FEDERAL COURT

BETWEEN:

BRITISH COLUMBIA CIVIL LIBERTIES ASSOCIATION

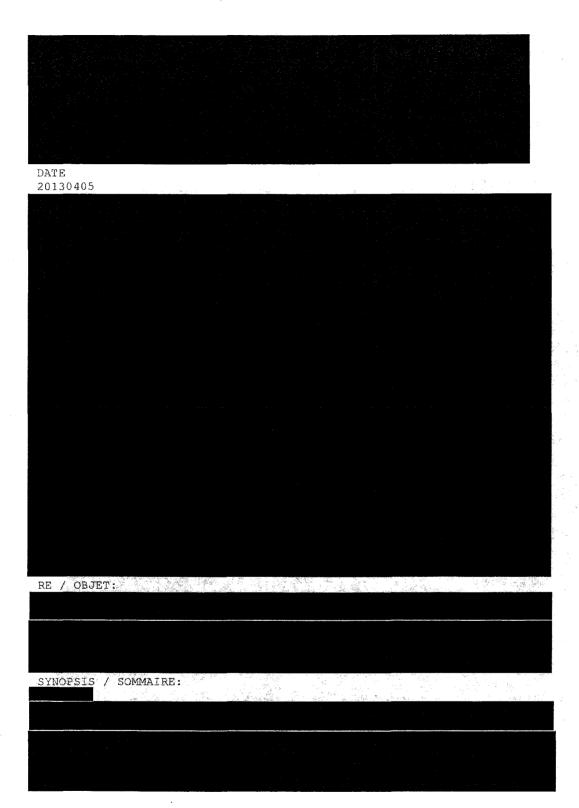
Applicant

- and -

ATTORNEY GENERAL OF CANADA

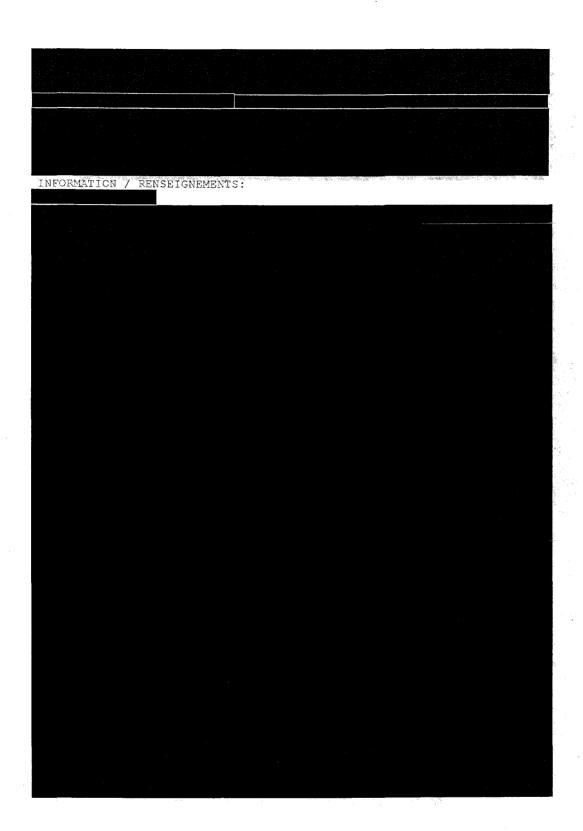
Respondent

CERTIFIED TRIBUNAL RECORD Volume VII



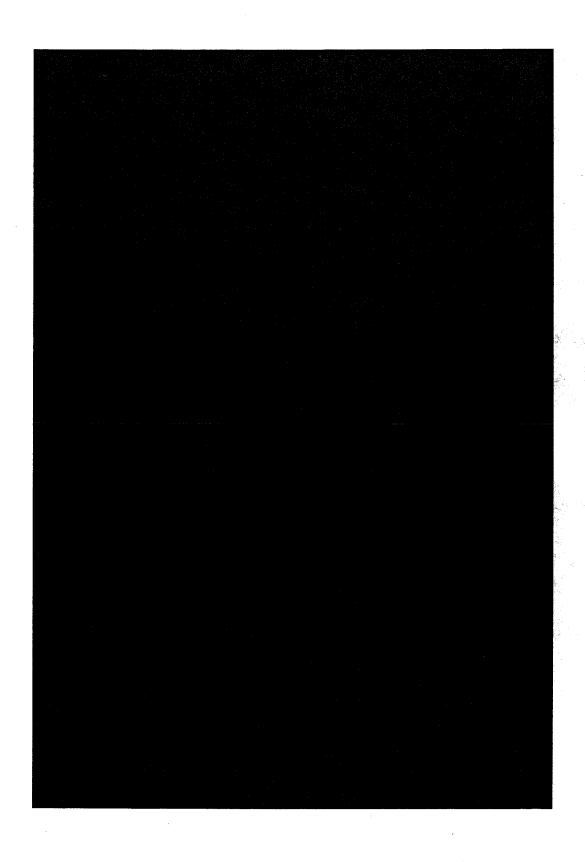
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1 of 5 AGC0376

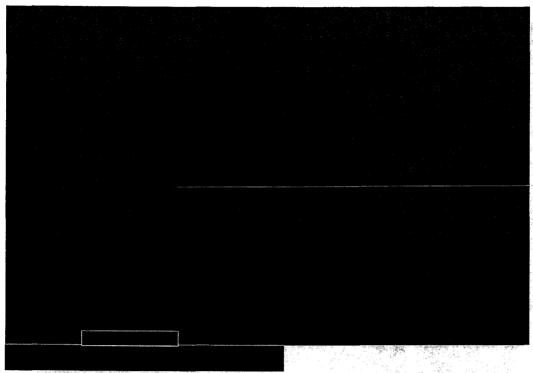


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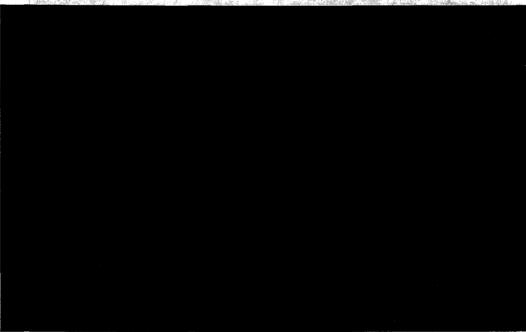


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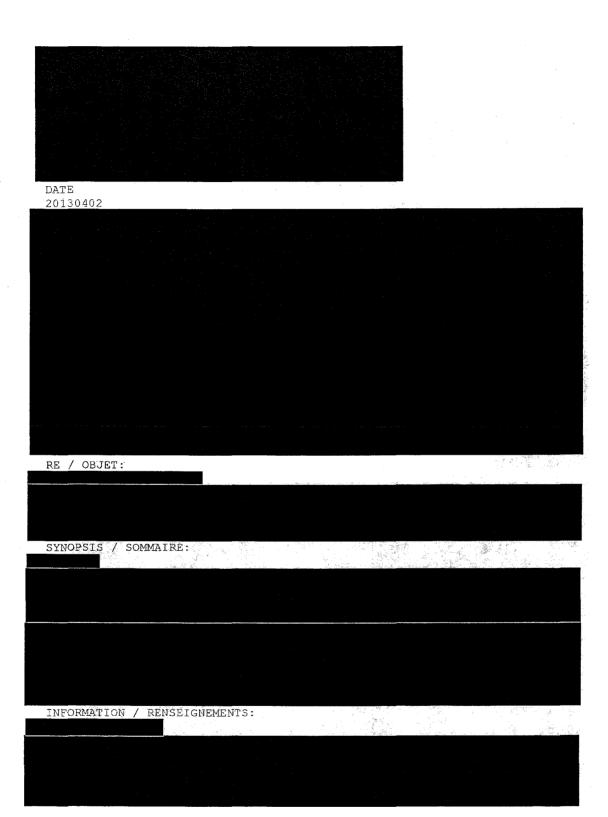


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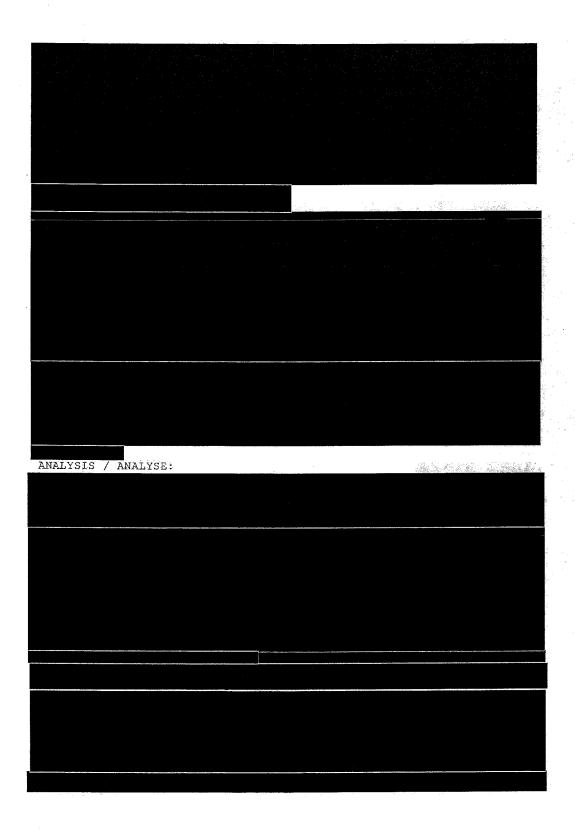
3) The above information has been collected and reported to assist the Service in assessing the threat environment and the potential for threat-related violence stemming from protests / demonstrations.



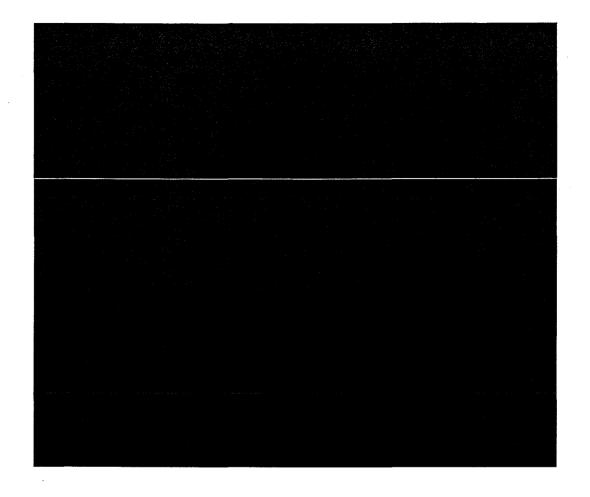
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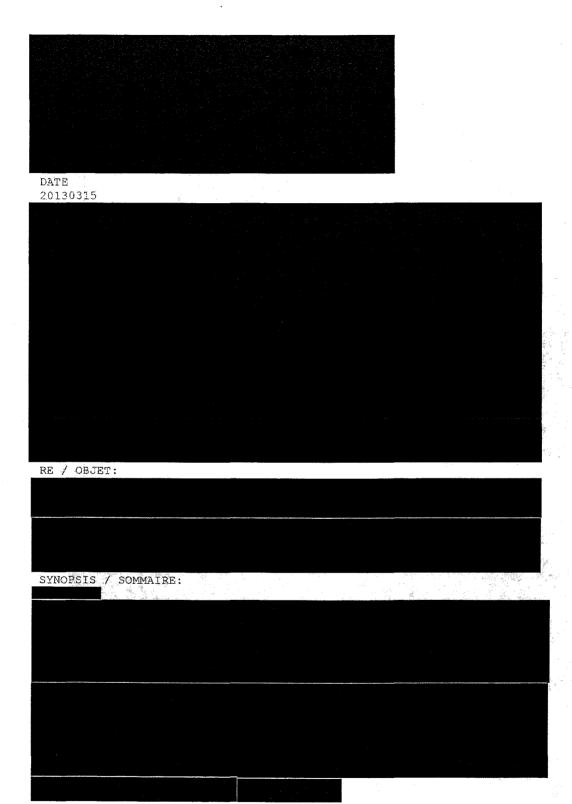


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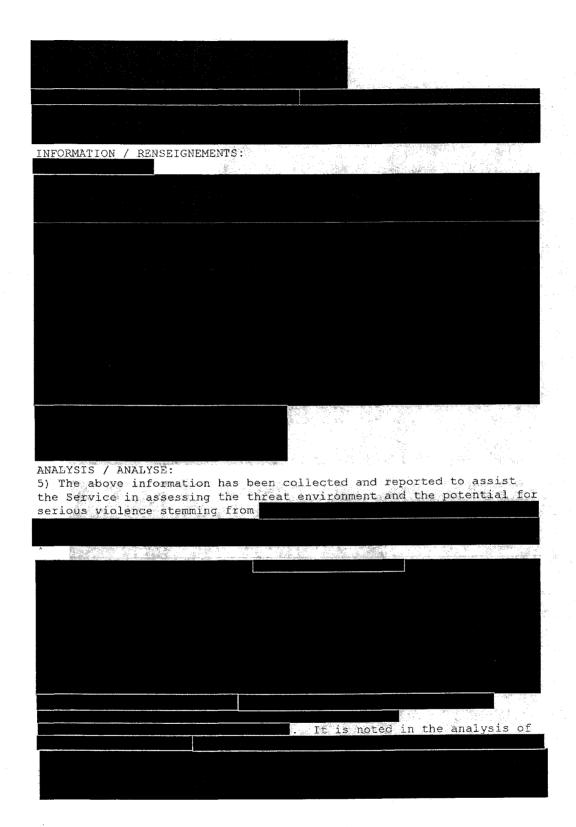


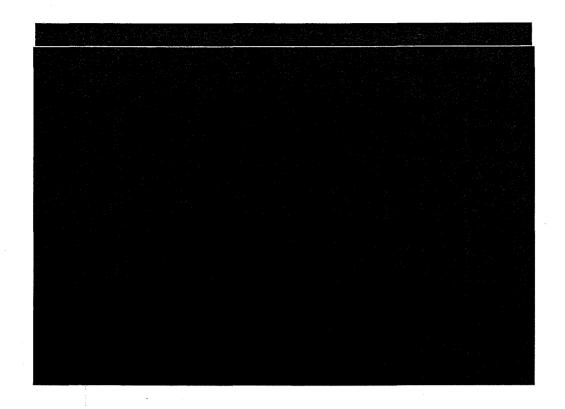
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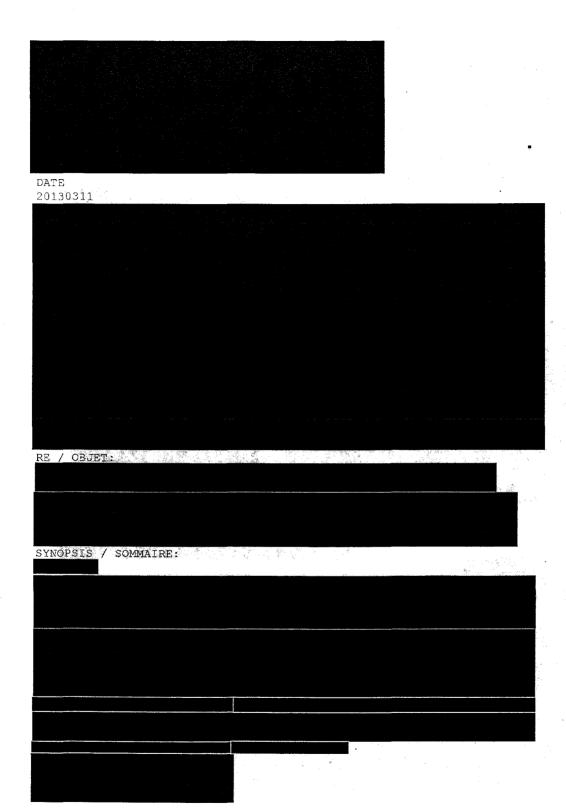




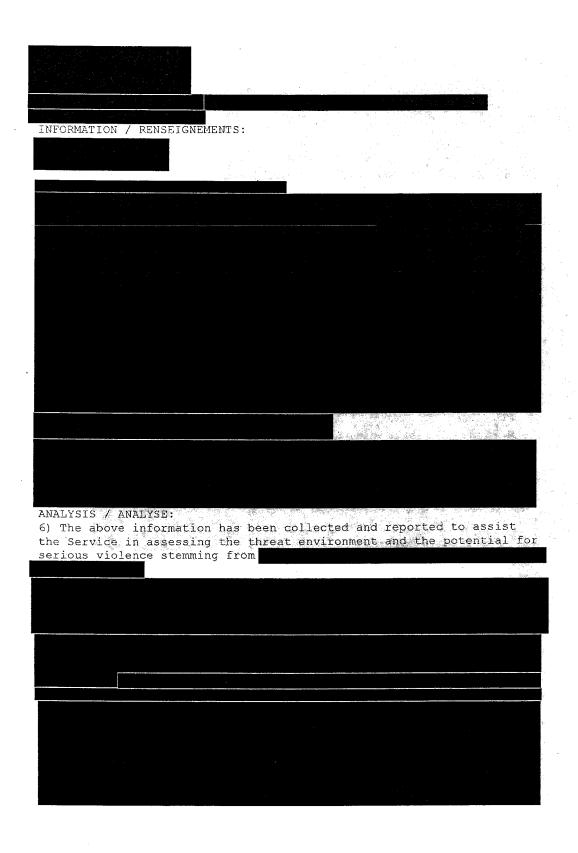
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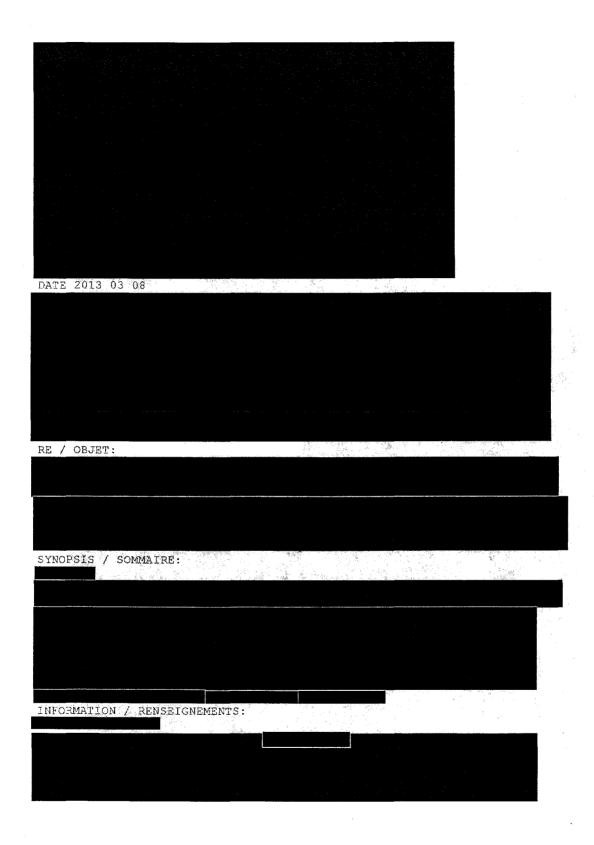


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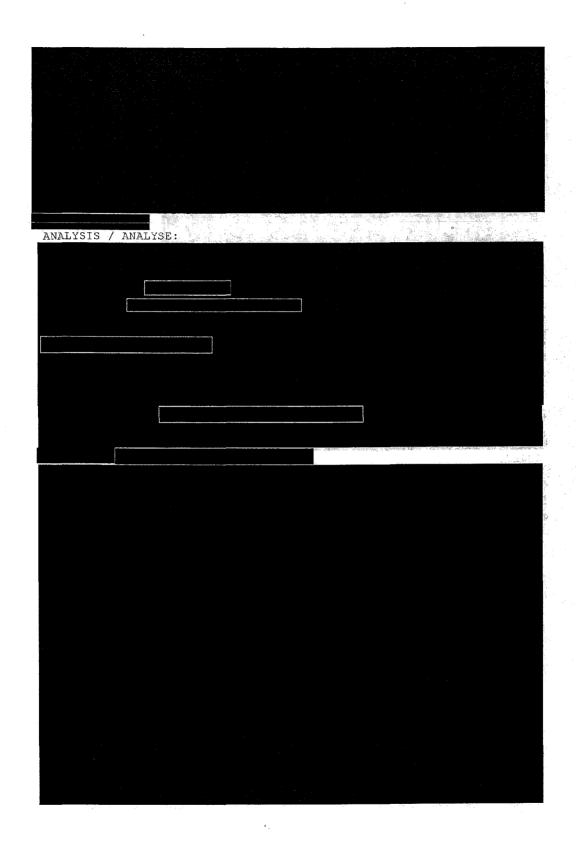


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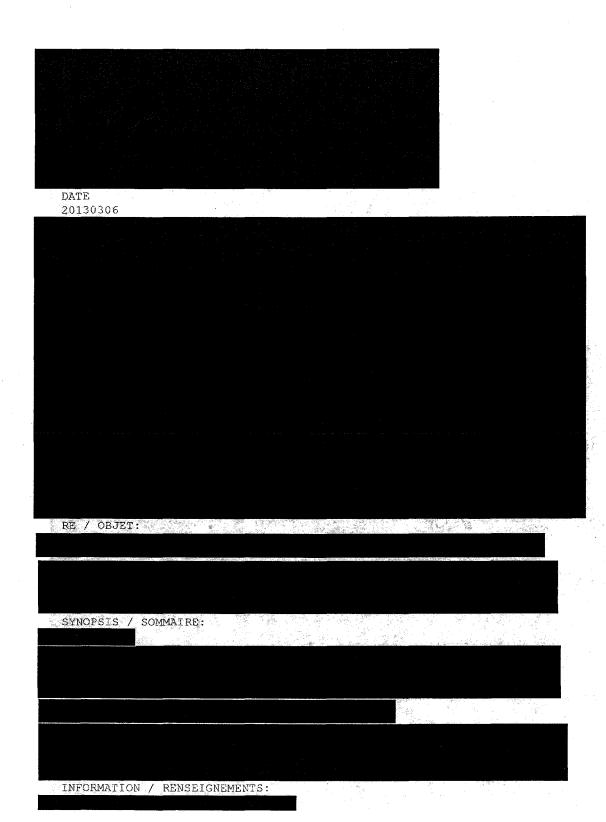
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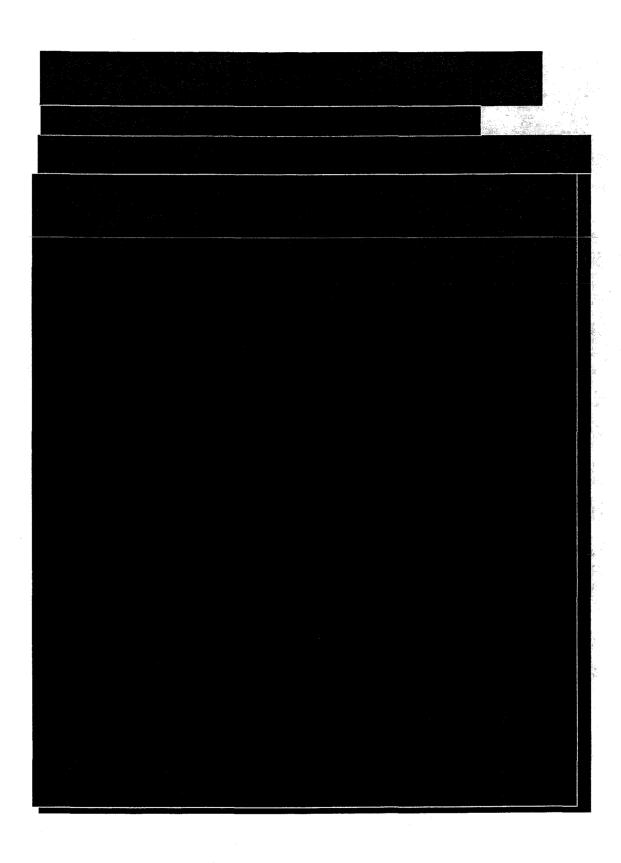
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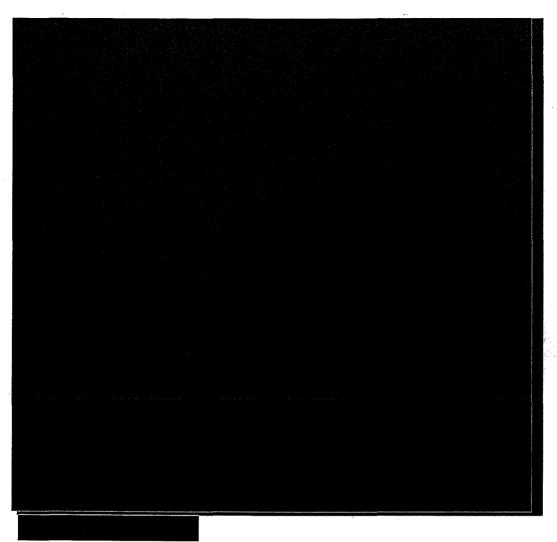


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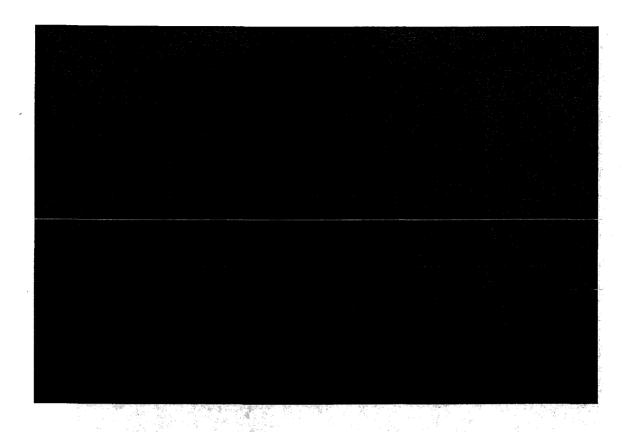


