcome of their refugee claim. Lai is the alleged ringleader of a \$US 7 billion criminal enterprise that is believed to reach into the very highest echelons of the Chinese government.

In his Canadian refugee claim personal information form, Lai says he had connections with Fujian Province's deputy minister of national security and other high-ranking officials. Working with the head of Taiwan's military intelligence in Hong Kong, Yue Bing Nan, Lai also claims to have provided Beijing with top secret information on the ROC's espionage activities in Hong Kong and the mainland as well as information on its military procurement plans. According to Lai, Yue was prepared to pass along more information to Beijing if it could offer him protection.

According to Canadian press reports, the Chinese Ministry of State Security knew that Lai was holed up in Vancouver after being tipped off to his imminent arrest by a Chinese immigration official. In the summer of 1999, three MSS officials are believed to have visited Lai and used threats against family members to coerce him into returning with them.

China has requested that Canada turn over Lai, placing Ottawa in the awkward position of choosing between back-pedalling on its longstanding policy of not allowing the extradition of individuals facing a death penalty or jeopardizing good relations with Beijing.

(See Fabian Dawson and Adrian Humphreys, "China tried to lure fugitive ringleader," *The Province* and *National Post*, 27 November 2000; Rod Mickelburgh, "Chinese Fugitive Cites Powerful Friends in Beijing, *Globe and Mail*, 30 November 2000,

http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/RTGAMArticleHTMLTemplate/C/20001130/wdrug?tf=RT/fullstory.html &cf=RT/config-neutral&slug=wdrug&date=20001130&archive=RTGAM&site=Front ; Andrew Mitrovica, "We warned you, former agent says," *Globe and Mail*, 30 November 2000, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/GAMArticleHTMLTemplate/20001130/UCSISN?tf=RT/HTMLRelatedArticleTemplate.html&cf=RT/config-neutral&slug=UCSISN&date=20001130&archive=GAM; Greg Joyce, "Adjudicator says yes to Chinese smuggling suspect house arrest on conditions," *National Post*, 2 February 2001.

 $\frac{\text{http://www.nationalpost.com/news/updates/story.html?f=/news/updates/stories/20010202/national-953032.html)}{\text{http://www.nationalpost.com/news/updates/story.html?f=/news/updates/stories/20010202/national-953032.html}}{\text{http://www.nationalpost.com/news/updates/story.html?f=/news/updates/stories/20010202/national-953032.html}}$ 

## Canadian Alliance: Create Foreign Intelligence Capability, Beef Up Accountability

In its November 1999 position paper on foreign policy, Canada and the Millenium: A New Look at Foreign Policy, the Reform Party (which has subsequently joined forces with elements of the Conservative party to become the Canadian Alliance) called for the creation of an independent agency tasked with collecting foreign intelligence. This new agency, said the paper, would be a "logical counterpart to CSIS" and "would also consolidate some of the functions currently carried out within PCO, DND and DFAIT."

According to Reform, globalization – particularly through the networking of critical infrastructures – has increased Canadian's exposure to threats such as industrial espionage and transnational criminality. This increased risk requires an improved foreign intelligence collection capability, the Party argues. And, although the CSIS Act permits it to function as both a foreign and security intelligence agency under special circumstances, the agency lacks the resources to shoulder this responsibility effectively.

Accountability, especially accountability to Parliament, must also be increased, states the paper. To do so, the Party called for the enactment of legislation to "define the mandate and responsibility of all government agencies [here, the Party is referring to CSE, which falls outside the normal oversight process] responsible for intelligence activities, and to clearly establish the accountability of these agencies, first and foremost, to Parliament." As well, the Party said a new House of Commons committee on intelligence should be created and its members granted sufficient security clearance to do their work effectively.

(See Statement from the Official Opposition, Canada and the Millenium: A New Look at Foreign Policy, November 1999.)