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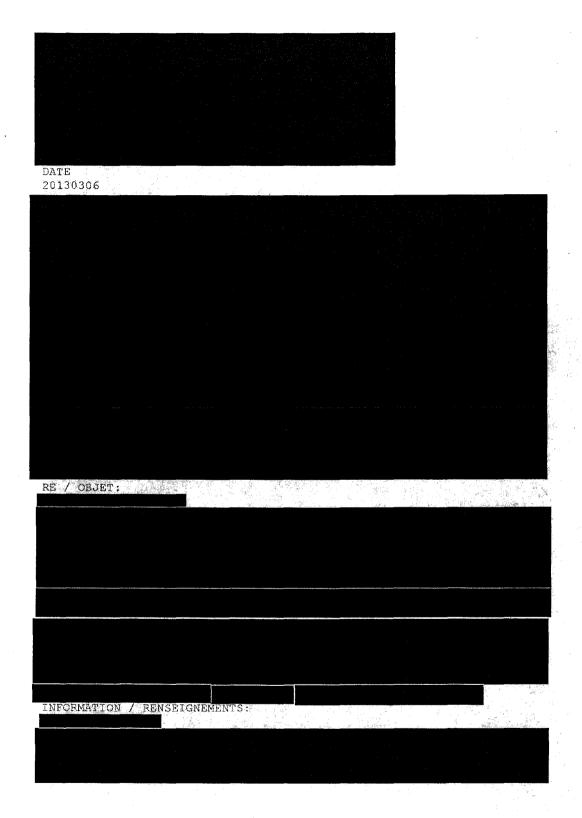
9) L'information susmentionnée a été recueillie et rapportée afin d'assister le Service dans l'évaluation du contexte de la menace ainsi que du potentiel de violence y étant lié pouvant découler des protestations du

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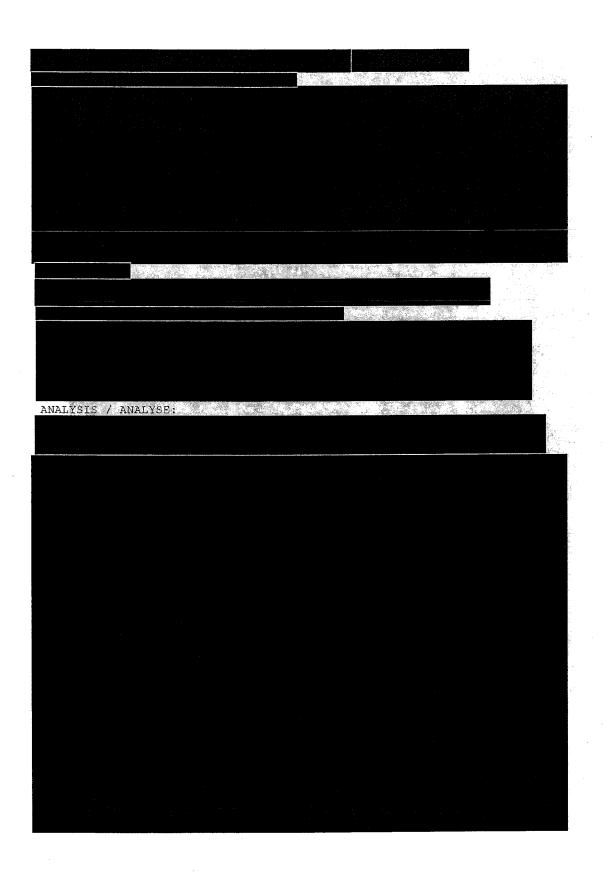


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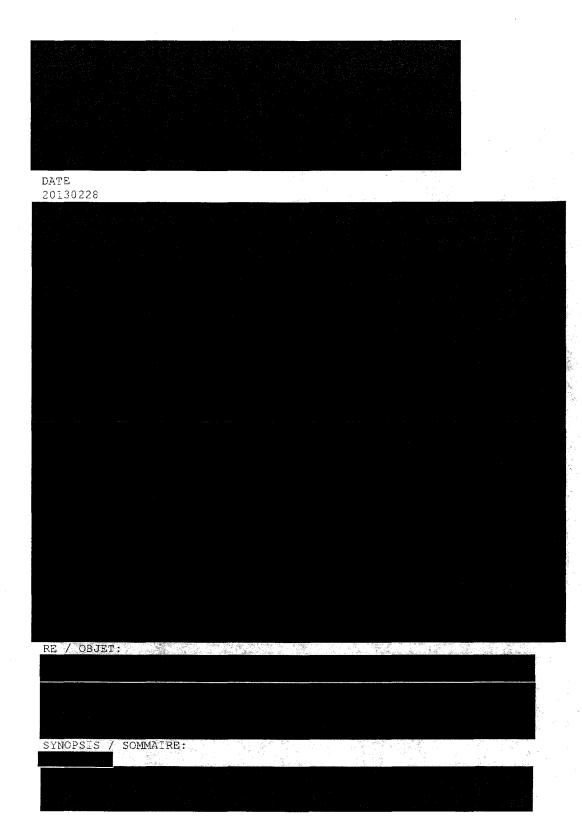
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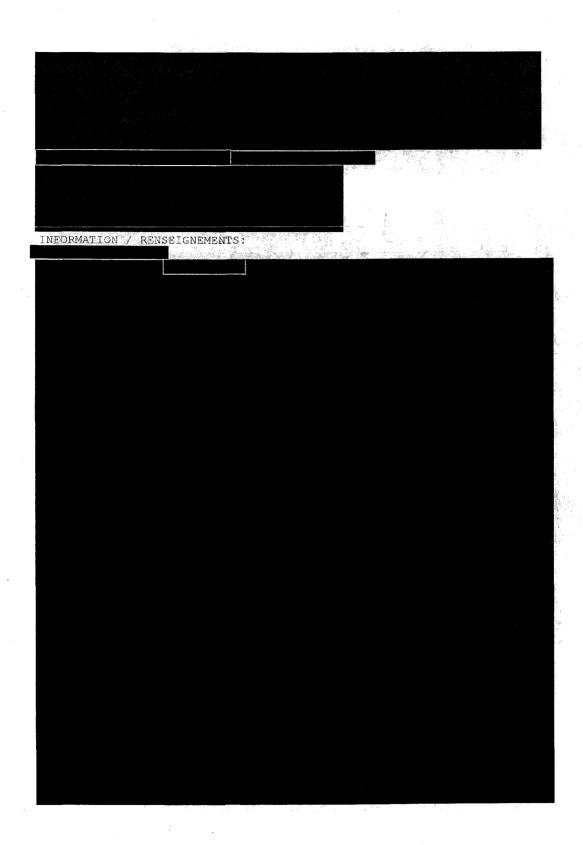
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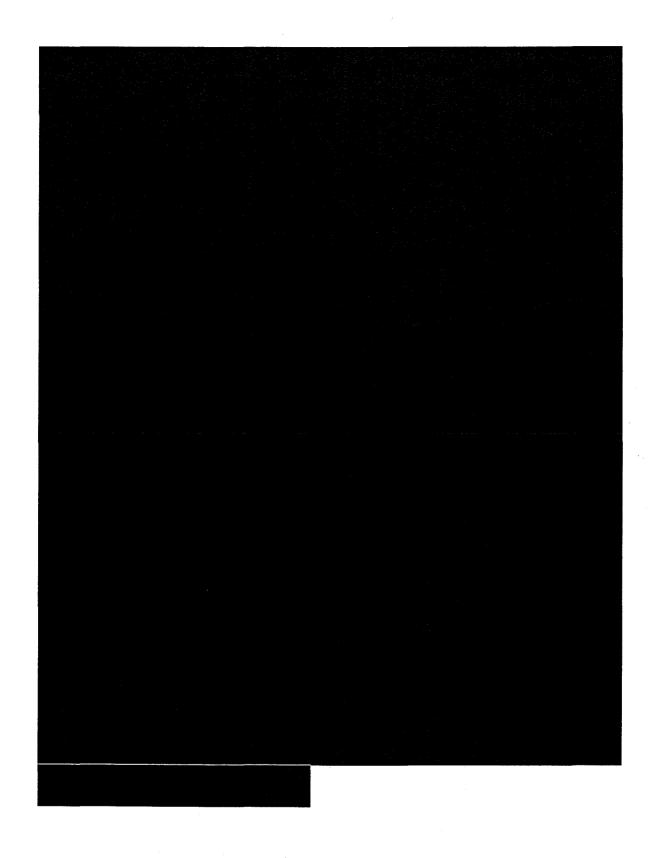
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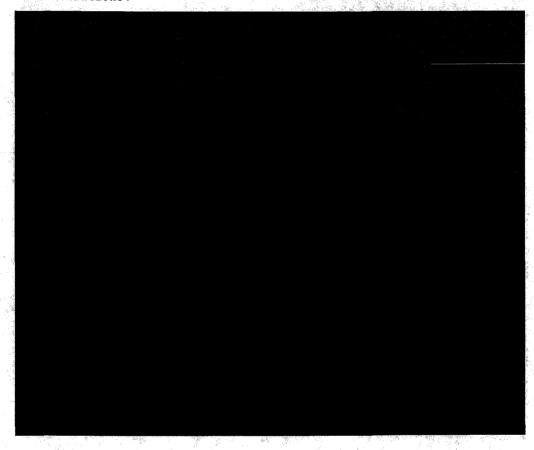
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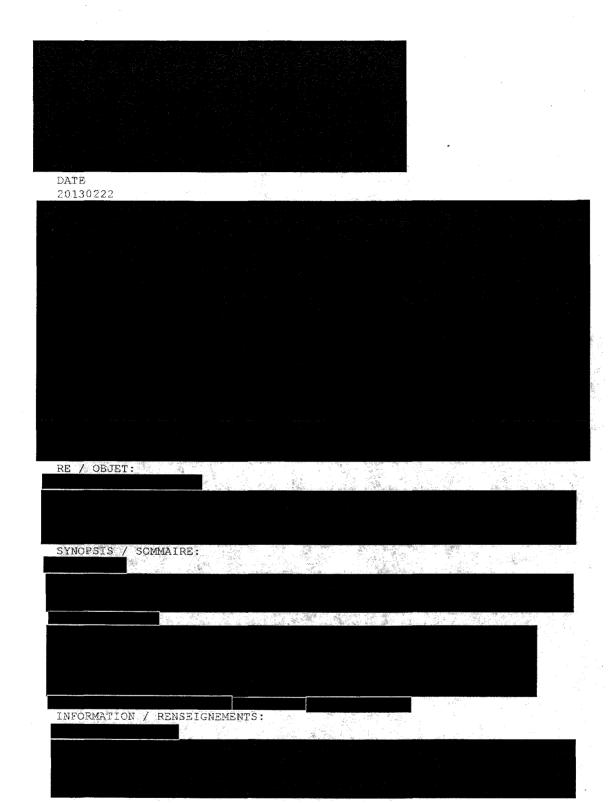
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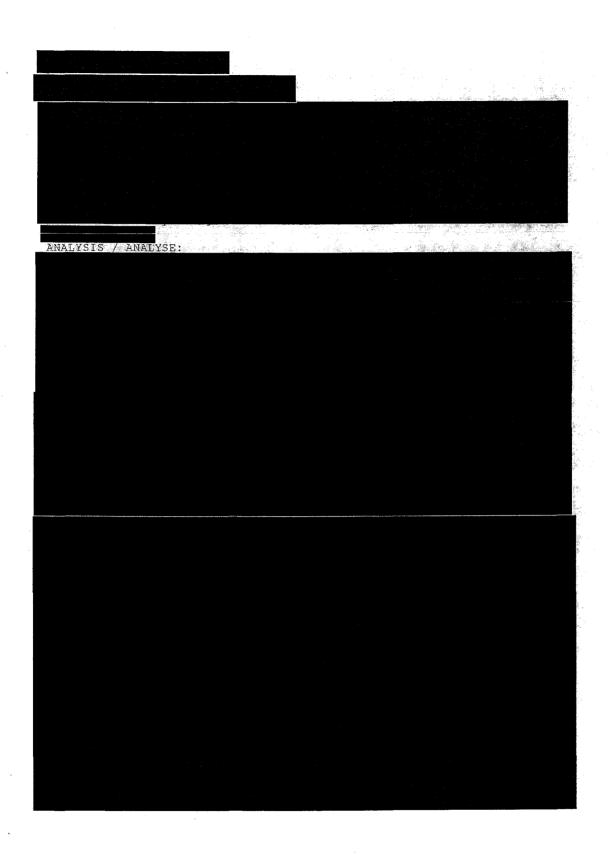
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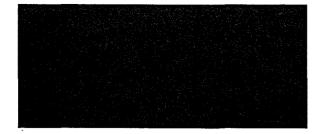


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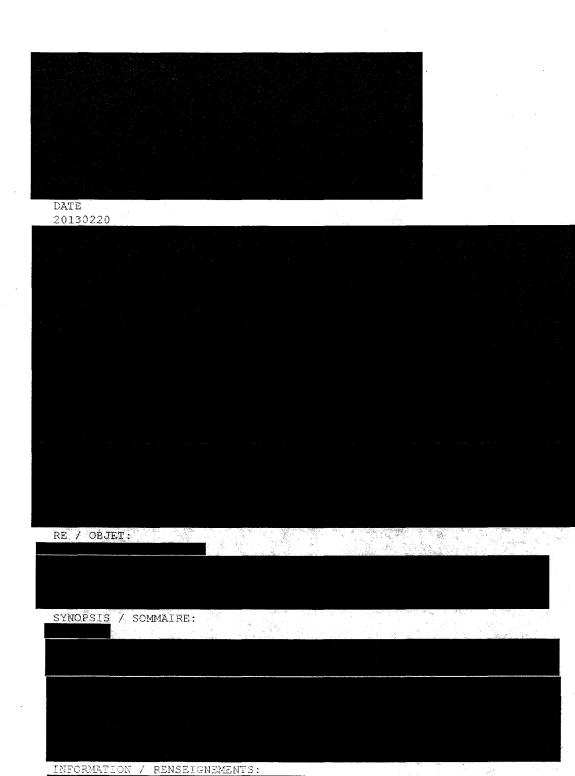
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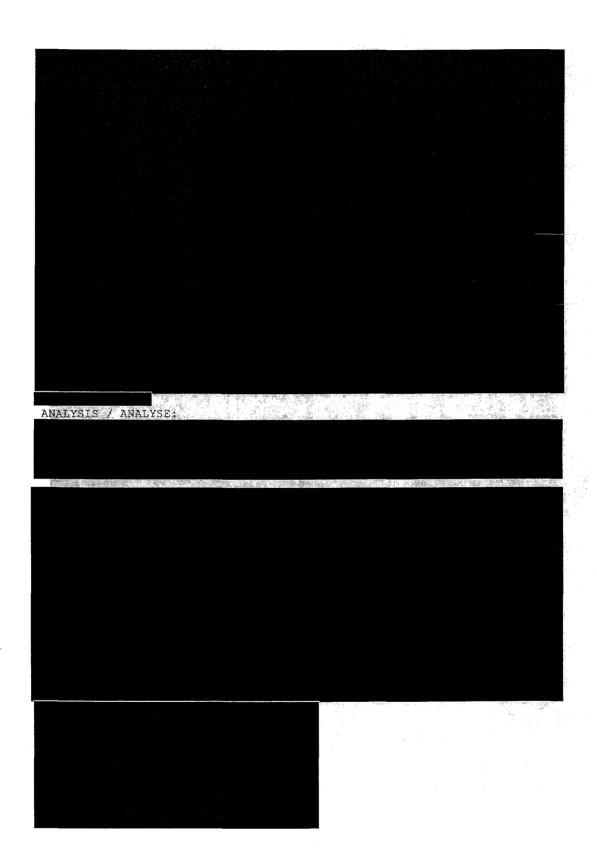


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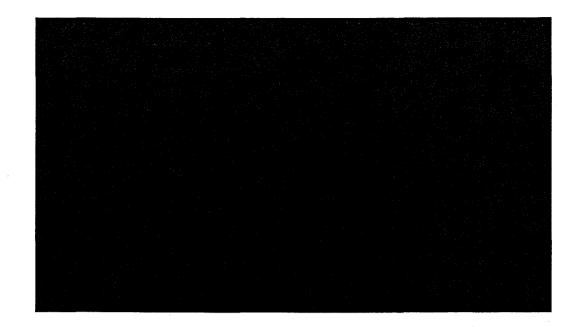
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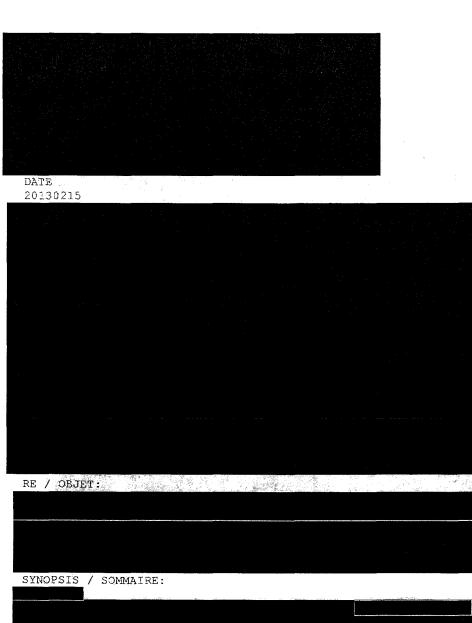
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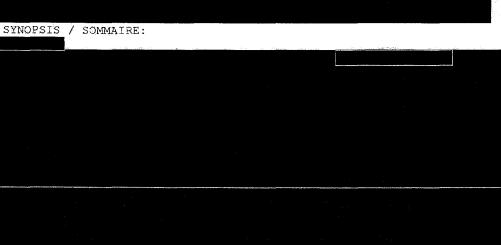


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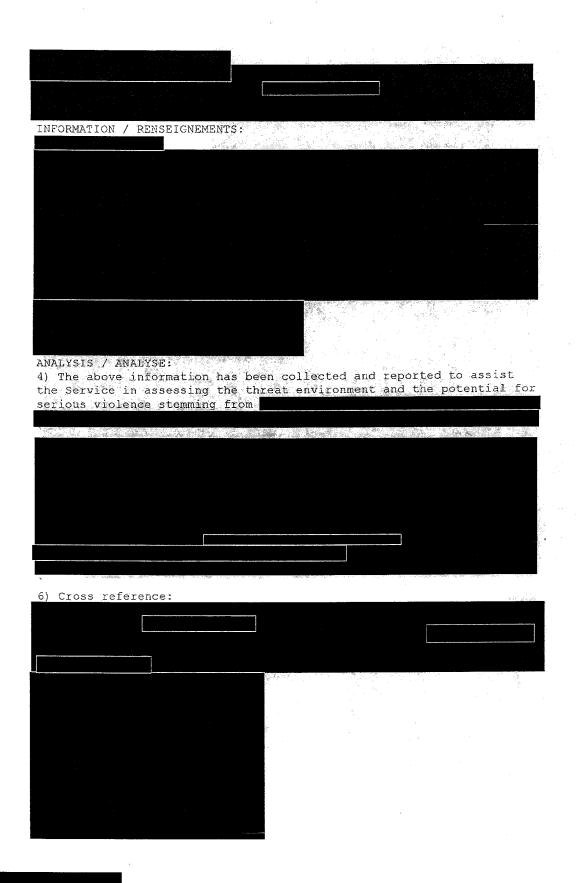


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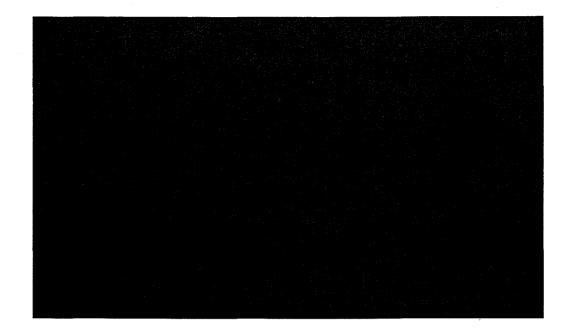




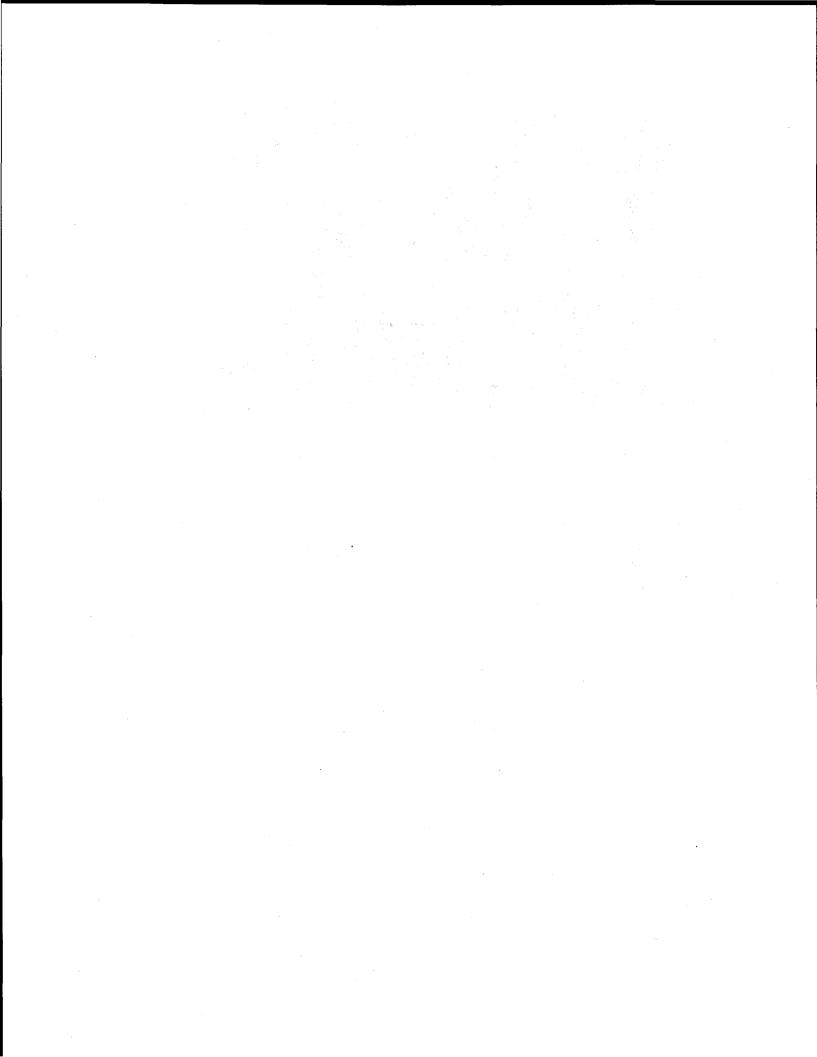
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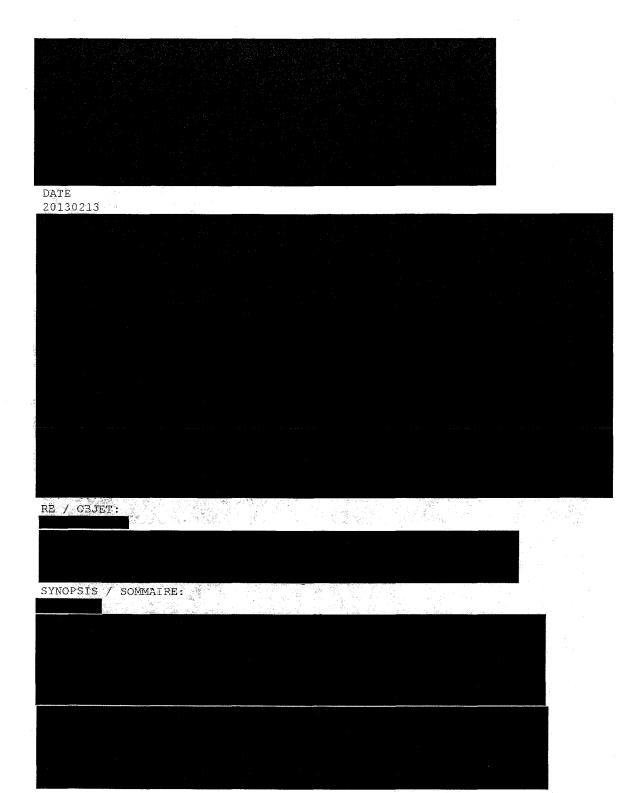


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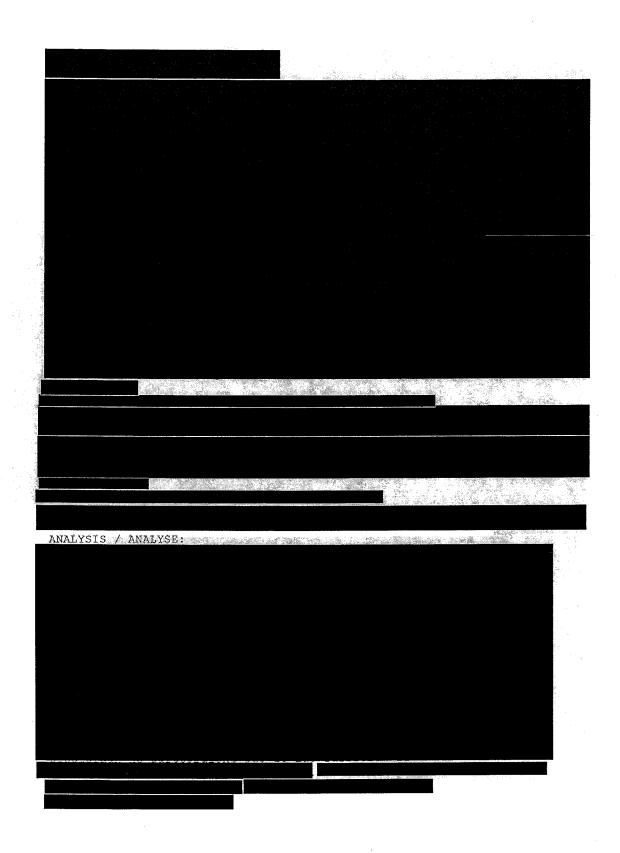




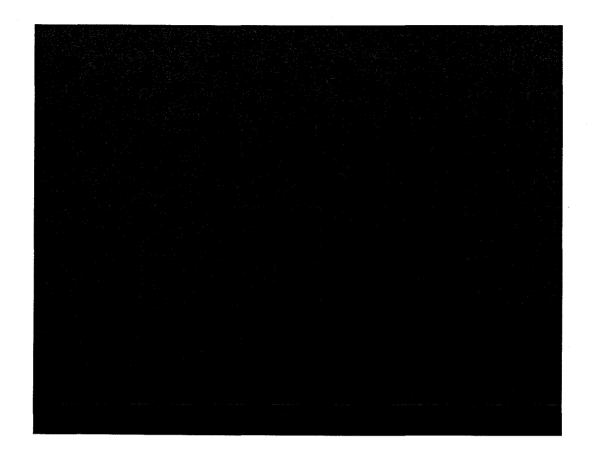
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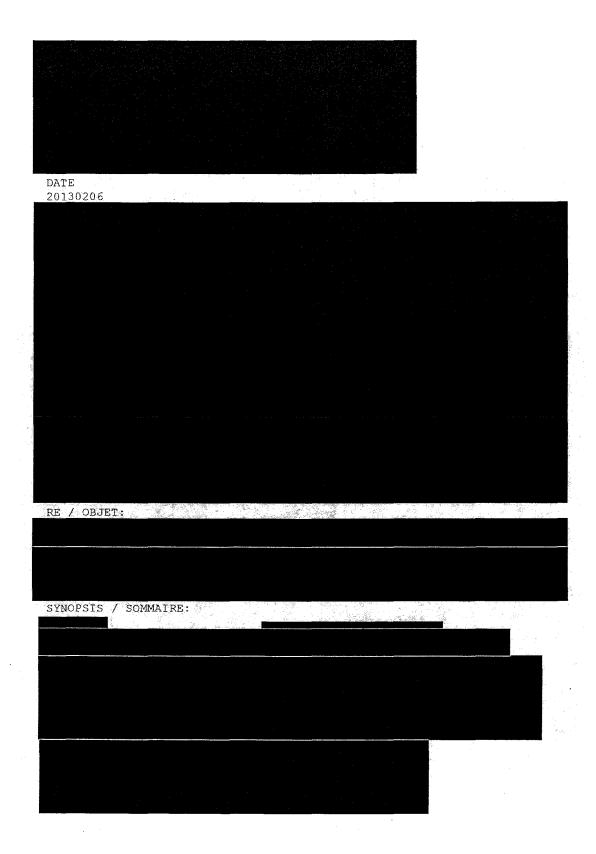
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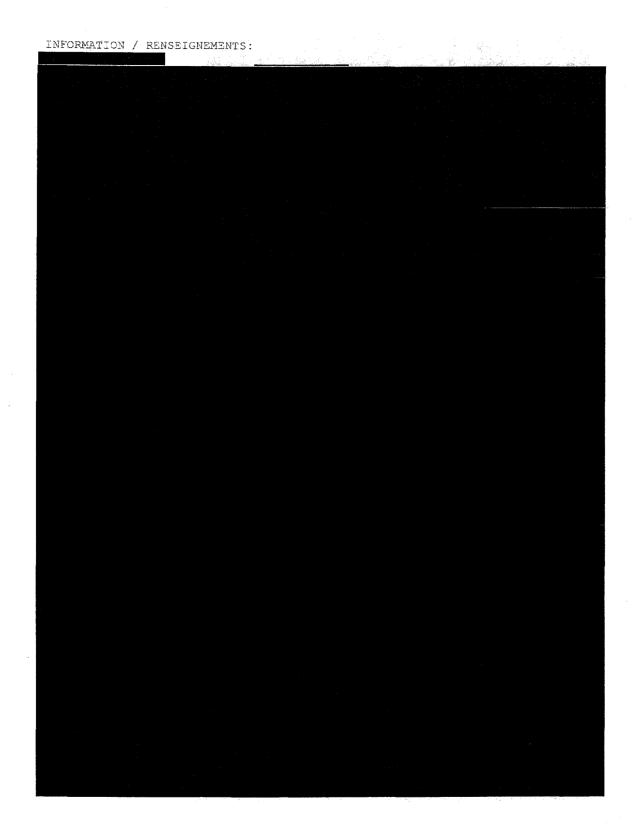
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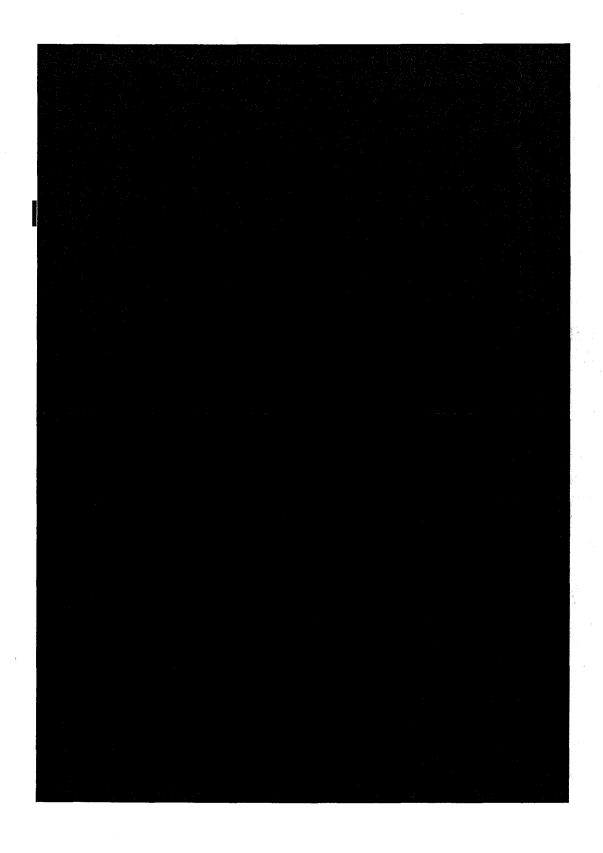
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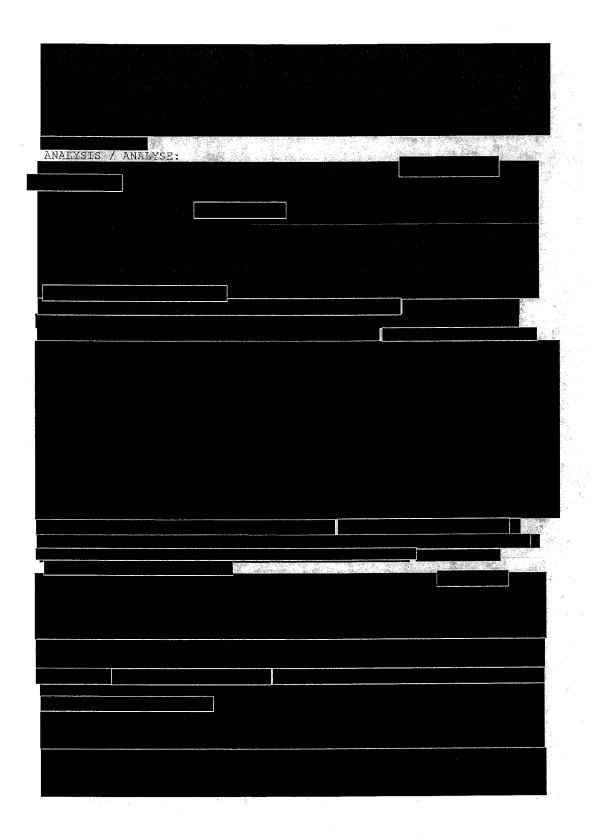
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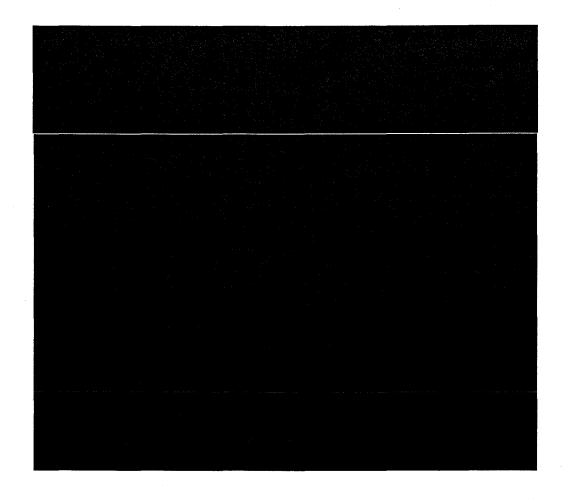
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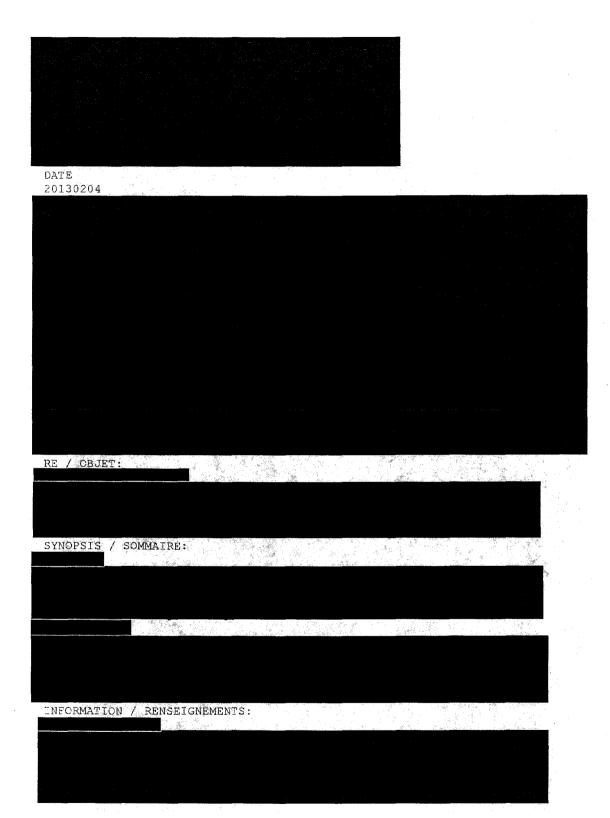


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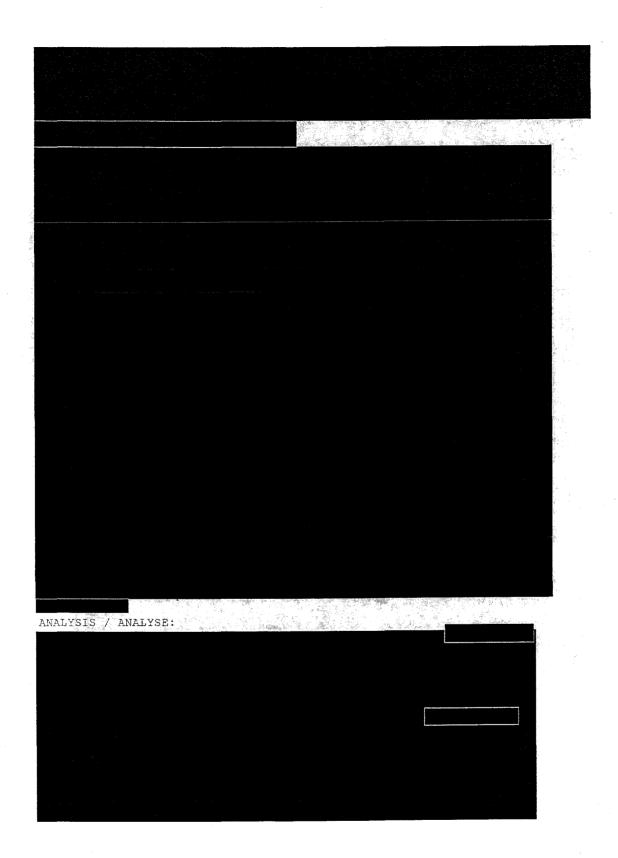


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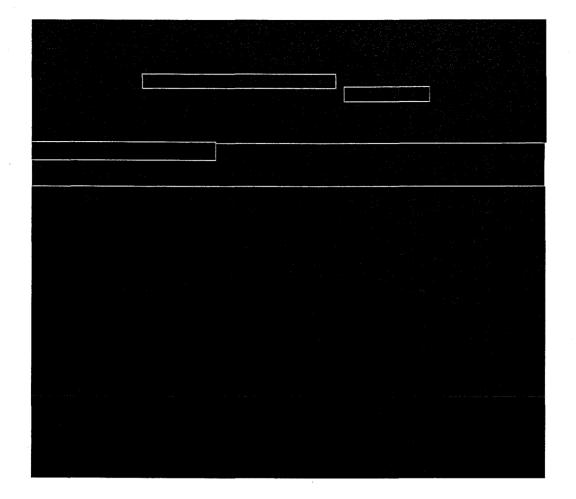




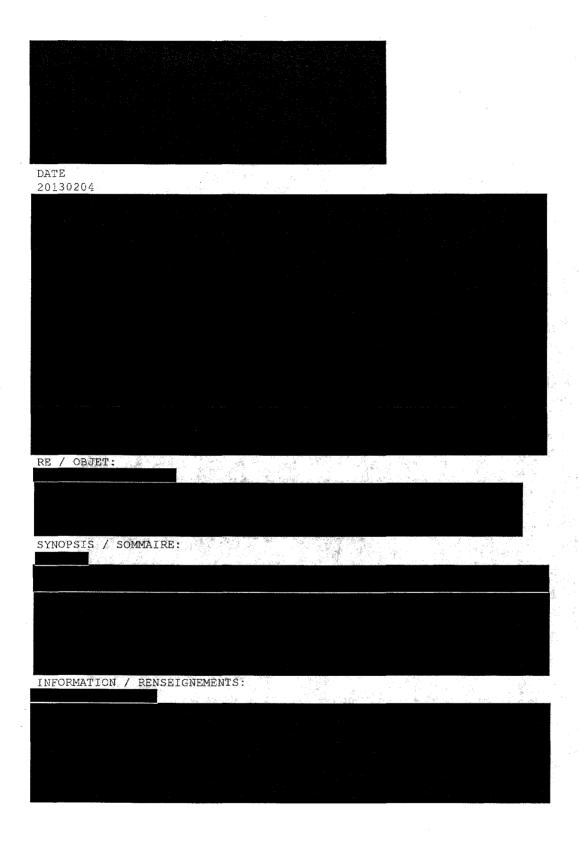
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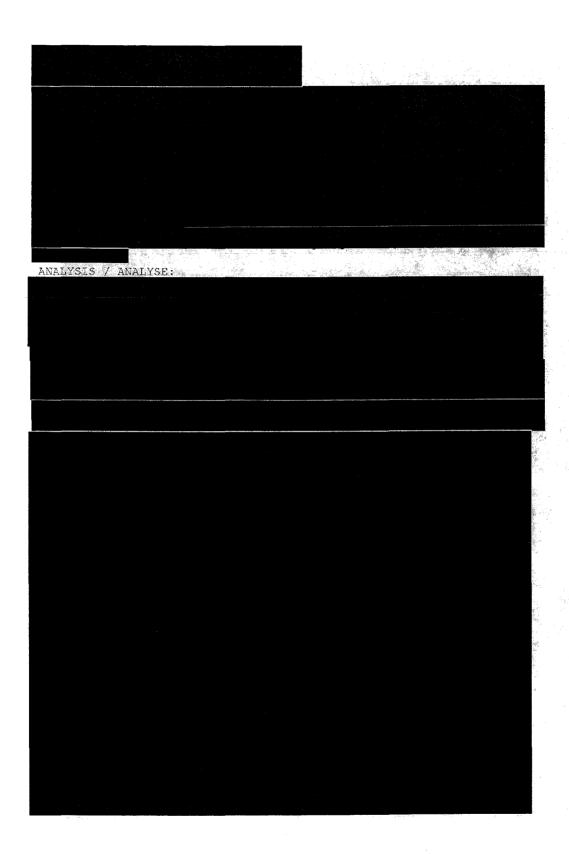
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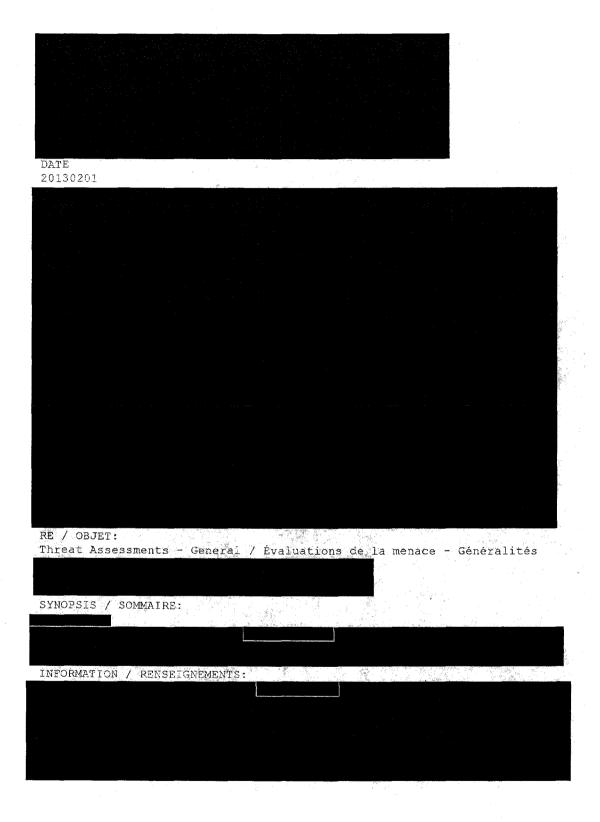
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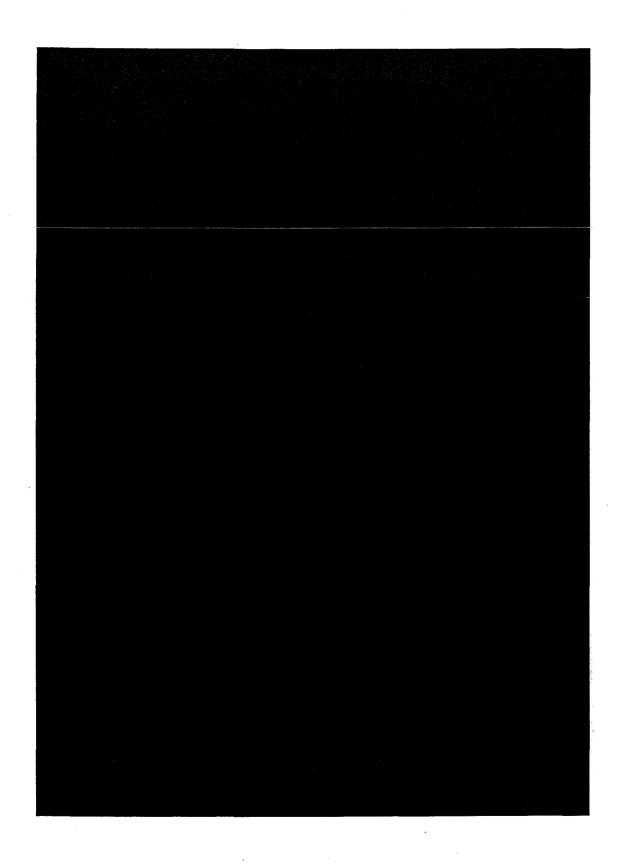
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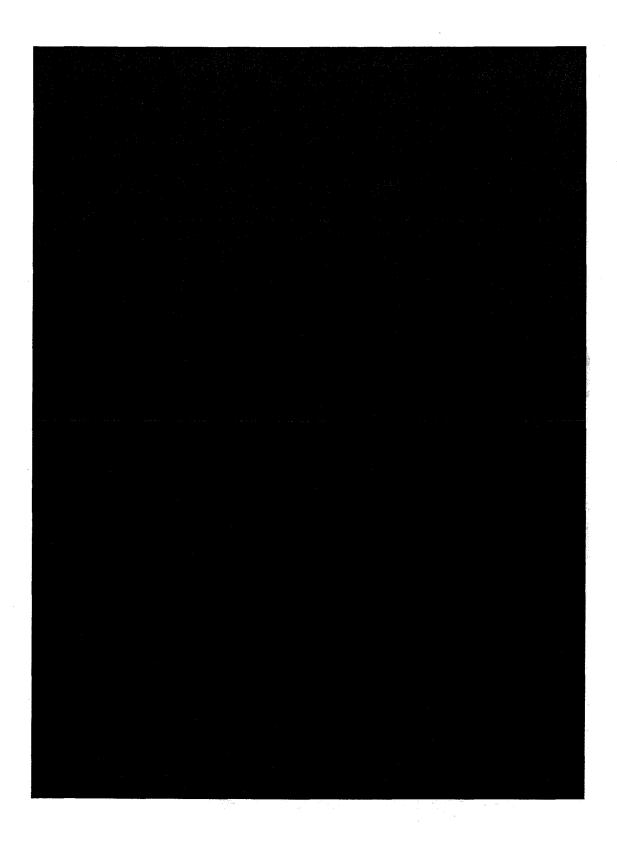


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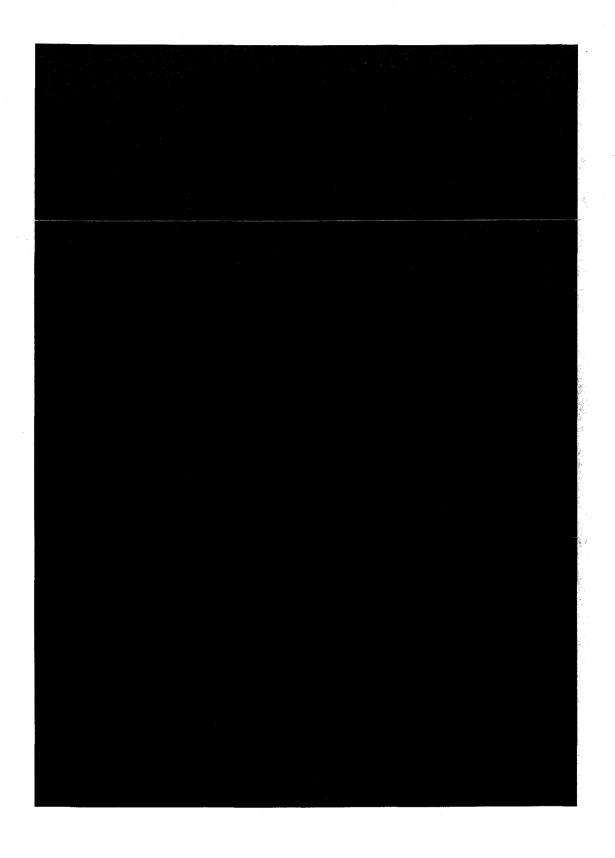


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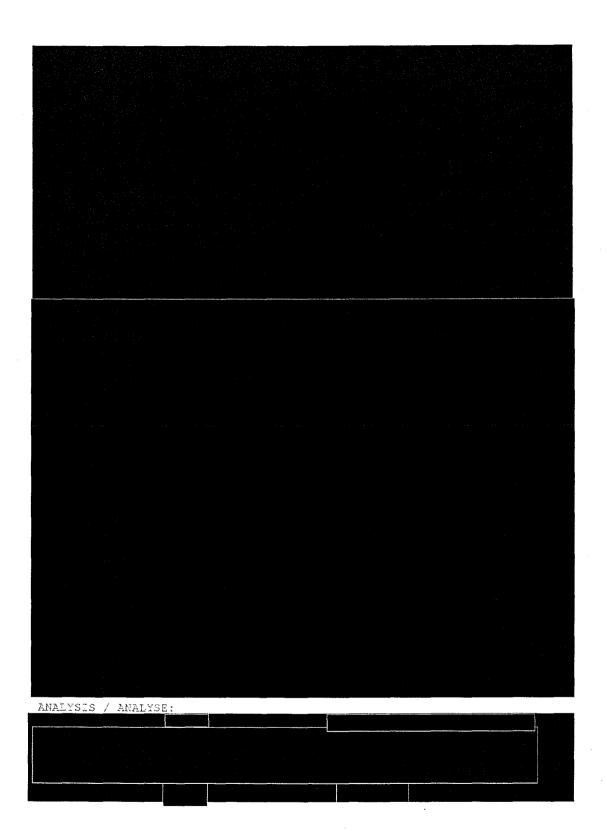
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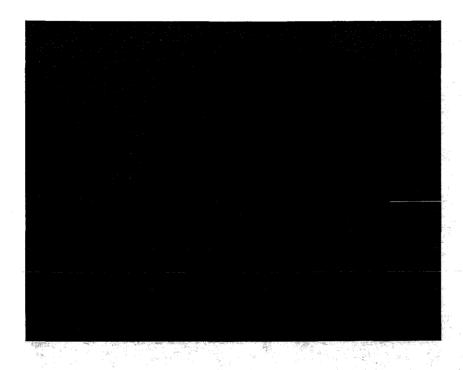
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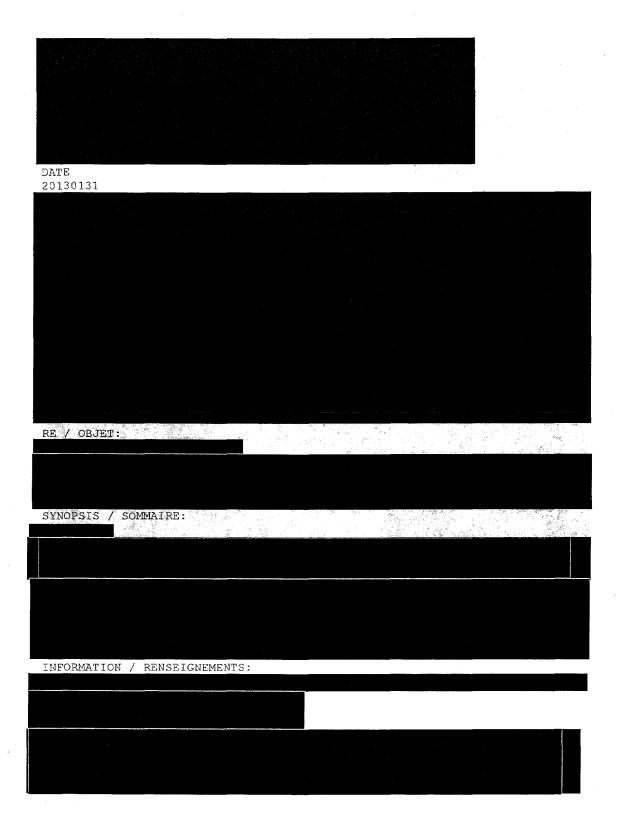
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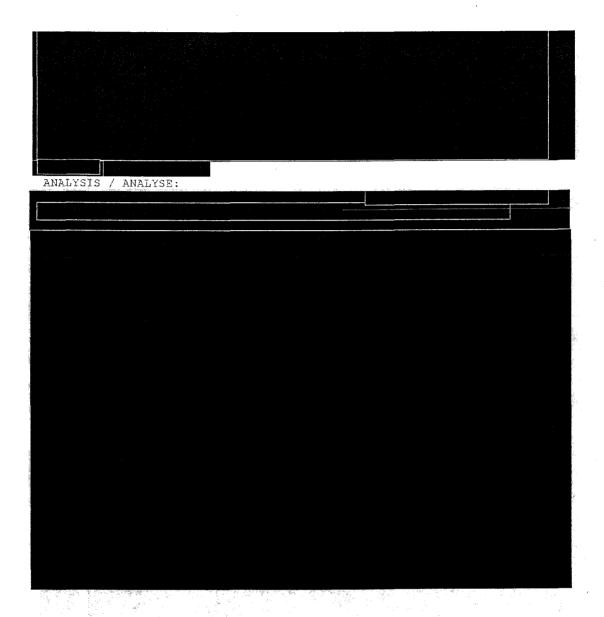