#### CIA Document: Juan de Fuca Incident Involving CF Helo Was Spy Operation

Bill Gertz, the CIA's favourite spigot, writes that a secret July 2000 CIA report on Russia's use of its merchant fleet for spying lends new credence to the theory that a laser dazzling device was turned on a Canadian Forces helicopter pilot who got too close for comfort. An investigation of the April 1997 incident in which Capt. Pat Barnes and his passenger U.S. Navy intelligence officer Lt. Cmdr. Jack Daly suffered permanent eye burns when they tried to photograph the antennae array of a Russian merchant ship failed to find proof that such a device was used. However, notes Gertz, according to the CIA, the ship involved in the Strait of Juan de Fuca incident, a Far Eastern Shipping Company-owned vessel named *Kapitan Man*, had been involved in a suspicious incident a year previously. In this instance, the *Kapitan Man* was the only ship that had asked to weigh anchor due to "inclement weather." The *Kapitan Man*'s unusual layover coincided with the inbound transit through the Strait of a USN ballistic missile submarine.

(See Bill Gertz, "Russian Merchant Ships Used in Spying," Washington Times, 7 November 2000.)

#### Outdated Official Secrets Act Allows Spy to Dodge Prosecution

Despite strong evidence that a former clerk passed on secrets to the Czech intelligence service during his employment as a clerk at the Canadian embassy in Prague in the 1960s, he will not face prosecution. The Federal Government has decided charges under the *Official Secrets Act* would not stand up to a challenge under the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

Documents obtained by Southam News under the *Access to Information Act* indicate that the retired clerk began passing secrets after having been lured into a sexual liaison with Prague woman working for the Czech intelligence service, the StB. Although he began his spying as a result of blackmail, the unidentified clerk began to accept cash for his treachery.

Among the top secret information he passed on to the StB and, ultimately Moscow, were the intentions and strategies of Canada and other Western allies. The clerk went on to work in a number of other Canadian posts overseas, including a five-year posting at the London High Commission until his retirement in 1990. After that, the clerk settled in the United Kingdom and worked as a locally engaged staff member off and on until May, 1992.

Canada only uncovered his treachery after CSIS began to undertake a cooperative relationship with the Czech Security Information Service, which replaced the now-dissolved StB after Czechoslavakia's Velvet Revolution in 1989. As part of its agreement to forge new relations with its Czech counterparts, CSIS asked for proof that the Czechs were no longer spying on Canada. A review of the former StB's files revealed the extent of the compromise. An unidentified official was quoted as saying the clerk "passed on everything he could get his hands on."

Though it knew the Department of Justice had amassed incontrovertible evidence of the clerk's betrayal of Canada, the Crown Counsel decided it was not in the public interest to prosecute because the as-yet unreformed 1939 Official Secrets Act would never stand up to a Charter challenge.

A draft Official Secrets Act consistent with the Charter has existed since 1998, however the Liberal government has yet to introduce it.

(See Jim Bronskill, "Canadian spy escaped prosecution," *National Post*, 18 December 2000; Jim Bronskill, "Calls to reform Official Secrets Act go unheeded," *National Post*, 18 December 2000.)

#### SIRC, CSIS Disagree Over Threat Posed by Spy Network

A 12 October 2000 SIRC report obtain by the National Post under the *Access to Information Act* says CSIS is "on target" in its conclusion that an unidentified foreign country established a network of agents in 1994 to conduct espionage, influence Canadian foreign affairs and steal economic and scientific information, but it believes CSIS has exaggerated the threat posed by this network.

Citing the report, the National Post said SIRC "took issue with CSIS in regard to some of the descriptions of the threat posed. We found activities under investigation which did not appear to be significant, had no apparent connection to intelligence collection, or seemed to represent routine diplomatic actions." The SIRC report went on to say information submitted to the courts in affidavits to obtain warrants "was sometimes exaggerated to make a case."

According to the National Post, this is the second time SIRC has reviewed the same spy network. The first time it deemed the threat "nebulous" and though it now agrees that the network's spying presents "significant potential threats," SIRC still maintains CSIS is mistaken about its magnitude.

(See Stewart Bell, "Unidentified country spying on Canada," National Post, 3 January 2001, pA4.)