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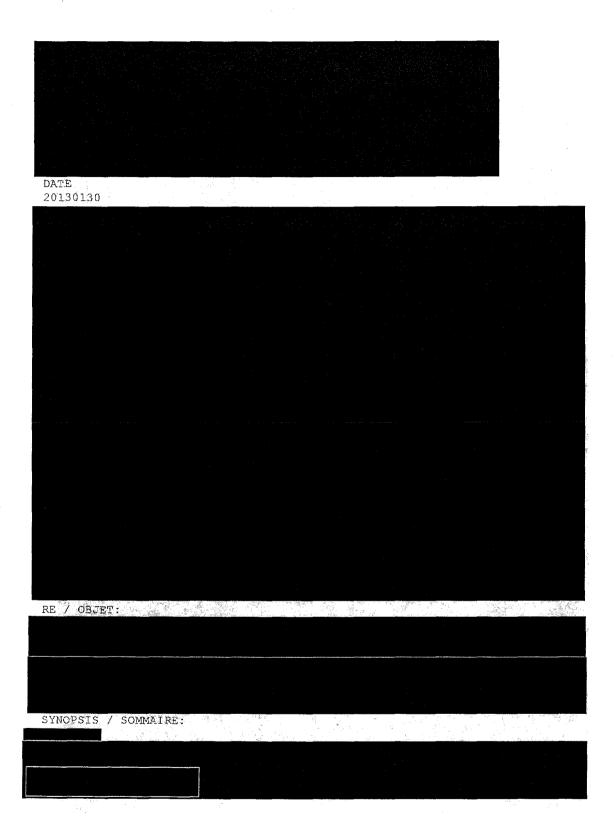


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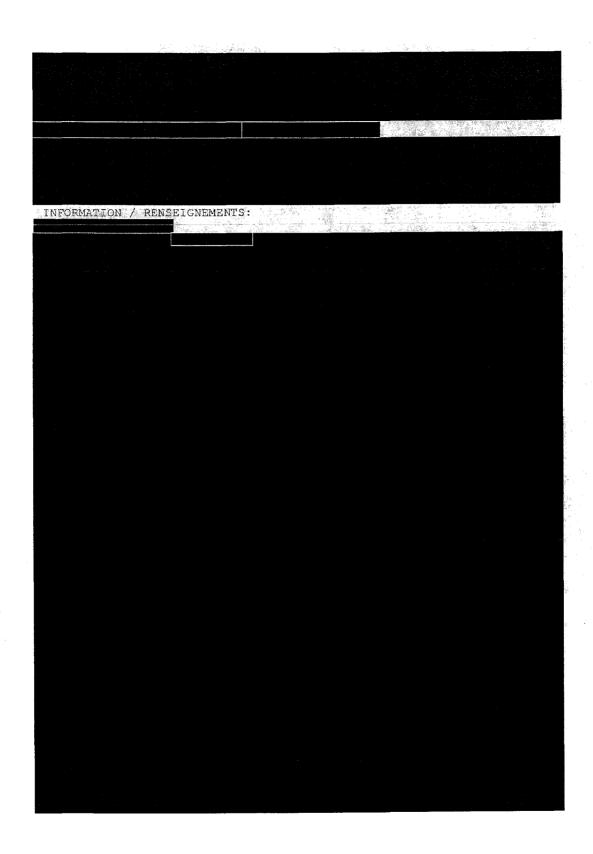


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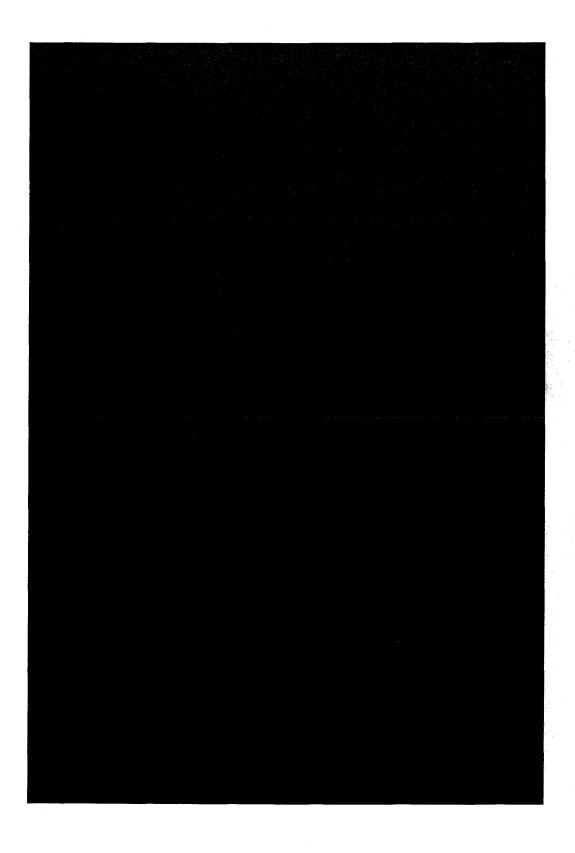
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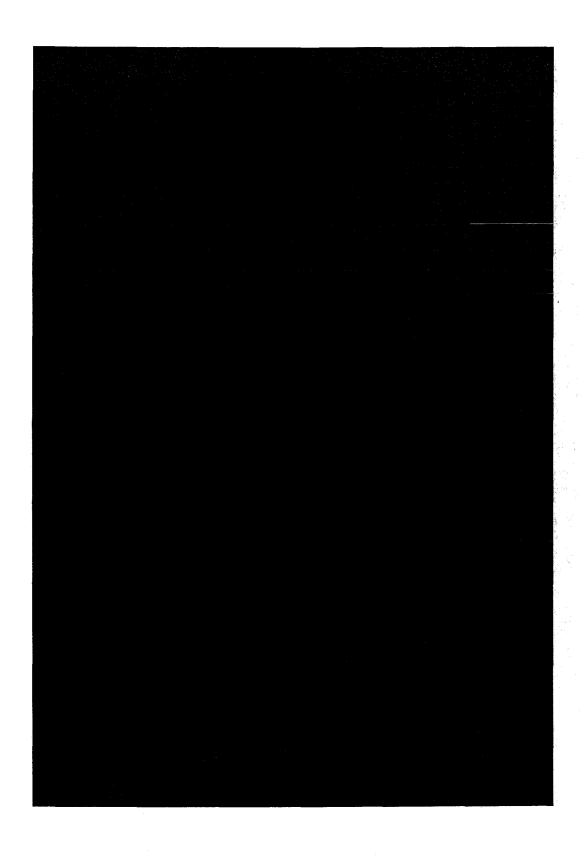


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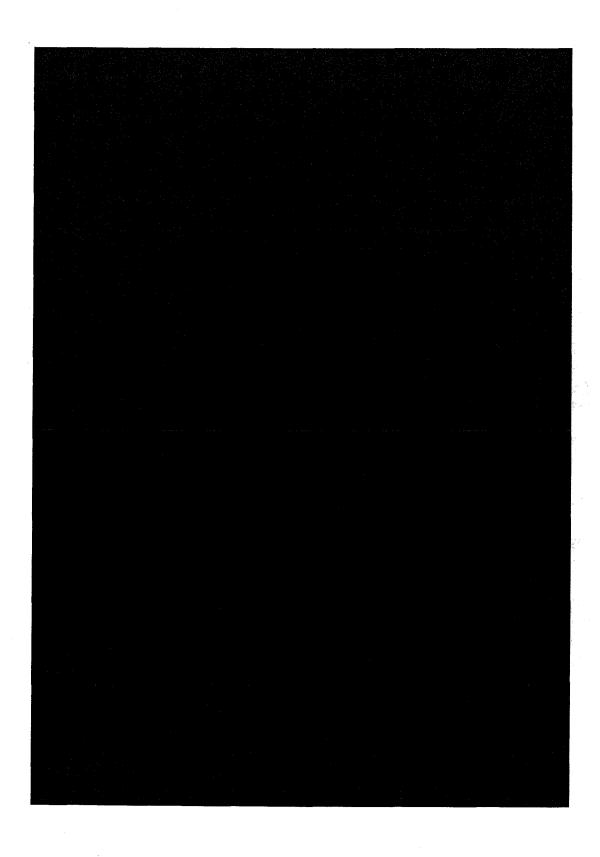


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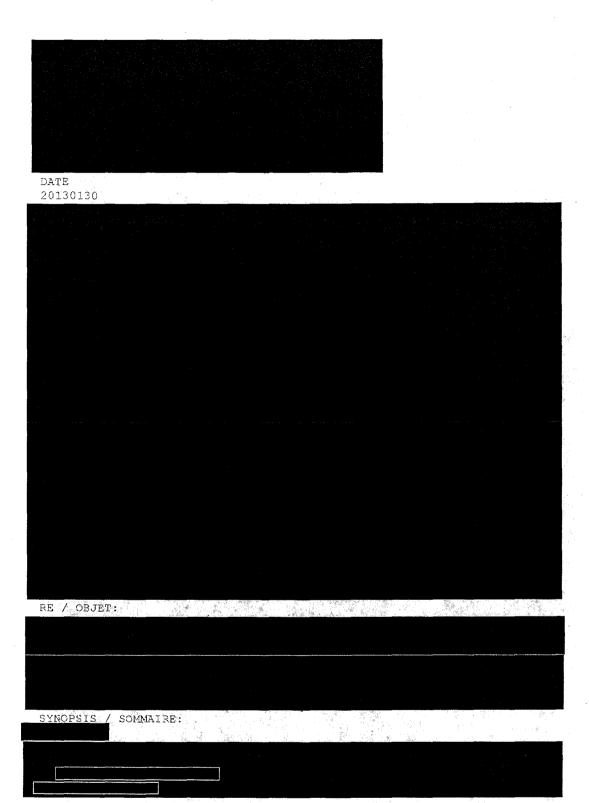
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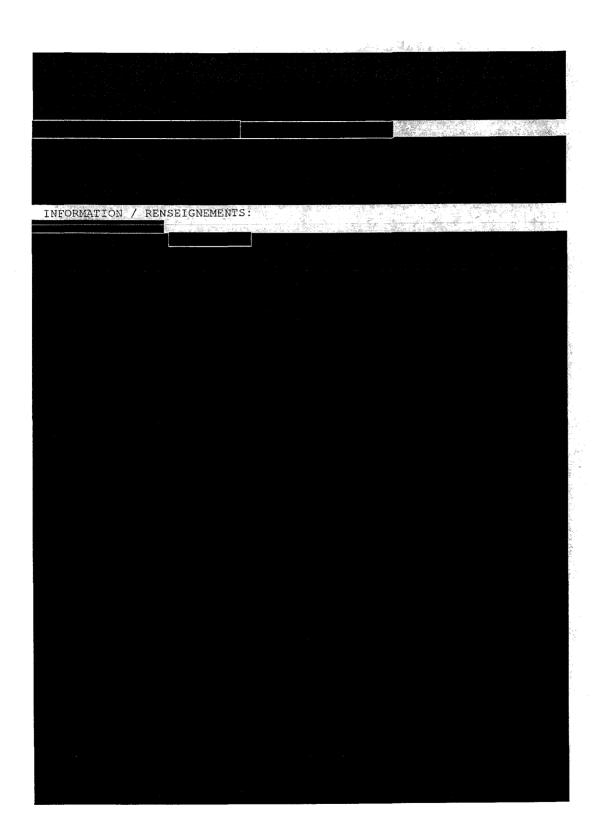
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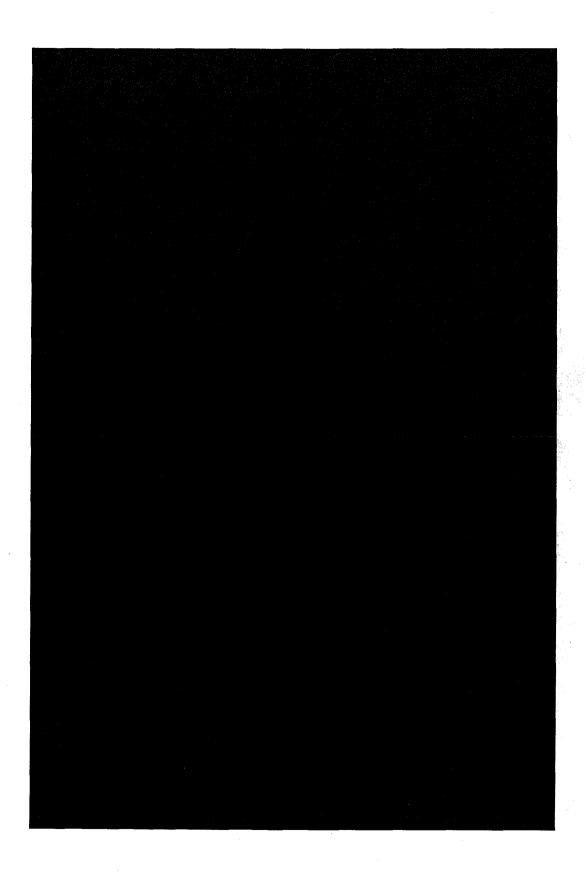
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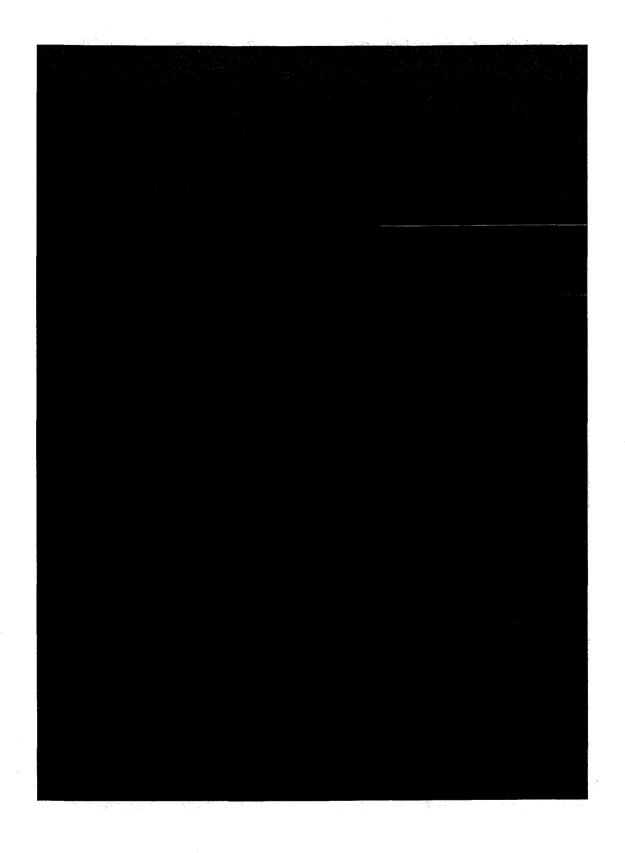
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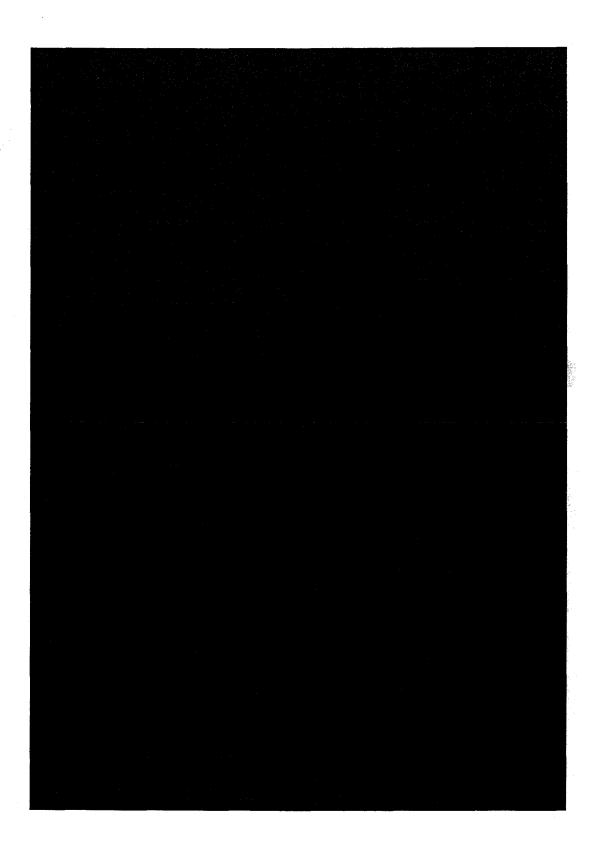
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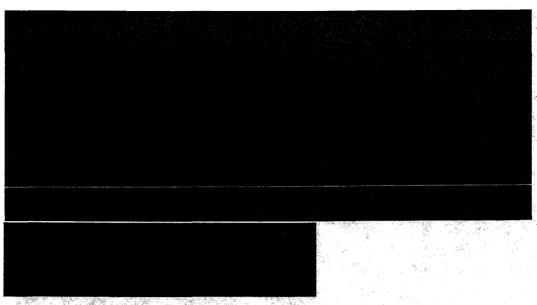
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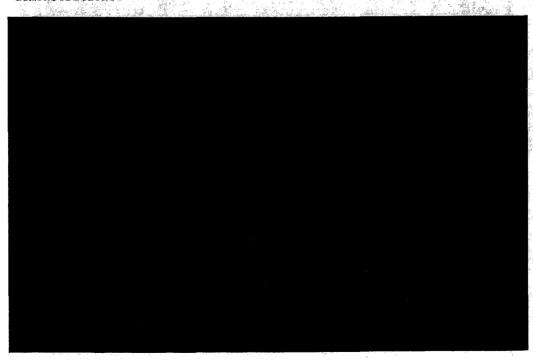


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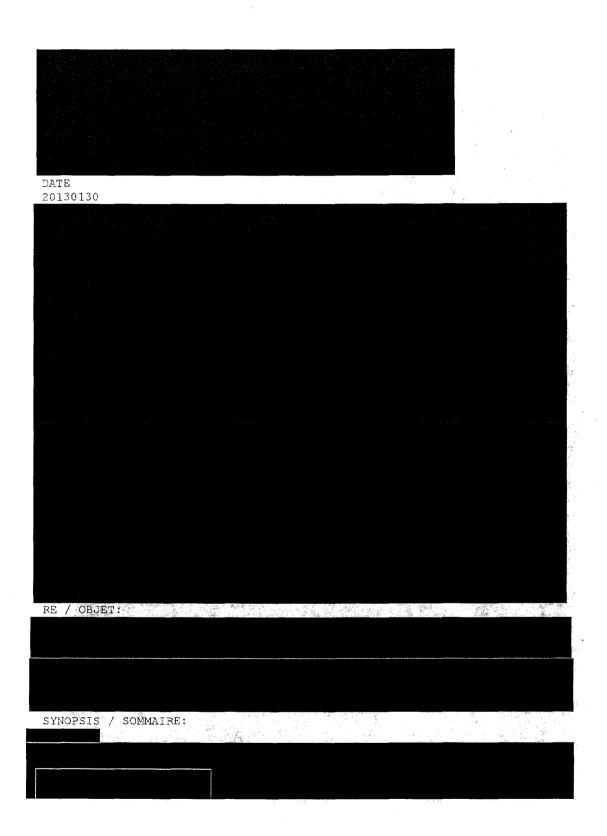
4) The above information has been collected and reported to assist the Service in assessing the threat environment and the potential for threat-related violence stemming from the demonstrations.

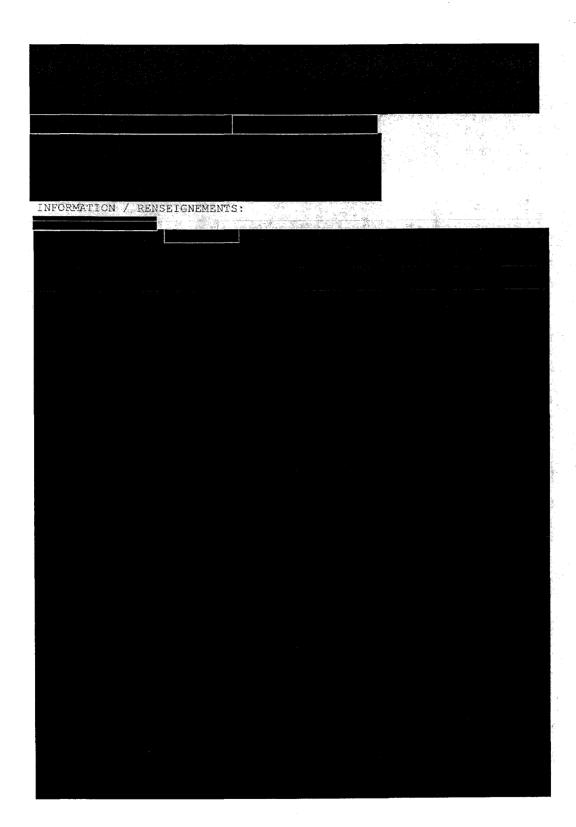


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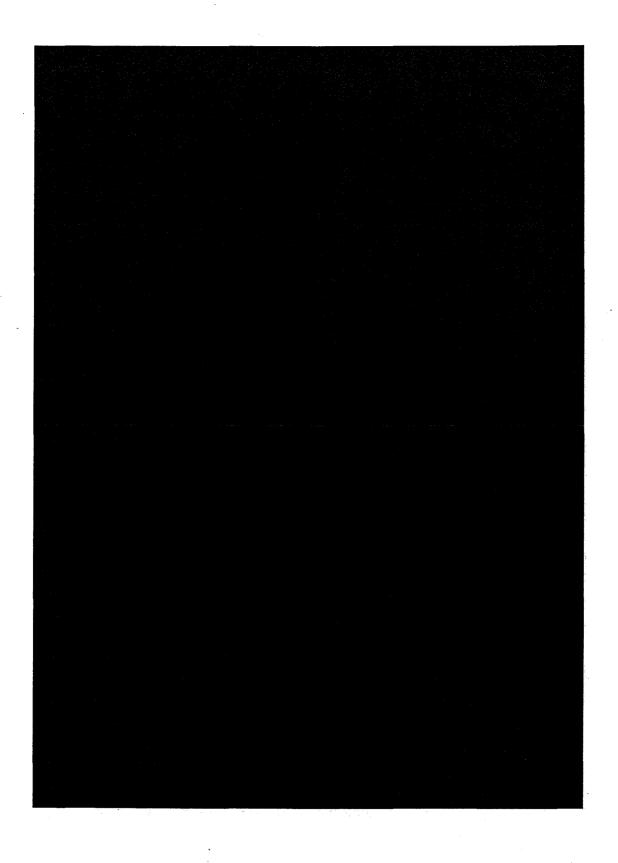
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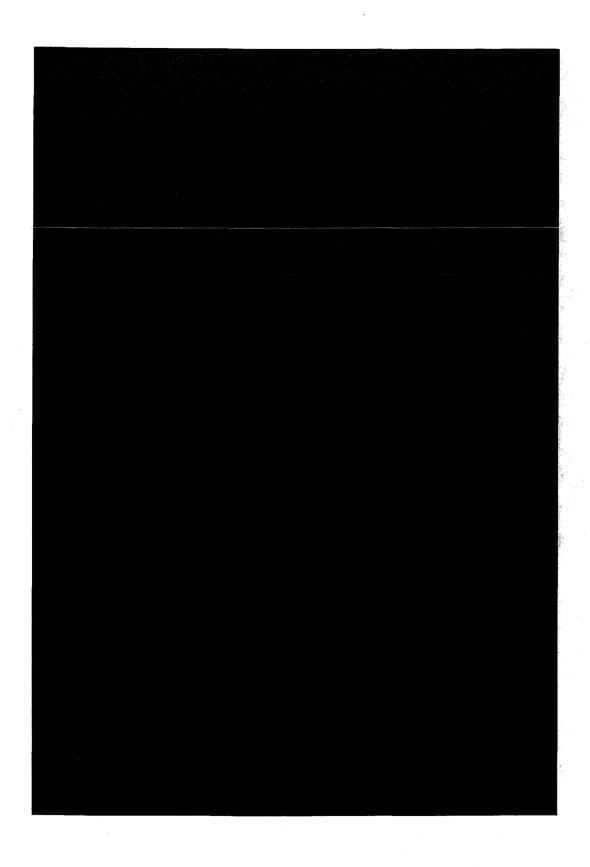




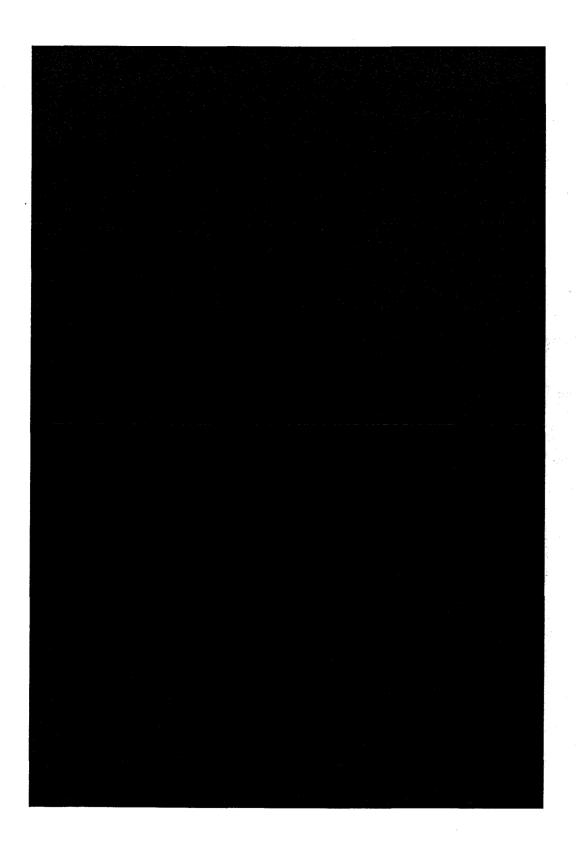
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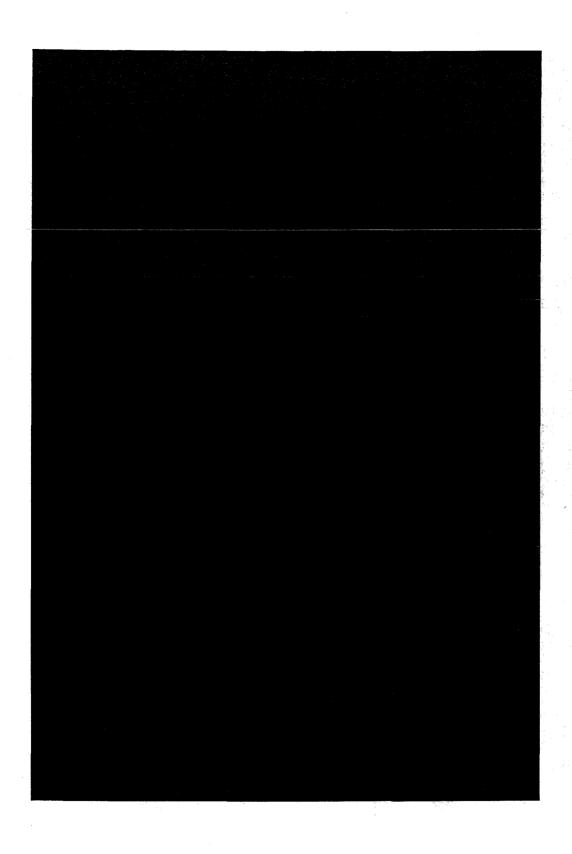
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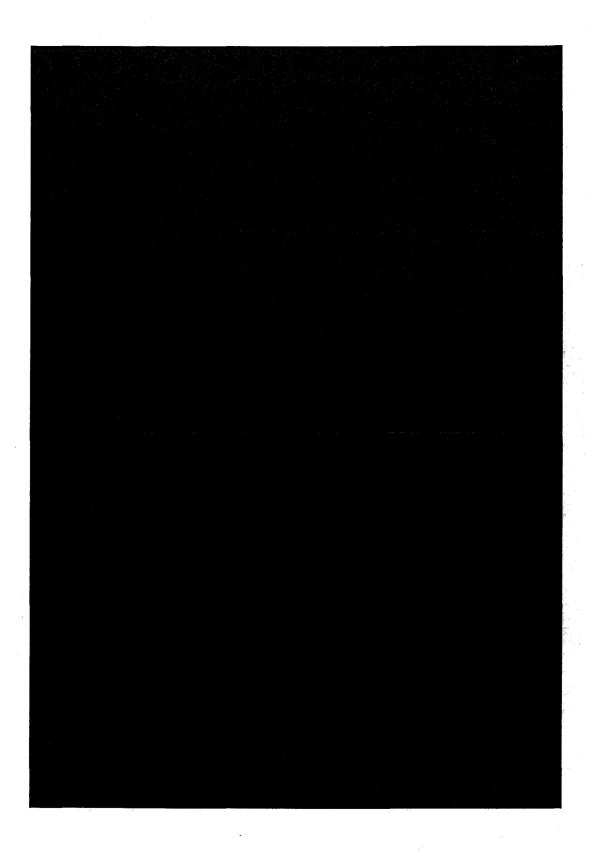
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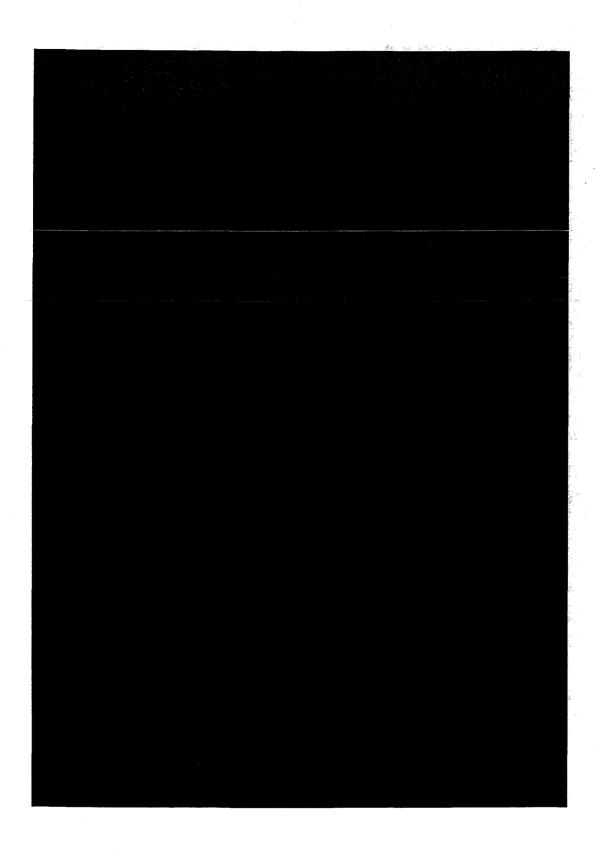
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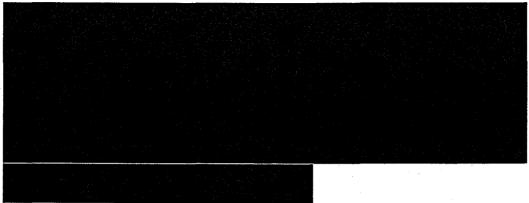
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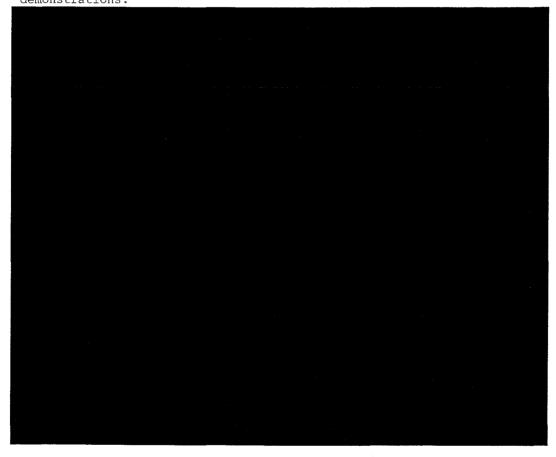


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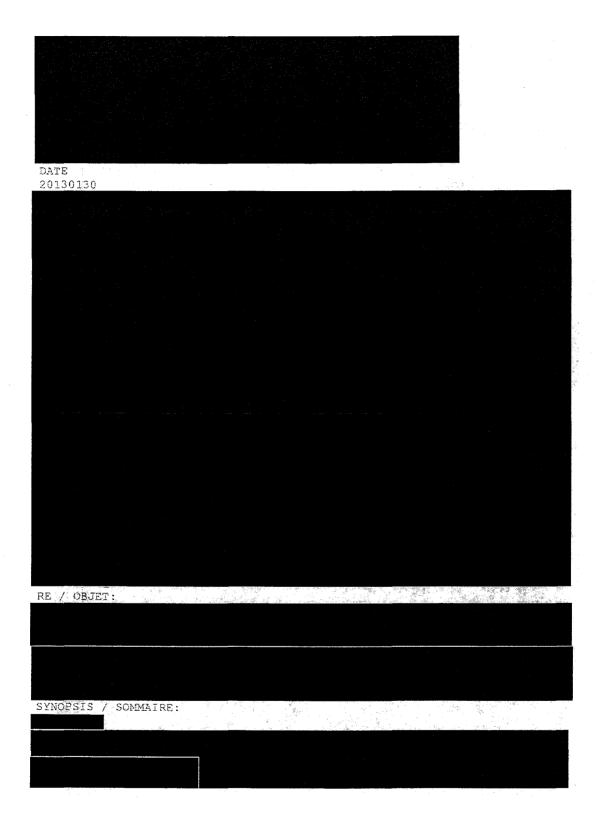
ANALYSIS / ANALYSE:

- 3) OR Liaison shared the above information with OR, HQ IAB, ITAC on 2013 01 23
- 4) The above information has been collected and reported to assist the Service in assessing the threat environment and the potential for threat-related violence stemming from demonstrations.



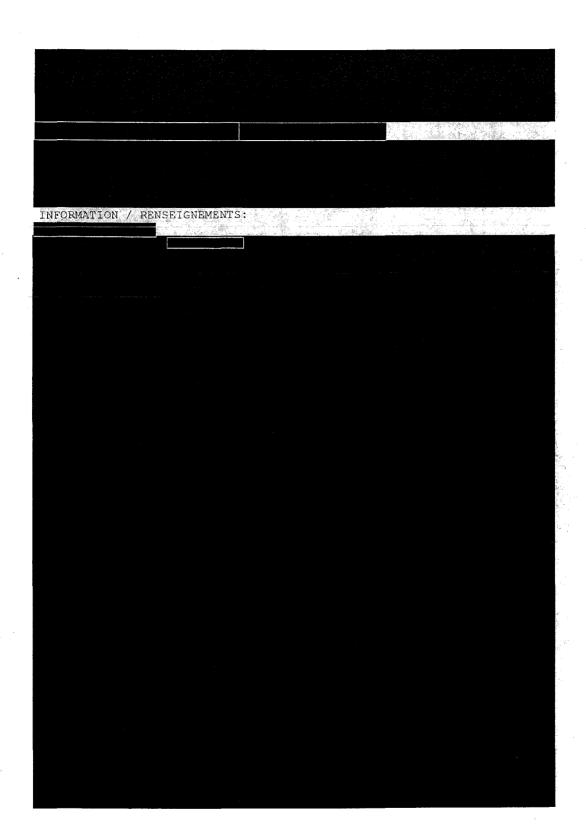
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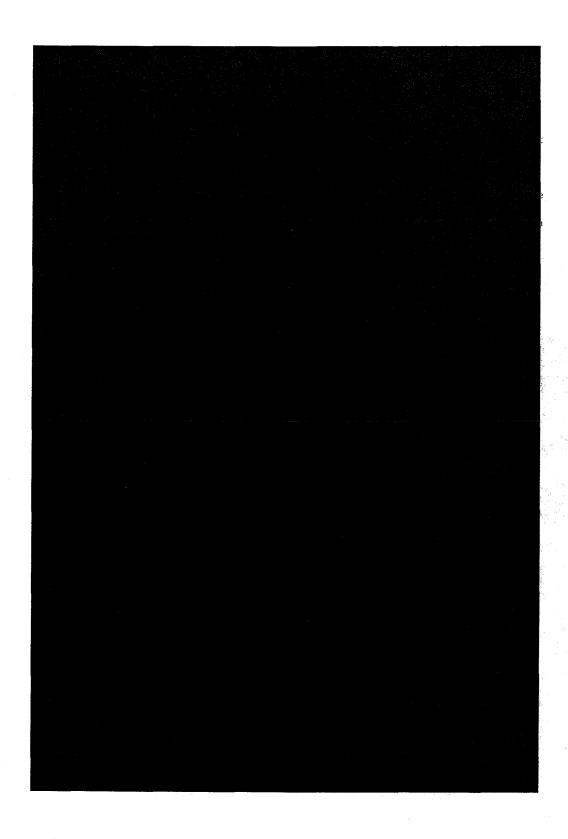
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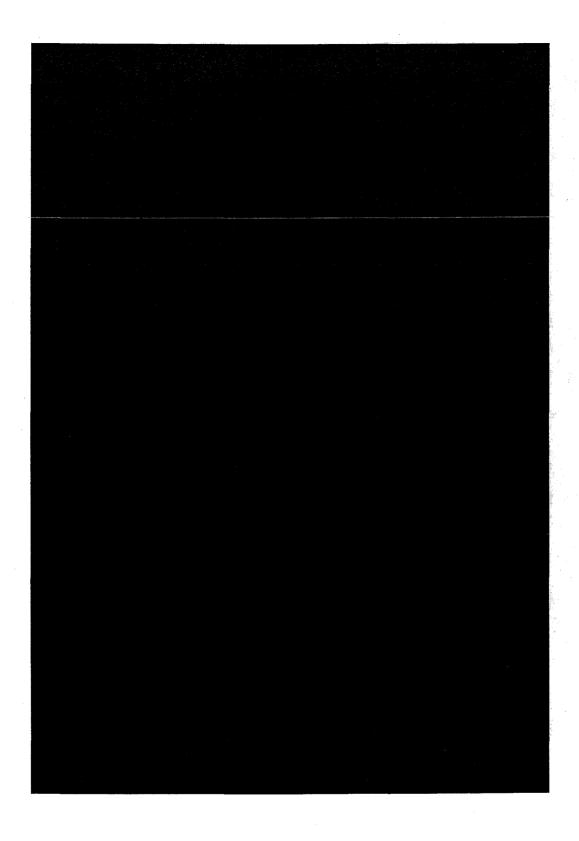
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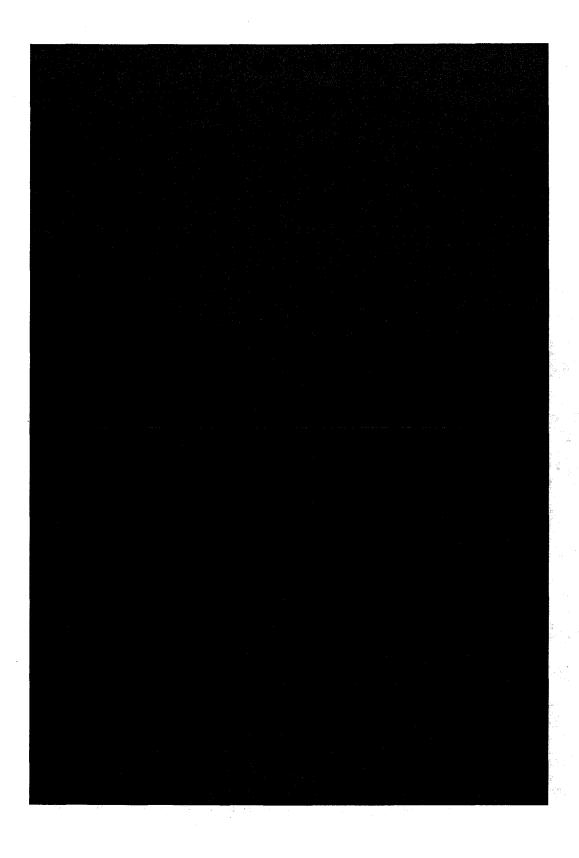
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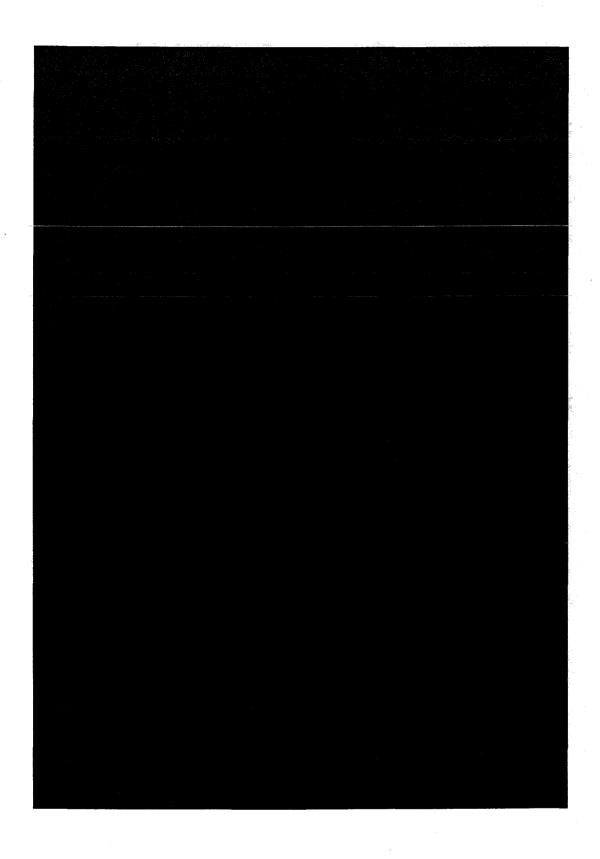


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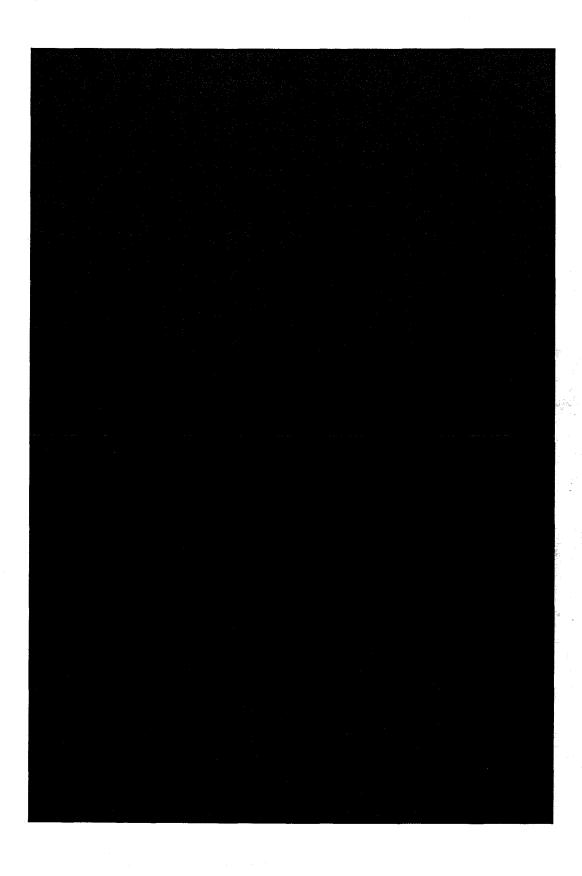


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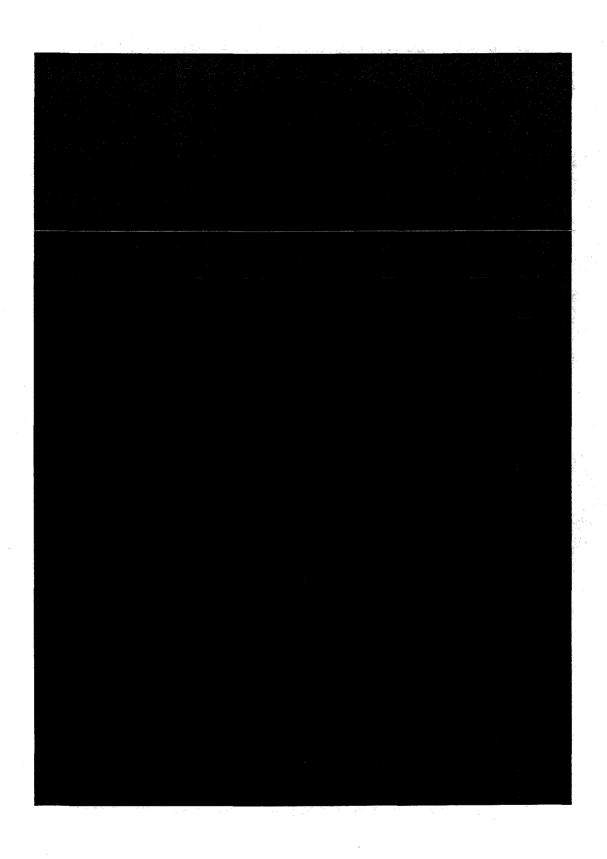
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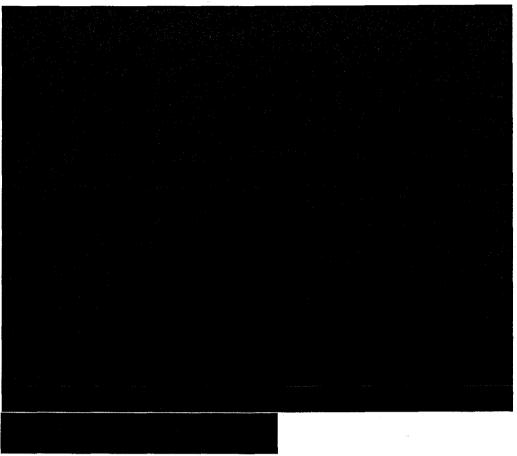


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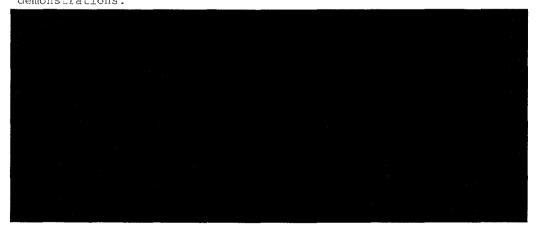


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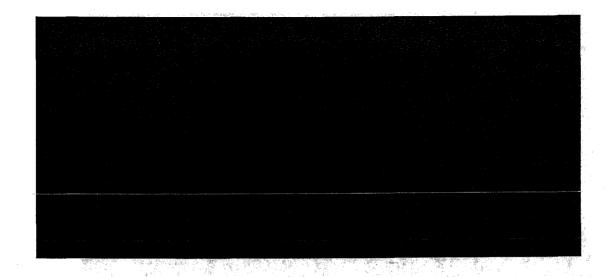
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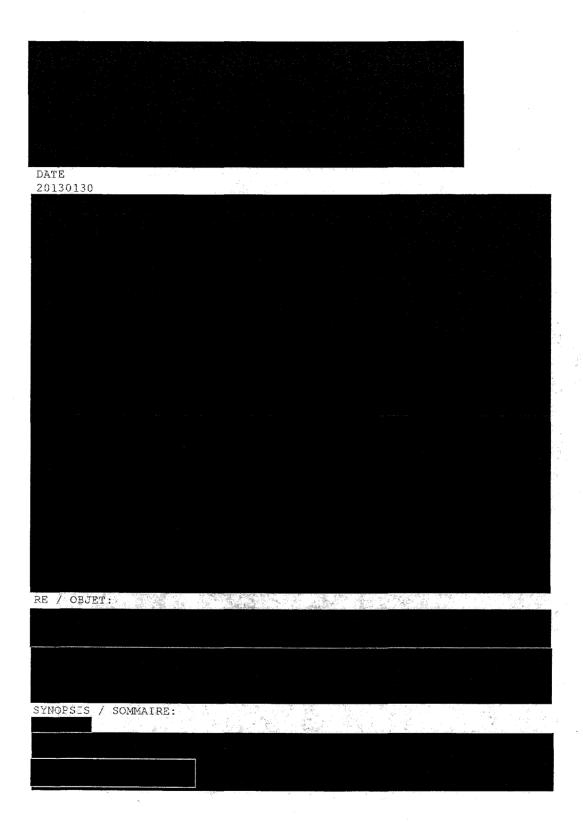
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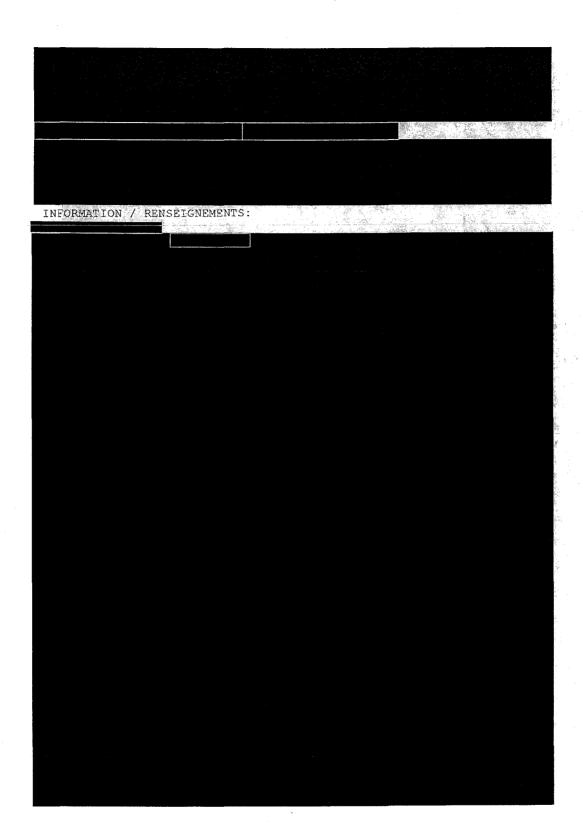