# **DND Study Says Satellite System Vulnerable to Attack**

A study conducted by the Department of National Defence has concluded that Canada's communications infrastructure depends on a network of satellites and ground stations that are overly vulnerable to attack and too difficult to replace if taken out of action.

The report said the communications system faces a range of threats, from hackers to medium- and long-range ballistic missiles. Of particular concern are ground stations, some of which are hard to protect because they are based in foreign countries. To manage this risk, the report said Canada must identify what parts of its communication system must survive an attack and which parts it can live without.

(See David Pugliese, "Vital satellites are sitting ducks: report," Ottawa Citizen, 5 Jan 2001.)

#### U of A Researcher Fights Allegation of Terrorist Association

Saren Azer, a internationally recognized asthma researcher and Kurdish refugee, has filed a document with the federal court in Edmonton which would oblige Immigration Minister Elinor Caplan to either grant him landed immigrant status or declare him a threat.

Having arrived in Canada in 1994 as a refugee, Azer has been awaiting permanent resident status ever since. The delay is due to a disagreement between the federal government, which is acting on information from CSIS, and SIRC.

According to a CSIS briefing, the 33 year-old native Iranian is a member of the Kurdish terrorist group, the PKK. Although Azer admits to having contacted people with links to the PKK during his time in Canada, he says he has also been in touch with Kurds who also anti-PKK and that none of his conversations can be interpreted as having terrorist overtones. Having reviewed the CSIS briefing and published its findings in September 2000, SIRC declared it to be "biassed and full of conjecture." SIRC went on to recommend that Azer be granted landed status.

Azer's case has been taken up by a Calgary immigration lawyer, Sharon Chotalia, who says that though CSIS was acting within its mandate when it placed Azer, his family and friends under surveillance when he first arrived in Canada, CSIS is no longer acting in an objective manner. She has called for greater transparency and accountability in the immigrant processing system.

(See Siobhan Roberts, "Researcher takes Ottawa to court over refusal to grant landed status," *National Post*, 6 January 2001; Don Retson, "A credit to Canada, or a threat?", *Edmonton Journal*, 6 January 2001; Jill Mahoney, "CSIS, SIRC at odds over man's citizenship," *Globe and Mail*, 6 January 2001.)

#### **BGen Patricia Samson Gets Top DND Intelligence Post**

In a move that received criticism in the House of Commons, BGen Patricia Samson has been promoted to Director General Intelligence. Fifty-five year-old Samson, who was cleared to serve past the normal retirement age by Minister National Defence Art Eggleton, is best known for her role a Provost Marshall in a controversial inquiry into the alleged poisoning of Canadian Forces warrant officer Matt Stopford by fellow Canadian peacekeepers in Croatia. Having been the target of criticism by an independent review of the investigation headed by BGen Joe Sharpe, Samson was subsequently cleared of any wrong-doing by the Military Complaints Commission. (See James Cudmore, "Controversial general to get top spy post," *National Post*, 9 January 2001, pA4; James Cudmore, "Amy probe of poisoning plot not botched," *National Post*, 18 January 2001.)

#### U.S. Offers Canada a Chance to Participate in Space Reconnaissance Project

According a story in the *Montreal Gazette*, the Department of National Defence's Polar Star project is part of the United States' National Reconnaissance Office Future Imagery Architecture program that will see 50 new spy satellites being launched as of 2005. Termed the "backbone" of U.S. plans to develop a national missile defence system, the new satellites have a collection capability twenty times that which currently exists.

A DND official contacted by the *Gazette* denied that the Polar Star project had anything to do with the NRO, but DND documents obtained by the paper contradict this assertion. In a 2000 report, Canadian Deputy Chief of Defence Staff LGen Ray Henault said "Polar Star is an intergovernmental project for which GoC [Government of Canada] has received an invitation to participate by the U.S. DOD." The report went on to state that "[t]here exists an unparalleled and time-sensitive opportunity to enhance Canada's space-based intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities in co-operation with the United States."

Unidentified defence analysts interviewed for the story said Polar Star represents a means for Canada to mend bridges with the United States over its seeming lack of support on issues such as National Missile Defense, anti-personnelland mines and nuclear weapons.