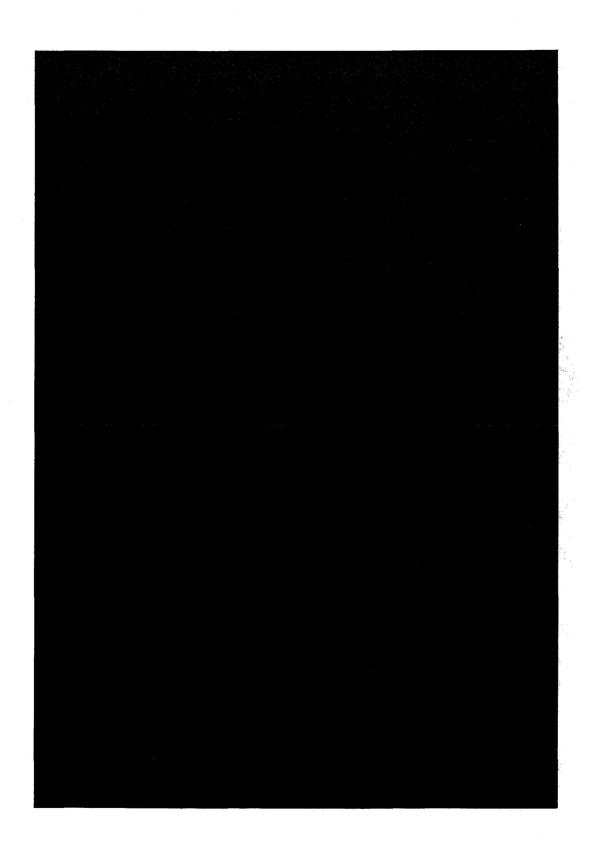
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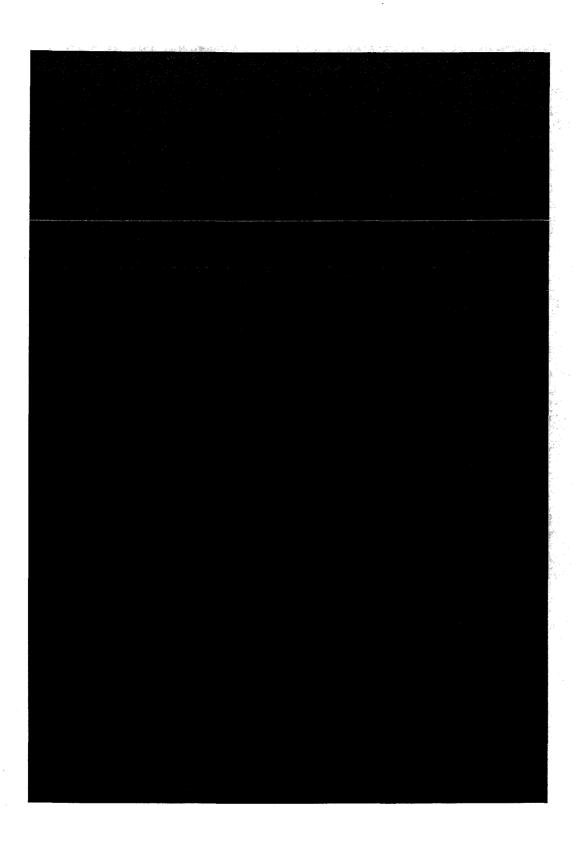


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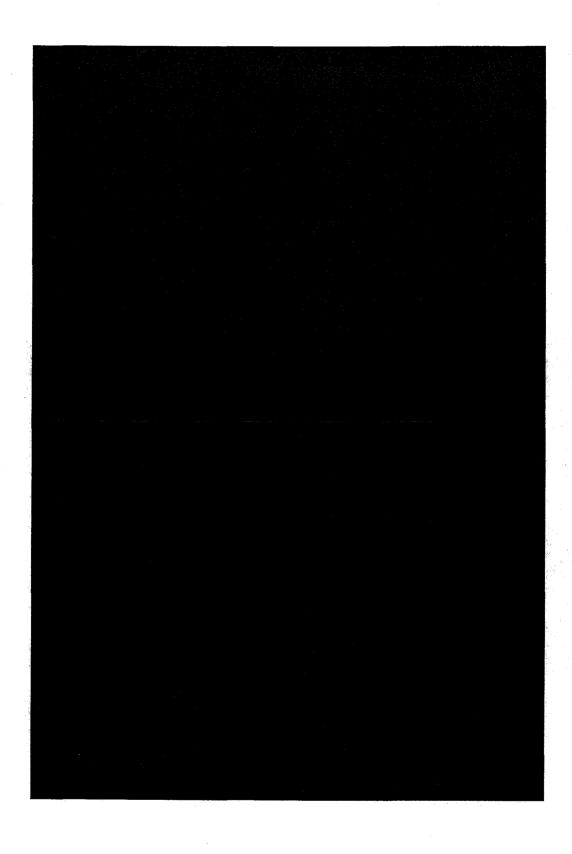




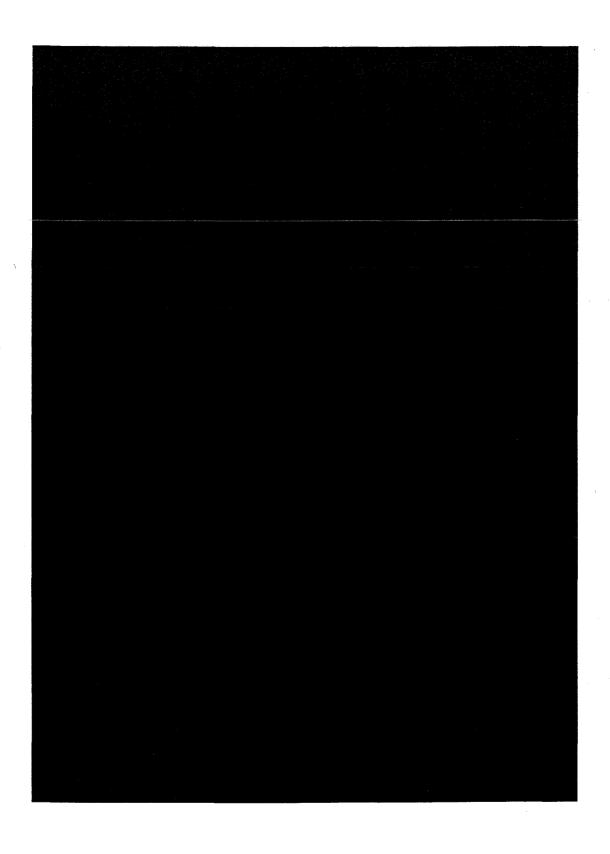
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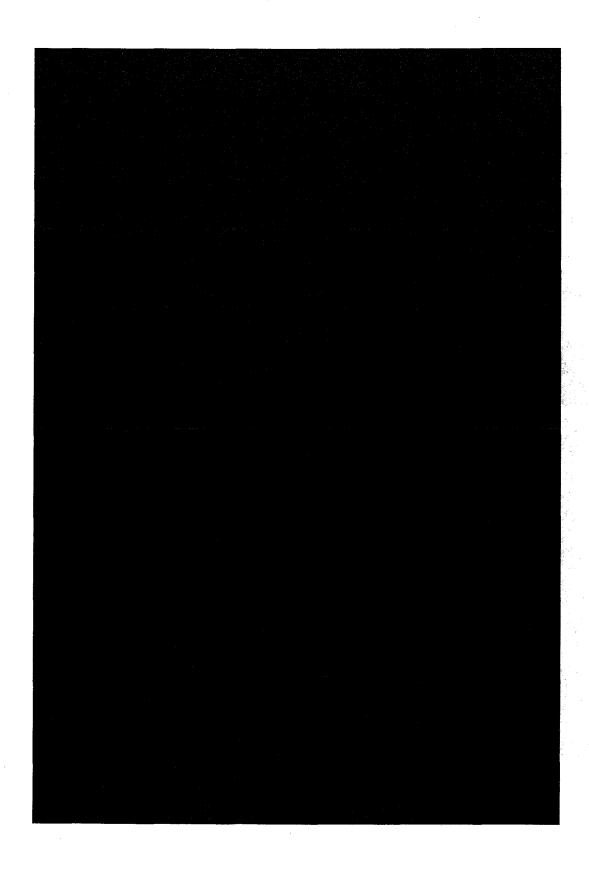


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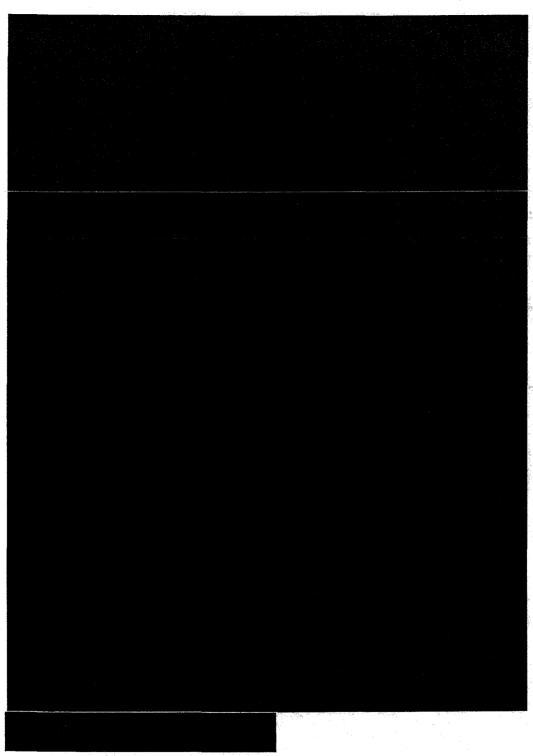
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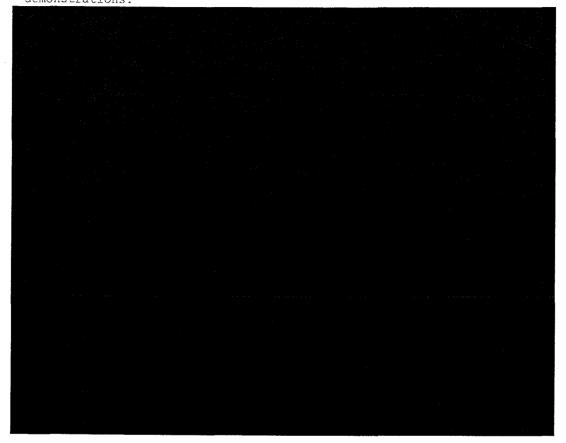
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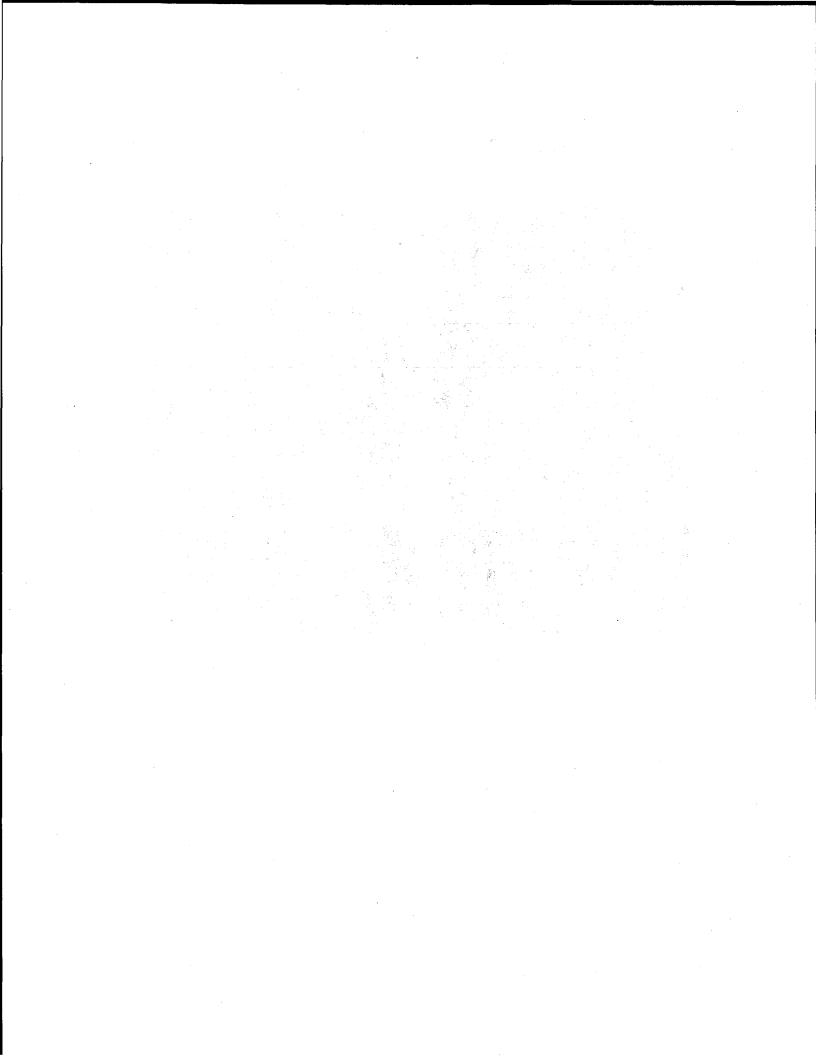
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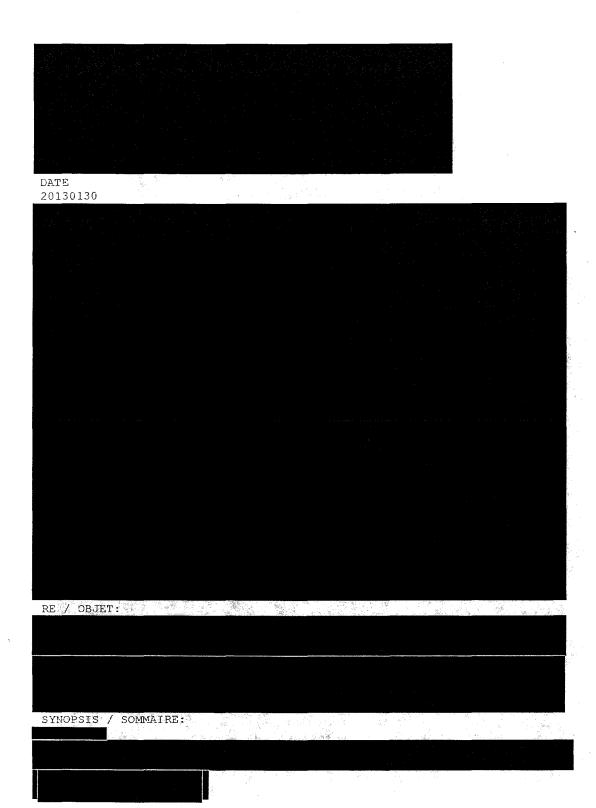


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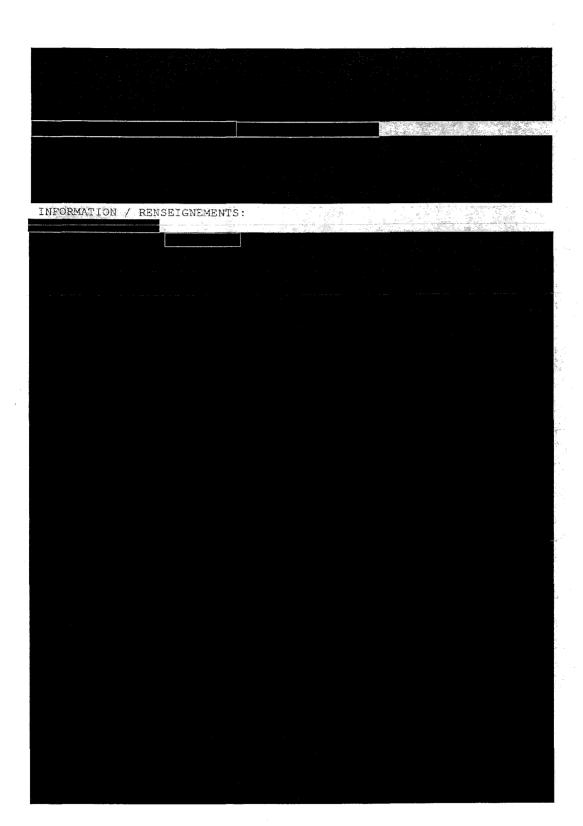
- 3) OR Liaison shared the above information with OR, HQ I IAB, ITAC on 2013 01 25
- 4) The above information has been collected and reported to assist the Service in assessing the threat environment and the potential for threat-related violence stemming from protests / demonstrations.



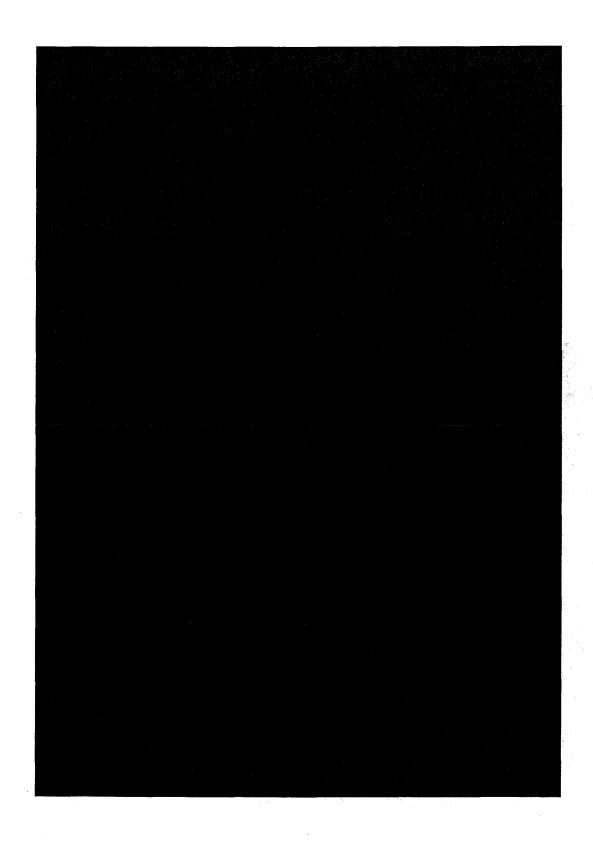




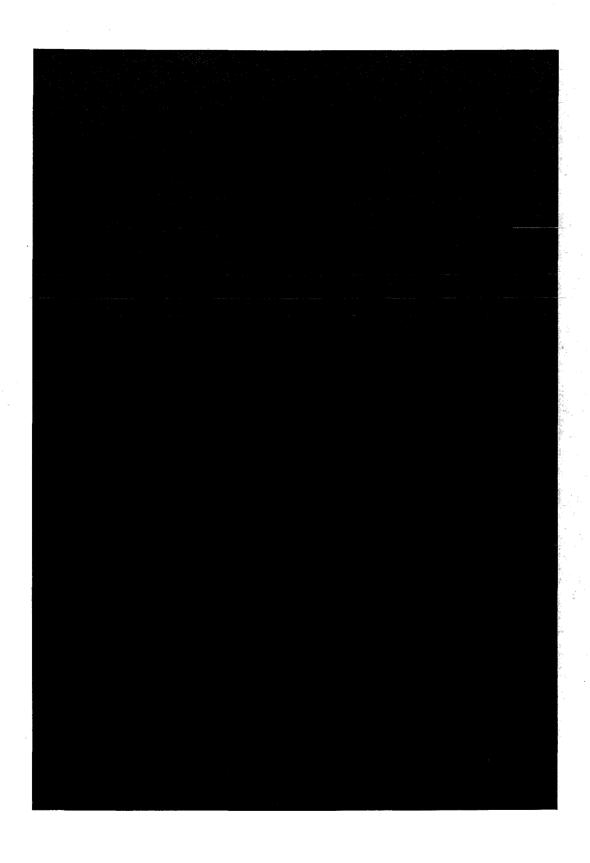
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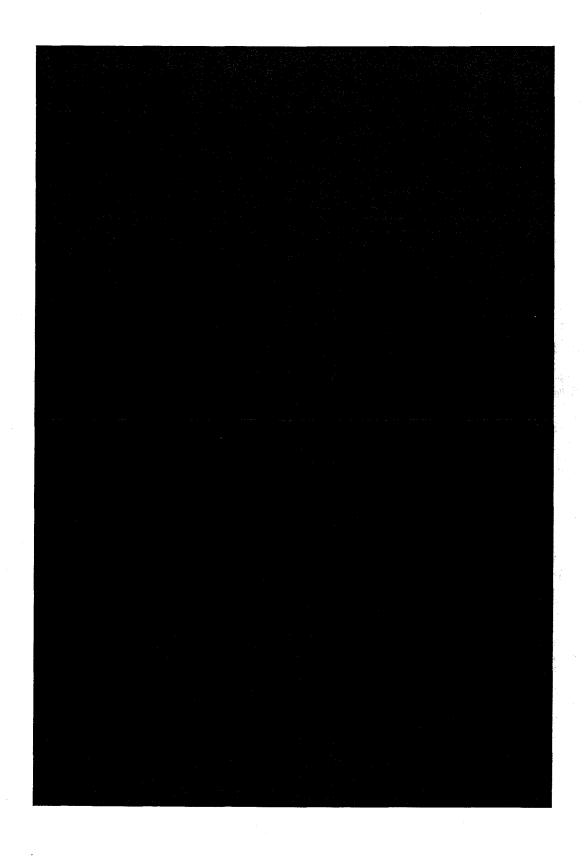
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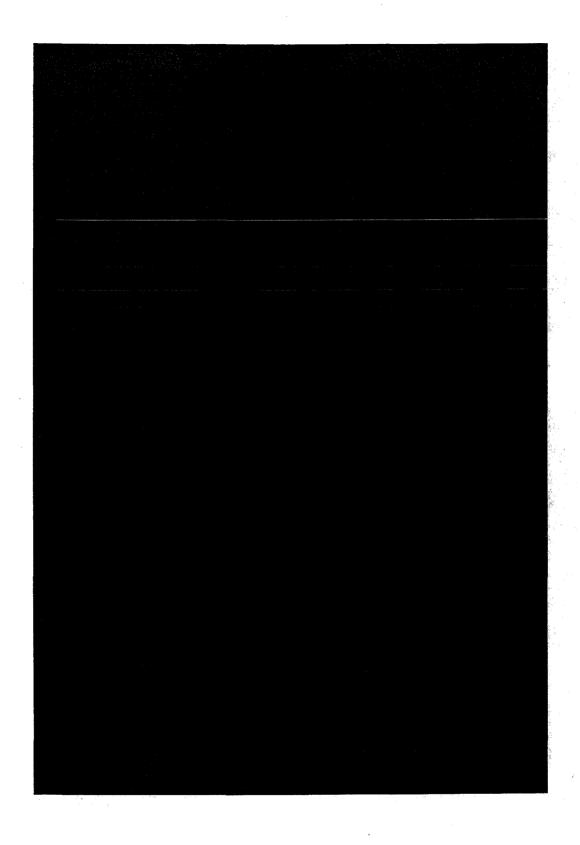
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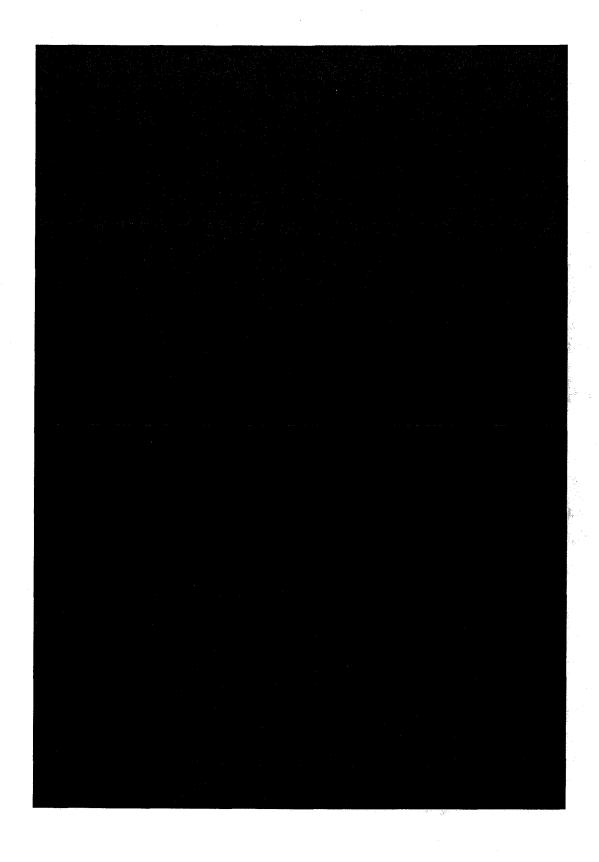
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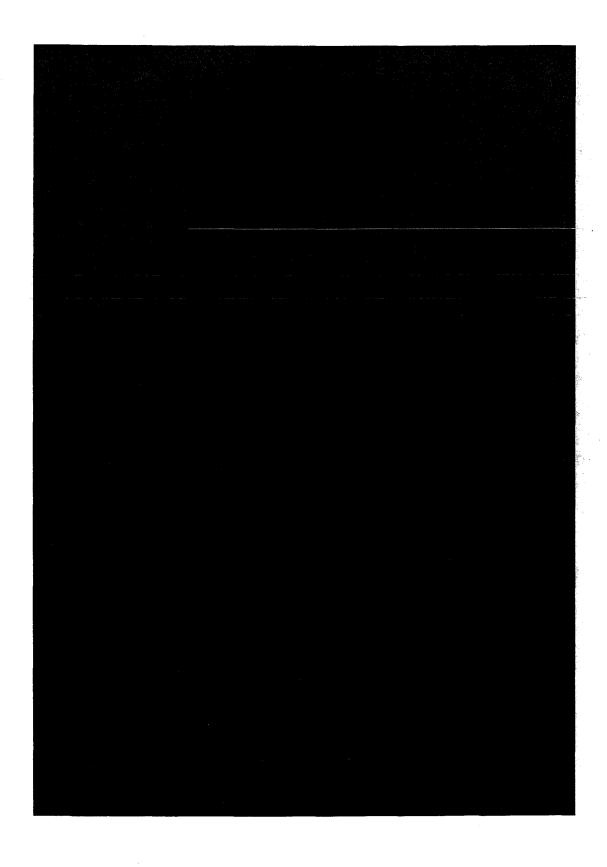
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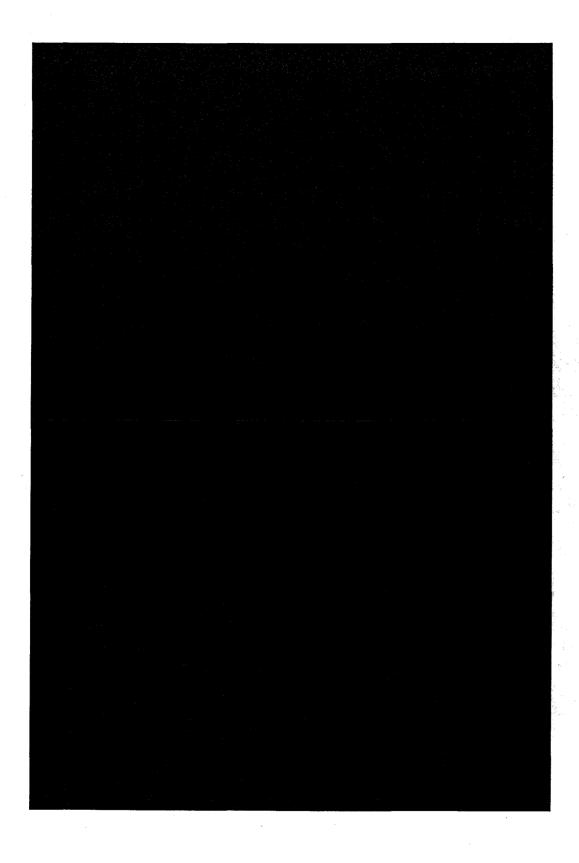
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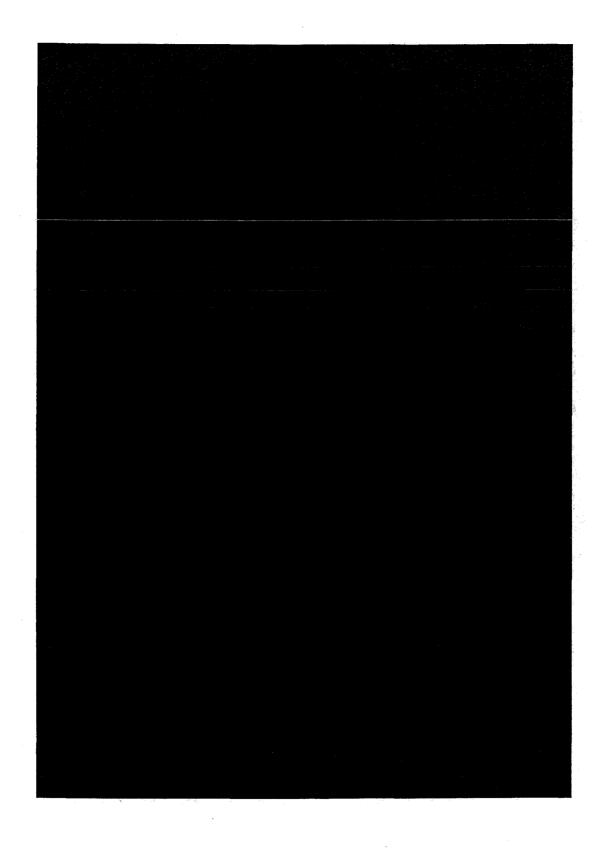
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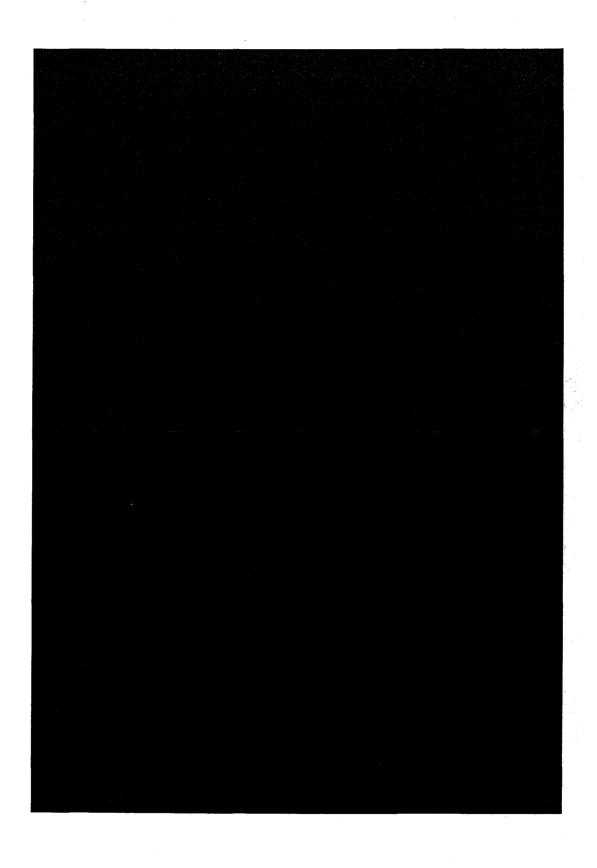
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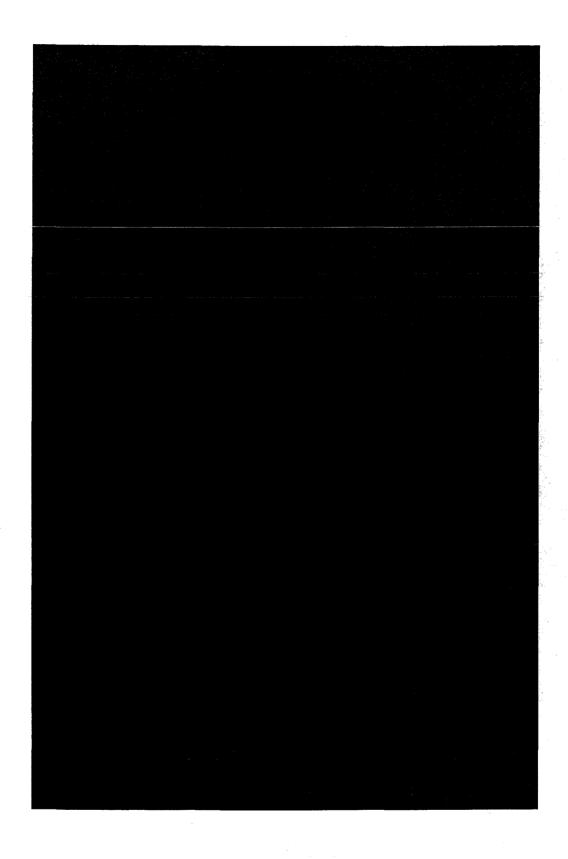
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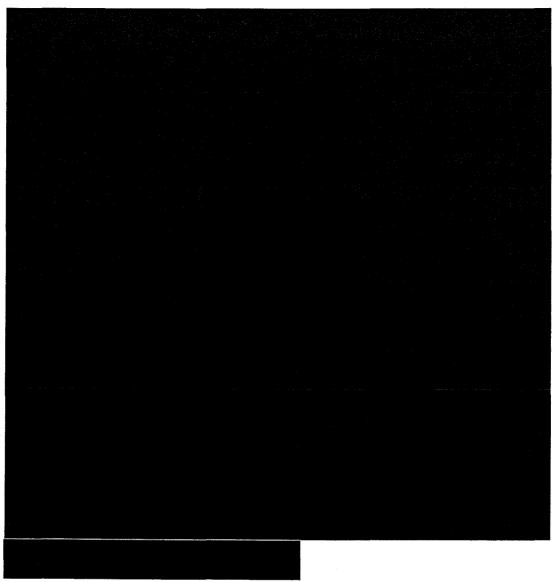
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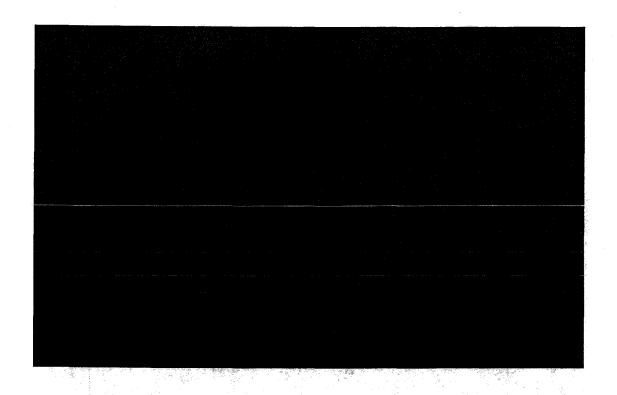
- 6) OR Liaison shared the above information with OR, HQ IAB, ITAC
- on 2013 01 28

 7) The above information has been collected and reported to assist the Service in assessing the threat environment and the potential for threat-related violence stemming from the demonstrations.

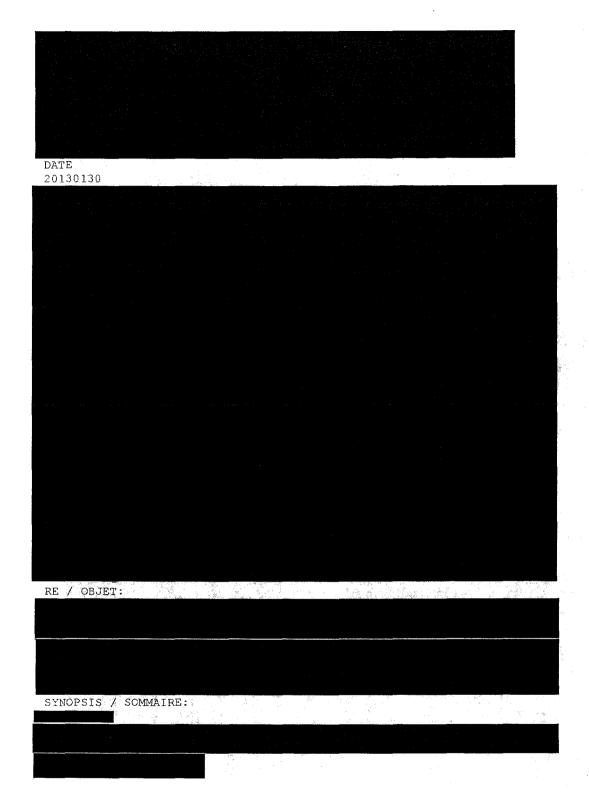


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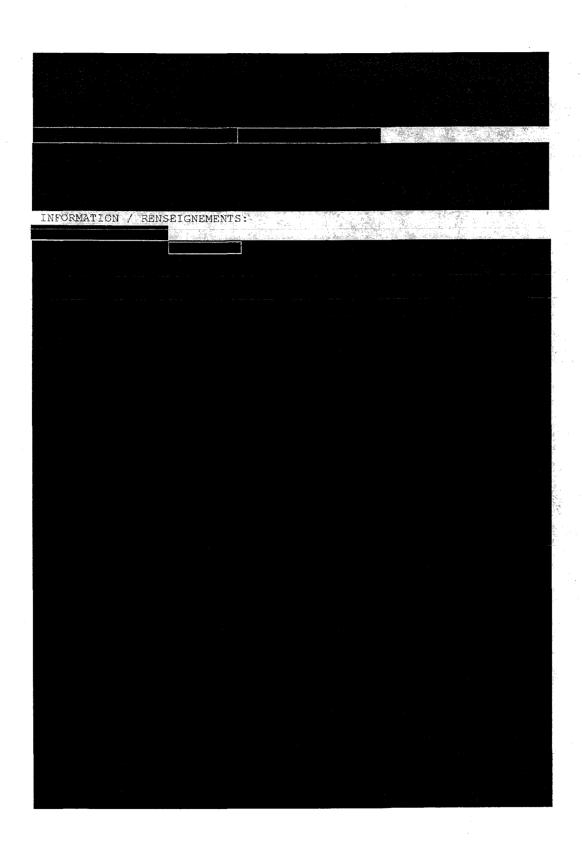
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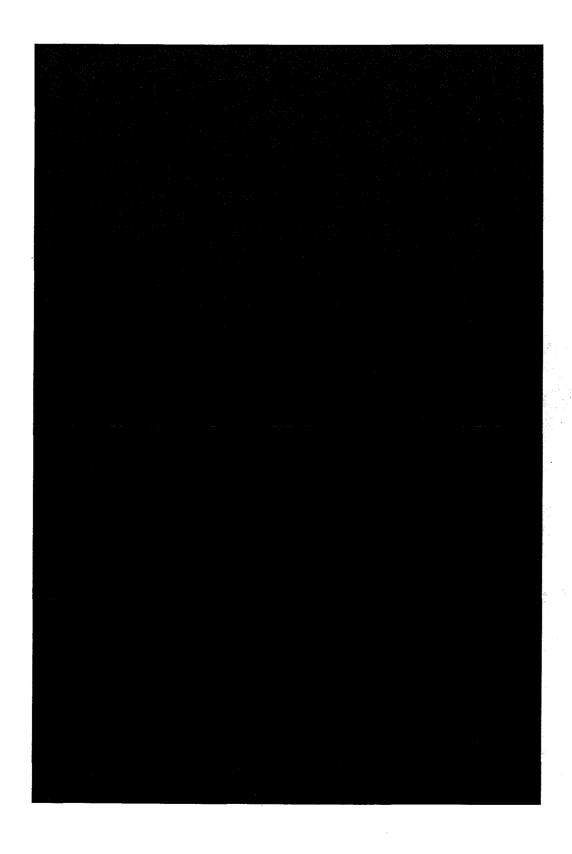
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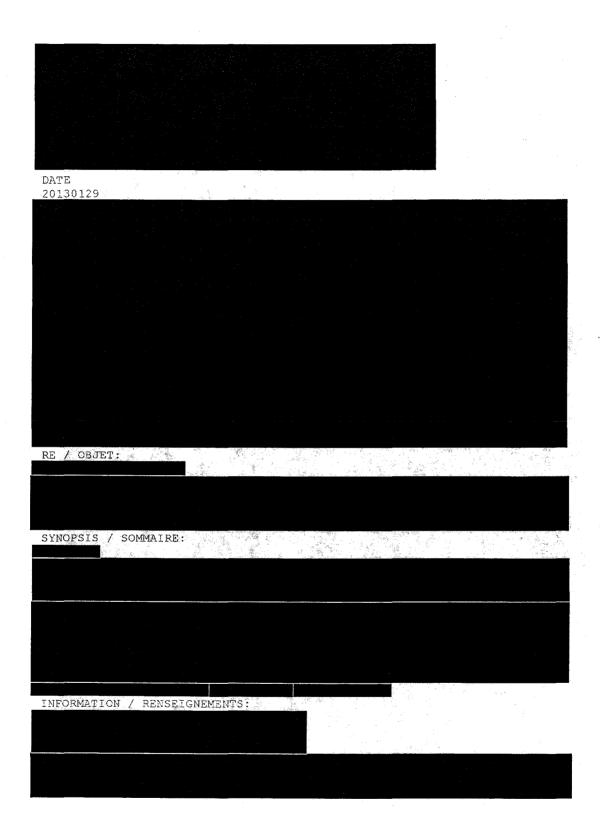
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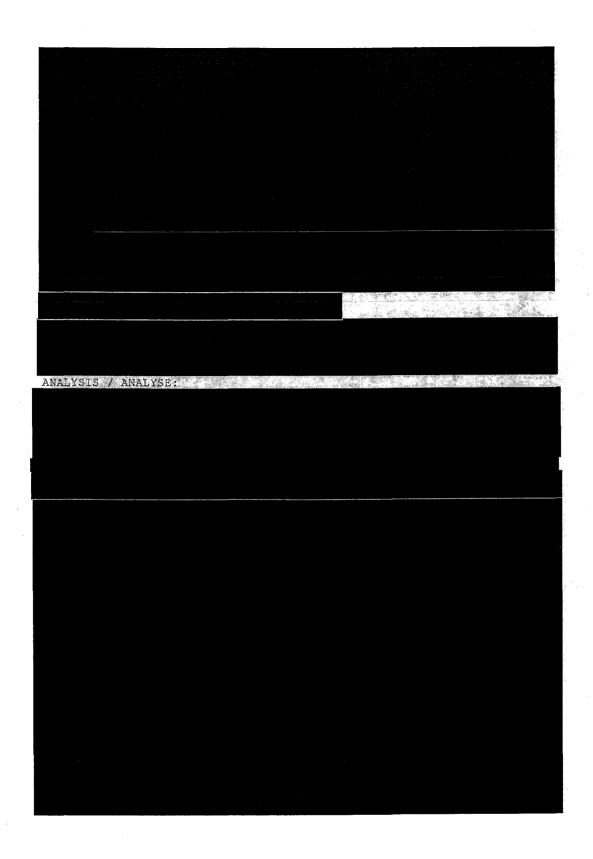
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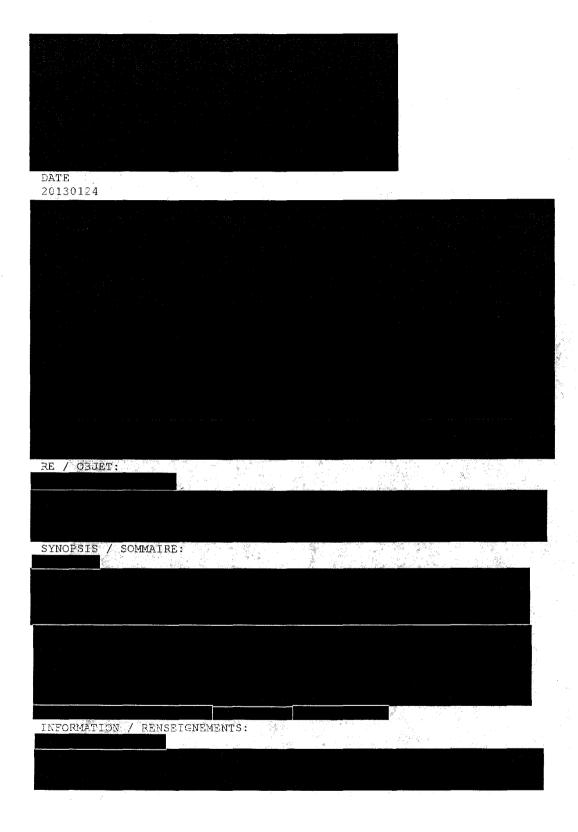
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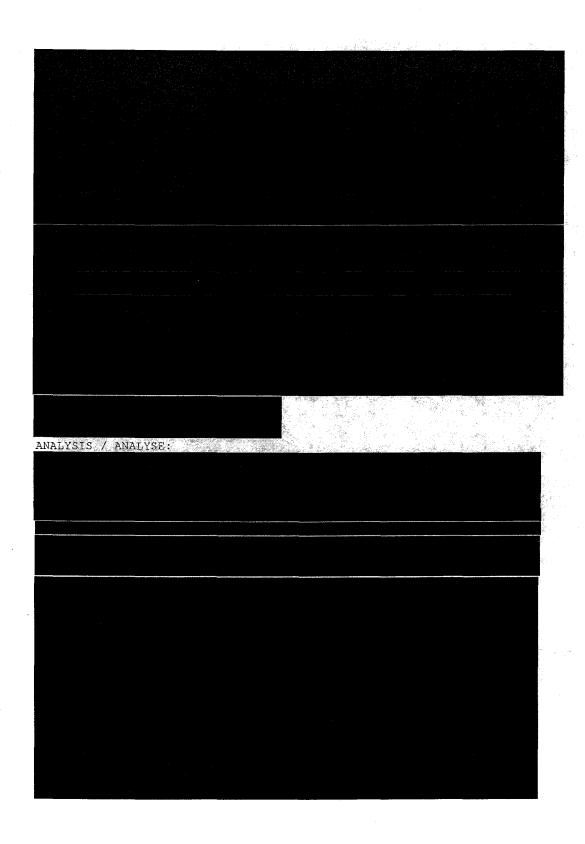
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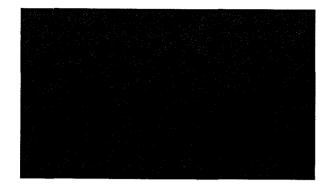




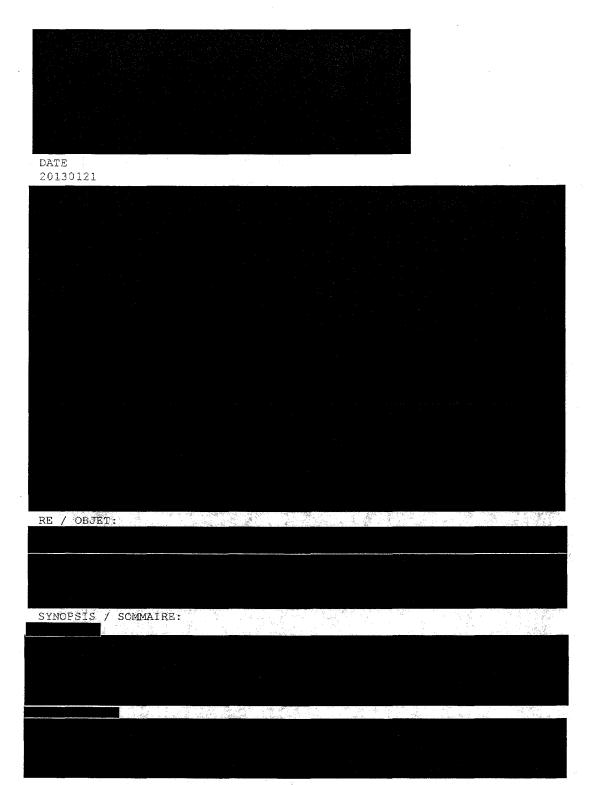
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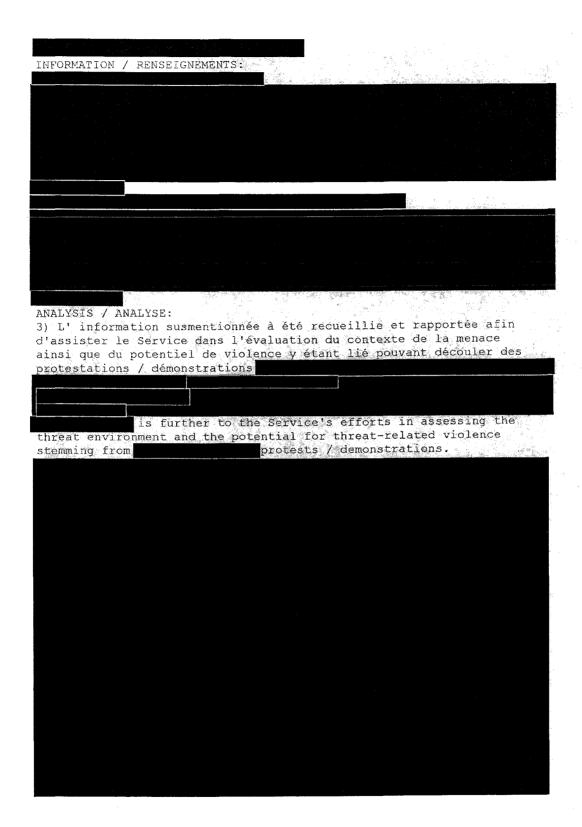
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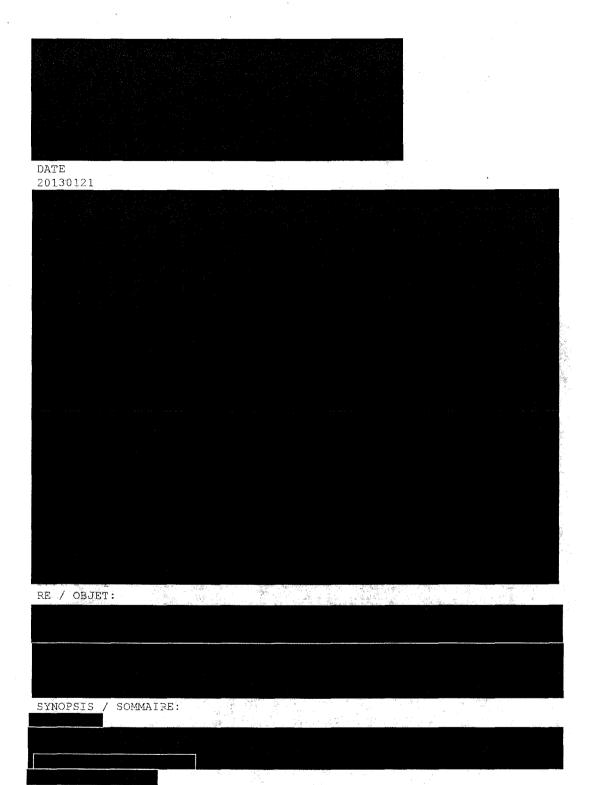