(See David Pugliese, "Canada offered a role in U.S. spying from space," The Gazette, 25 January 2001.)

#### Two New Critical Information Infrastructure-Related Centres Stood Up

On 4 December 2000, the Government of Canada Information Protection Coordination Centre was stood up as a 24/7 operations centre staffed by seconded personnel from the RCMP, CSE, CSIS and other Canadian federal departments. Alternatively pronounced with a hard or soft "G," depending on the political correctness of the speaker, GIPCC is mandated to examine threats, release advisories, collect data, assess impact, and establish communications with other organizations and the public. GIPCC is just one of the entities set up as a result of the recommendations of the Critical Infrastructure Protection Task Force, which was created to provide the federal government with a series of policy recommendations on this issue.

With the establishment under the Department of National Defence of the Office of Critical Infrastructure Protection and Emergency Preparedness on 5 February 2001, the task force put itself out of business. However, many of the people involved in the task force have been appointed to positions within the new Office. Margaret Purdy, formerly Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet (Security and Intelligence), Privy Council Office, has become Associate Deputy Minister of National Defence and will head up the Office.

A press release from DND's website says the Office will "build partnerships with the private sector, the provinces, territories and municipalities, and key international partners, the US in particular; promote dialogue among Canada's critical infrastructure owners and operators and foster information sharing on threats and vulnerabilities; provide a focal point for the federal government's own cyber incident analysis and coordination efforts and support federal departments and agencies in meeting their responsibilities for protecting their IT systems and networks; promote other areas of cooperation such as raising awareness, enhancing education and training, and promoting information technology security research and development; and achieve an appropriate level of national civil emergency preparedness."

Given the seeming overlap between the two organization's cyber incident analysis and coordination mandate, it is unclear if the two will operate side by side or if one will ultimately incorporate the other. It is also noteworthy that Prime Minster Chretien chose to announce the creation of the Office in the United States, ensuring that this development would receive minimal coverage in the national press.

(See coverage of AFCEA presentation by Gary O'Bright in PDF format at <a href="https://home.istar.ca/~afcea/newsletter/pdf2000/dec00.pdf">home.istar.ca/~afcea/newsletter/pdf2000/dec00.pdf</a>; Press Release, Office of the Prime Minister, "Prime Minister Announces Office of Critical Infrastructure Protection and Emergency Preparedness,"

http://pm.gc.ca/default.asp?Language=E&Page=newsroom&Sub=newsreleases&Doc=emergency.20010205
e.htm; Backgrounder, Department of National Defence, "Office of Critical infrastructure Protection and Emergency Preparedness," BG-01.004, 5 February 2001,

http://www.dnd.ca/eng/archive/2001/feb01/06protect b e.htm )

# CSIS Concerned About Possible Threat from Anti-Biotechnology Groups

A declassified version of a CSIS report released to the *Ottawa Citizen* under the Access to Information Act discusses the potential threat of terrorism directed at biotechnology research and highlights a number of destructive acts that have taken place in Canada.

Citing tree spiking in British Columbia and the destruction by a group called Democraseed of a corn crop being grown at the federal government's Central Experimental Farm, were cited as examples of the kind of activities Canadians can expect to see more of in the coming years. (As it turns out, Democraseed targetted a crop that was not genetically modified, a \$50,000 blunder.) The report noted that "Destruction of genetically engineered plants has become common in Europe and Great Britain, but the activity has only recently come to North America."

Though the actions of anti-biotechnology activists may be potentially dangerous or costly, they have been essentially non-violent said the report. However, CSIS expressed concern that once these activists are folded into the more violence-oriented anti-globalisation movement, things could change.

(See Jim Bronskill, "CSIS Targets Biotech Sabotage," *Ottawa Citizen*, 12 February 2001, <a href="http://www.ottawacitizen.com/national/010212/5041764.html">http://www.ottawacitizen.com/national/010212/5041764.html</a>

# International Intelligence News

## **British Police Recover Enigma Machine**

After months of playing cat and mouse with a thief who called himself "The Master" and was responsible for stealing a rare Enigma encryption machine from Bletchley Park, UK police finally arrested a 57 year-old man suspected of the theft. UK codebreakers were called in to decipher a mysterious letter that appeared five months later demanding \$USD 10,000 and legal immunity for the return of Bletchley Park's prized WWII Enigma cipher machine, which is valued at ten times that amount. Typed on a wartime typewriter, the English-language letter was reported as having an "unusual sentence structure" and a signature using a word that does not exist in the English dictionary. The letter, the first of three, purported to come from a middleman representing someone who purchased the machine, not knowing that it was stolen. As an indication of its authenticity, it included a photograph of the unique number plate attached to the stolen machine. The Engima machine was taken in a daring daytime snatch, when tourist crowds obscured the museum's security staff from the site of a man casually carrying out the machine. In a bizarre twist, the machine tumed up in a cardboard package sent to Jeremy Paxman, a well-known television personality at BBC-2.

(See www.the-times.co.uk/news/pages/tim/2000/09/13/timnwsnws02044.html;

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#### Wen Ho Lee Released

On September 10, government prosecutors agreed to drop all but one charge against Chinese-American scientist, Wen Ho Lee, who was accused of stealing nuclear weapons secrets from Los Alamos laboratory. In return for his release, Lee agreed to plead guilty to the charge that he had improperly downloaded classified material onto an unsecured computer.

(See James Sterngold, "U.S. to Reduce Case Against Scientist to a Single Charge," New York Times, 11 September, 2000. <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2000/09/11/national/11LEE.html">http://www.nytimes.com/2000/09/11/national/11LEE.html</a>)

#### NRO Commission Report Says Military a Glutton for Satellite Imagery

The Commission for the Review of the National Reconnaissance Office released the full text of its report to Congress in late 2000. According to the commission, the U.S. Military's appetite for satellite imagery is so voracious that it is limiting the ability of the White House, State Department and other policymakers to obtain what they need. With this in mind, the commission recommended that the White House reconsider a Presidential Directive instructing the NRO to give first priority to the protection of U.S. troops abroad and start asking the Pentagon to ante up money for its use of NRO assets.

As well, the report recommended the creation of an Office of Space Reconnaissance to handle taskings for imagery. The commission said the NRO must stay focussed on its space-based reconnaissance mission and maintain its current status as the only U.S. government agency responsible for developing satellite reconnaissance programs. For historians of the NRO, the report makes interesting reading and Appendix E of the report provides a brief overview of the NRO's development into a world leader in satellite technology. The report is available online at <a href="http://www.nrocommission.com/toc.htm">http://www.nrocommission.com/toc.htm</a> and longtime intelligence community watcher Walter Pincus provides further details in a Washington Post Article. See Walter Pincus, "Competition for Data from Satellites Rises," Washington Post, 20 November, pA9, <a href="http://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/printedition/fed/f">http://washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/printedition/fed/f</a> satel20.htm

#### U.K. Public Records Office Releases More WWII Spy Files from MI5

In its fifth release of records from MI5, the PRO says interrogation transcripts, photos and personal items are now available on an assortment of World War II British traitors, double agents and Nazi spies. Included in this release are files on William Joyce "Lord Haw, Haw" and his wife Margaret, and British Union of Fascist member Roy Purdy. See <a href="http://www.pro.gov.uk/news/pressreleases/MI5/mi5">http://www.pro.gov.uk/news/pressreleases/MI5/mi5</a> intro.htm

#### Review

Yves Bonnet, **Contre-espionnage: Mémoires d'un patron de la DST** [Counterintelligence: Memoirs of a former head of the DST], Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2000. Pp. 555. Notes. Glossary. Appendices. Index. ISBN 2-7021-3091-7. FF135.

#### By Stéphane Lefebvre

Yves Bonnet headed the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST – the French security service) from 1982 to 1985. His memoirs, published when the controversy over those of Dame Stella Rimington surfaced in the United Kingdom (see CASIS Newsletter #36), is a detailed account of his experience at the DST and of his prefectoral appointments in France's "Départements et Territoires d'Outre-mer" (DOM-TOM – Overseas Departments and Territories).

Bonnet's appointment coincided with that of Admiral Pierre Lacoste at the Direction générale de la Sécurité extérieure (DGSE – the French foreign intelligence service). In appointing these two, who did not know each other and lacked political clout, President Mitterrand had hoped he had set the stage for improved relations between the two rival agencies. As far as Bonnet is concerned, however, the DGSE did not change its ways and continued to try to undermine the DST. He admits that he, too, sought to trouble Admiral Lacoste. For instance, he told parliamentarians that as far as the DST was concerned its foreign intelligence service of choice for exchanging information was either the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), not the DGSE. Although Bonnet was instrumental in having a CIA officer expelled for running an Hungarian spy in France without the knowledge of the DST, he only had good things to say about the Agency.

The CIA, in fact, had an important role to play, along with Germany's foreign intelligence service (BND), in the exploitation of material turned over by Farewell, the codename for KGB Colonel Vladimir Ippolitovitch Vetrov. Between 1980 and 1982, Vetrov gave the DST 2,997 documents which had originally been stolen from the West by the USSR. Technical documents for the most part, the date and place from which they were stolen were marked on them, thus facilitating the capture of those responsible for their compromise. Ultimately, Bonnet used the analyses provided by the CIA, the BND, and his own service to convince President Mitterrand to expel 47 Soviet diplomats. That Vetrov was executed for treason in January 1983 was not the fault of the DST. According to Bonnet, Vetrov's own mistakes – not the DST's, as some have alleged – led to his arrest and execution.

About his service, Bonnet is rather critical. During his tenure, he often complained that the DST lacked resources and expertise and that it had too much of a police mentality. The subordination of the DST to the Direction générale de la Police nationale (DGPN, the Directorate General for the National Police), according to Bonnet, was not appropriate for the development of career intelligence officers. Nonetheless, Bonnet believes that he had a very good cadre of officers and with them conducted a number of successful operations. In addition to Farewell in the field of espionage, Bonnet is particularly proud that in 1983 his service put an end of the activities of the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) in France and successfully disrupted those of the Fractions armées révolutionnaires libanaises (FARL). He also gives fair attention to his service's cooperation with the Palestine Liberation Organization's (PLO) intelligence apparatus as well as discussions held with Syria and Algeria. These make for highly interesting readings and clearly indicate the importance France assigned to the Middle East, as well as the impact this region had on France's internal security.

Politics is a recurring subject in Bonnet's book. He describes his relationship with President Mitterrand and his staff, as well as that with Interior Minister Pierre Joxe. Bonnet disliked the security coordination cell established by Mitterrand and simply disqualified it as incompetent and inconsequential. The fact that he met the President only three times also appears to be an irritant to Bonnet. As for Joxe, Bonnet was critical of his cosy relationship with the media. The latter, ultimately, lead to Bonnet's resignation following revelations on technology transfers related to Farewell's case. These leaks were seen as an attempt to embarrass the

presidency, whereas Bonnet had planned them to be a clear message to Russian intelligence that it could no longer operate with impunity on French soil. Bonnet's plan, however, was short-circuited when television scooped the daily *Le Monde*, which was supposed to publish the stories after receiving Bonnet's go-ahead. On 31 July 1985, Bonnet quit the DST and accepted a new job as Préfet.

Of value to the historian, as well as the intelligence and terrorism analyst, the book nonetheless contains a small number of factual errors, including one on Canada. Bonnet's memory was probably faulty when he wrote at endnote one of Chapter 3 that it was only in 1984 that the RCMP finally created a counter-intelligence service, when in fact CSIS was created separate from the RCMP that very same year. Other mistakes include providing the wrong acronym for Russia's Federal Security Service and wrongly substituting CIA for NSA when discussing the SIGINT cooperation. Bonnet could also have elaborated on his assertion that both Gorbachev and Yeltsin worked for the KGB.

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