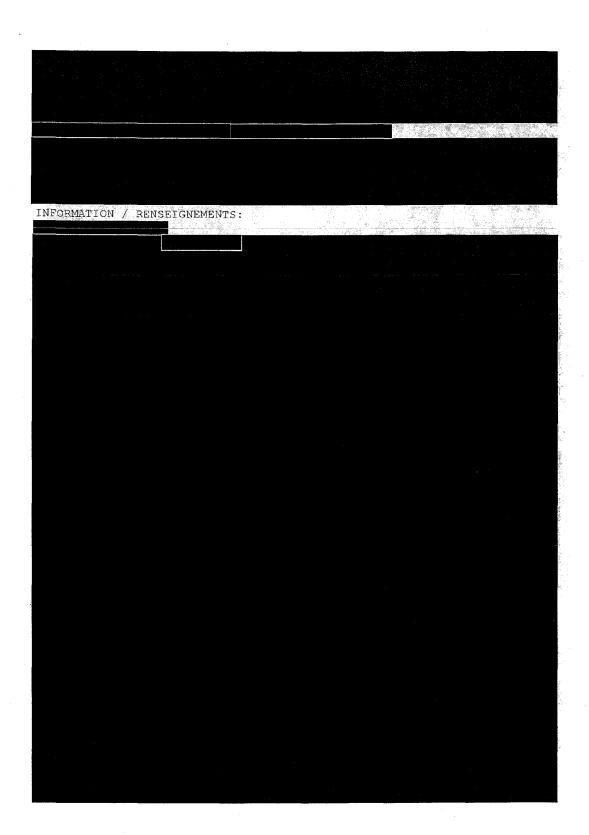
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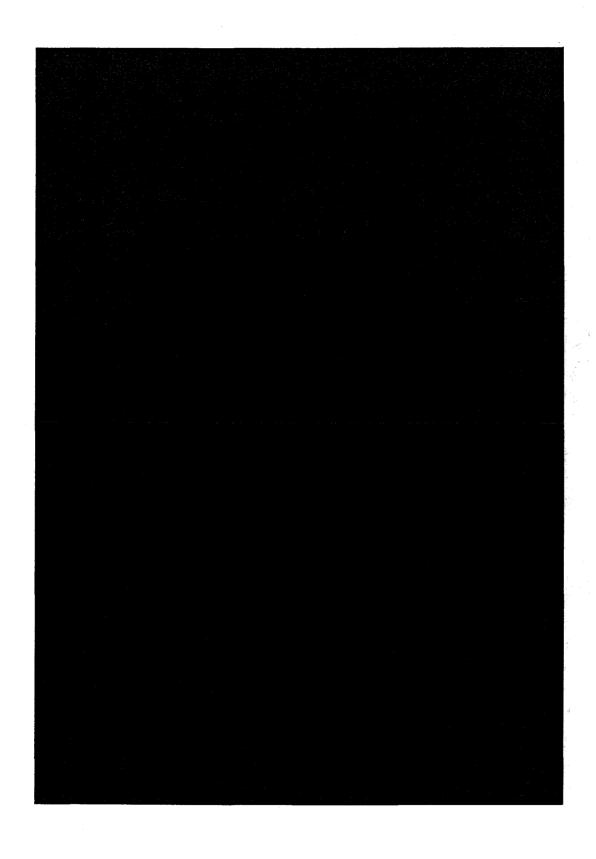
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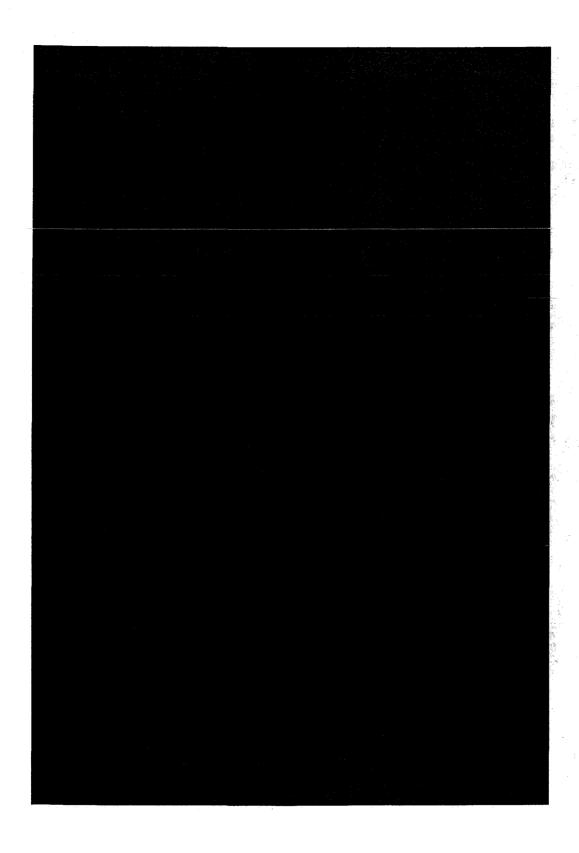
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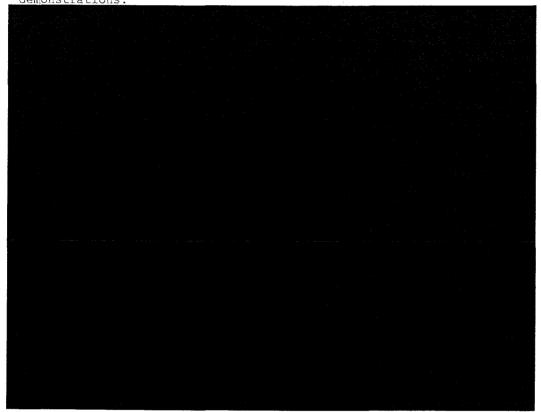


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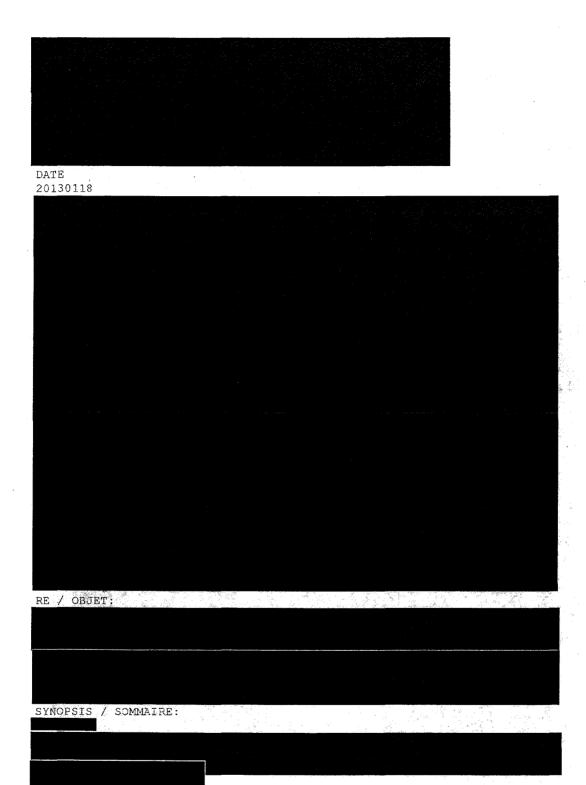
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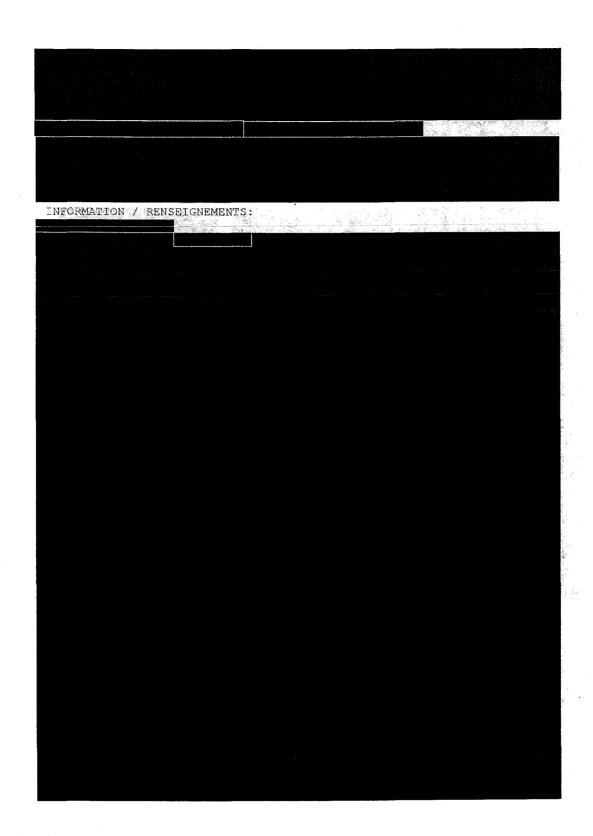


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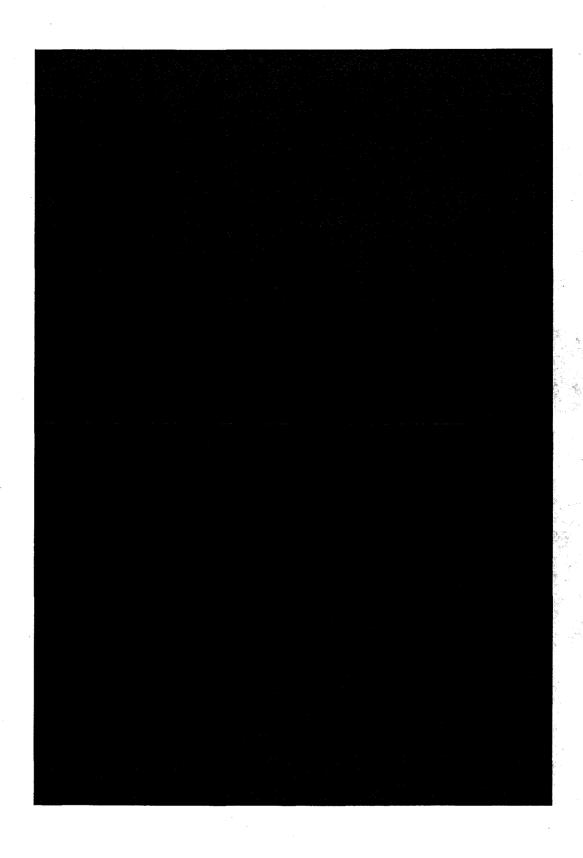




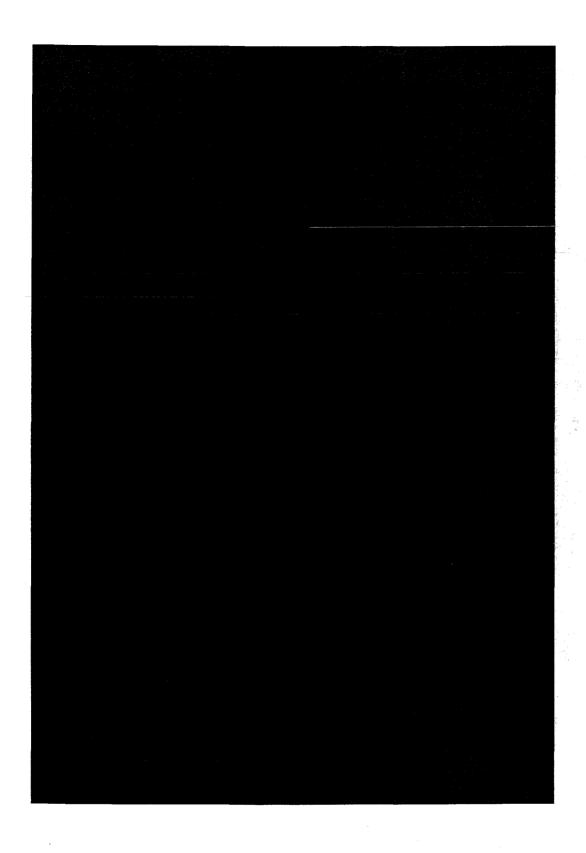
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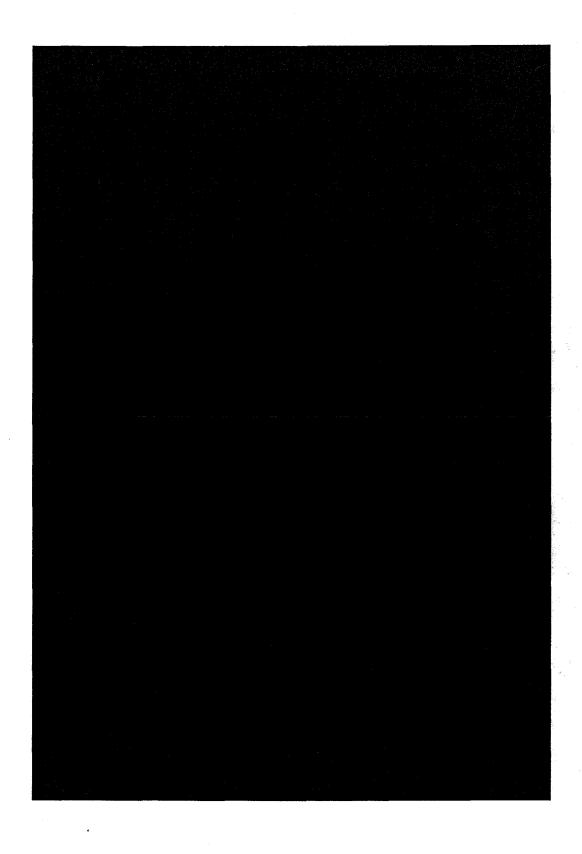
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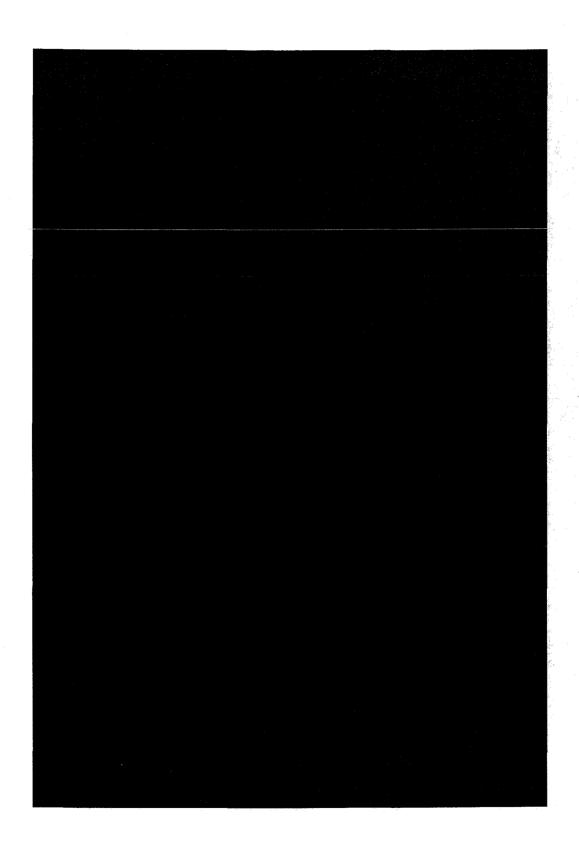


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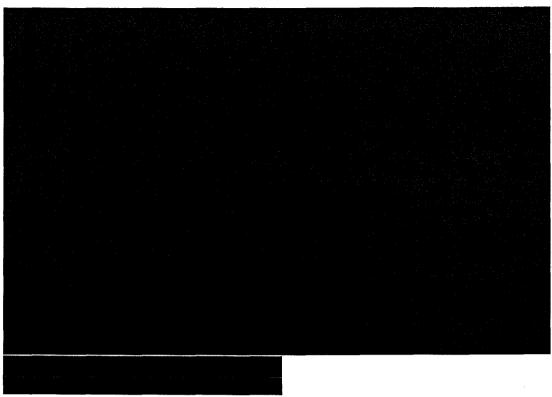


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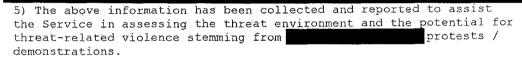


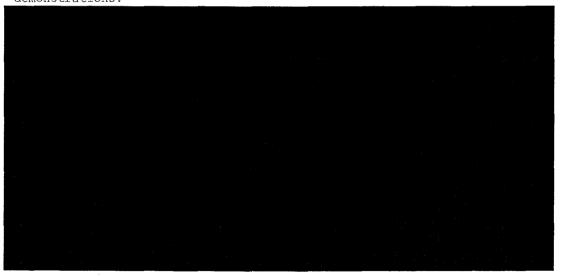


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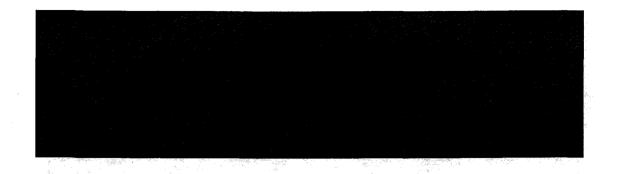


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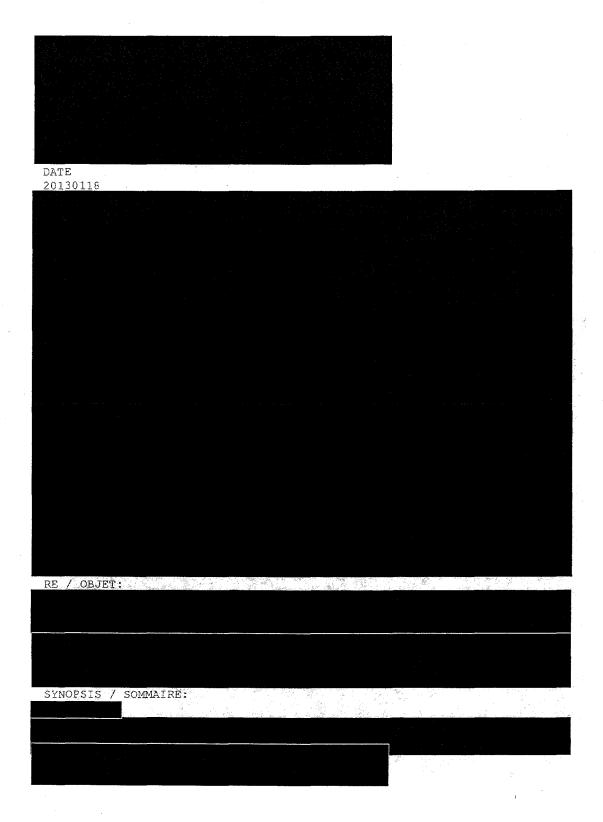


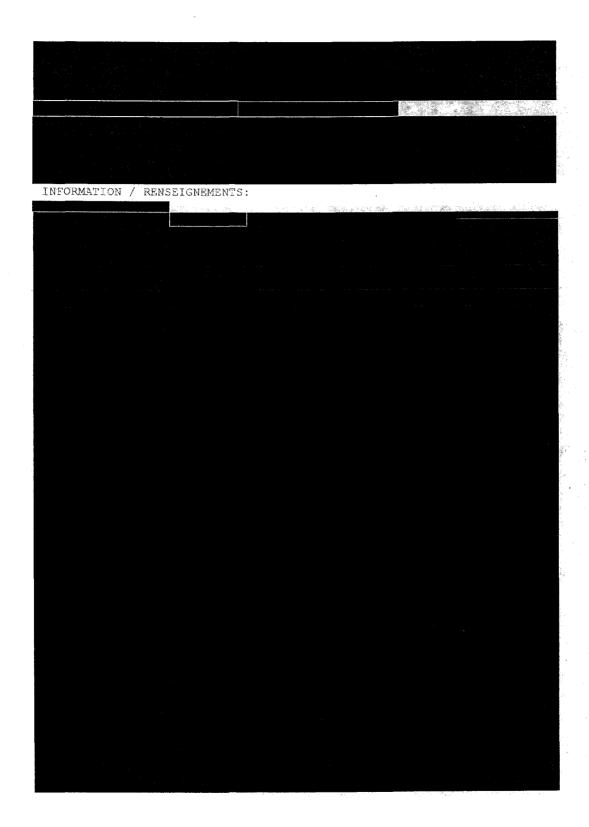
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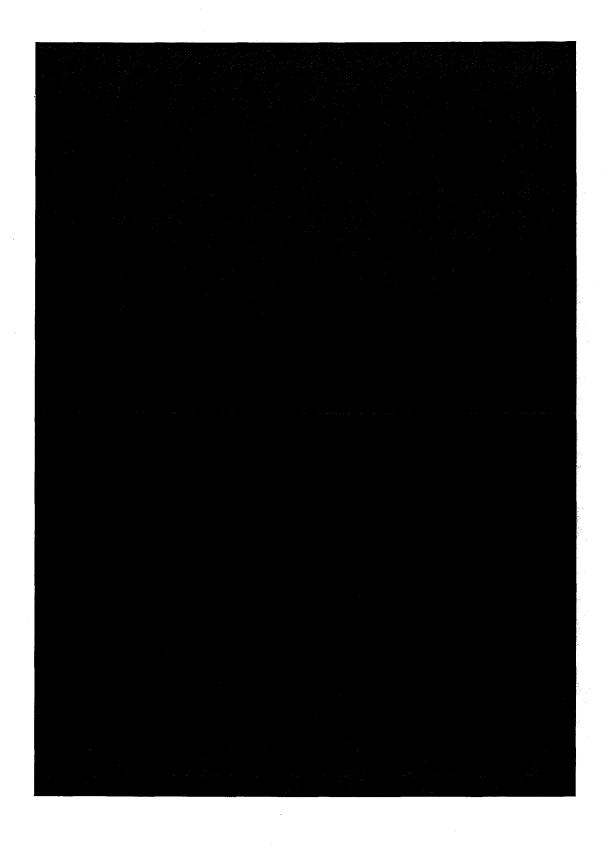
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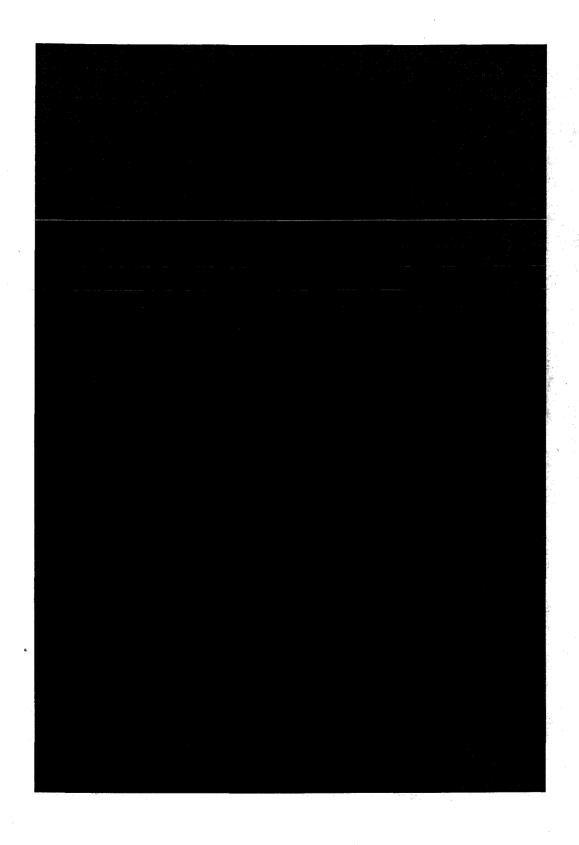


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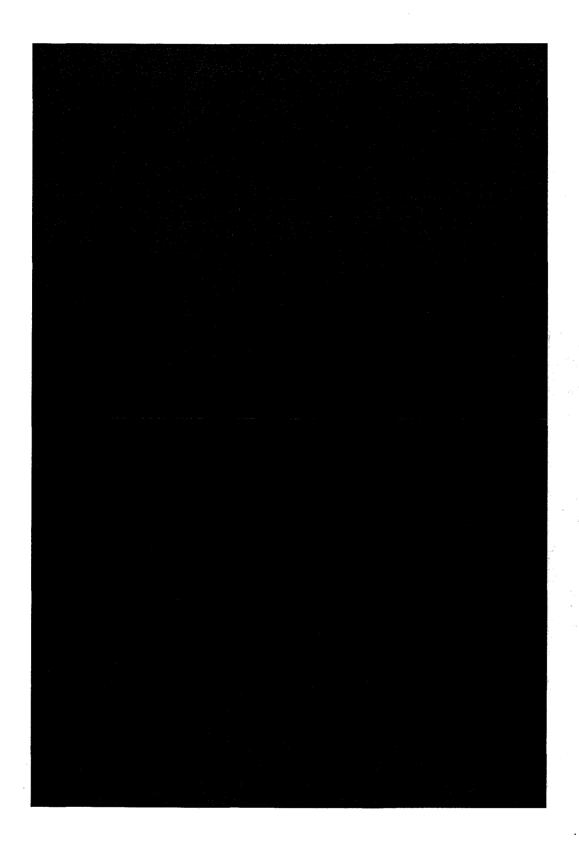
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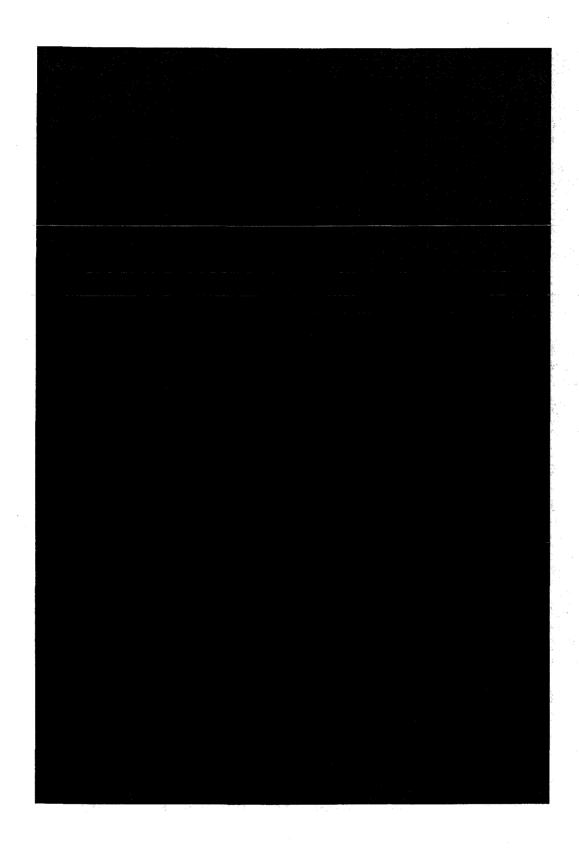


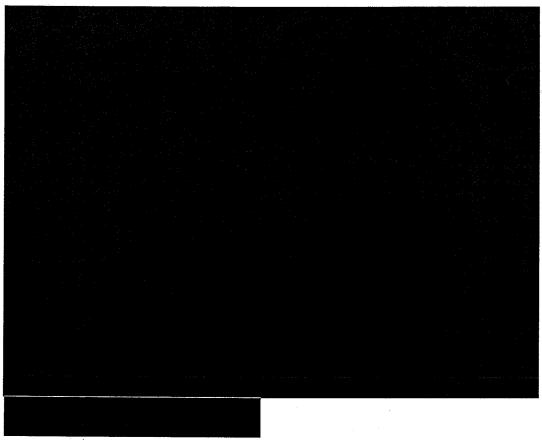
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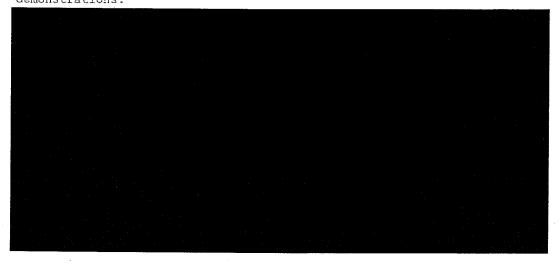
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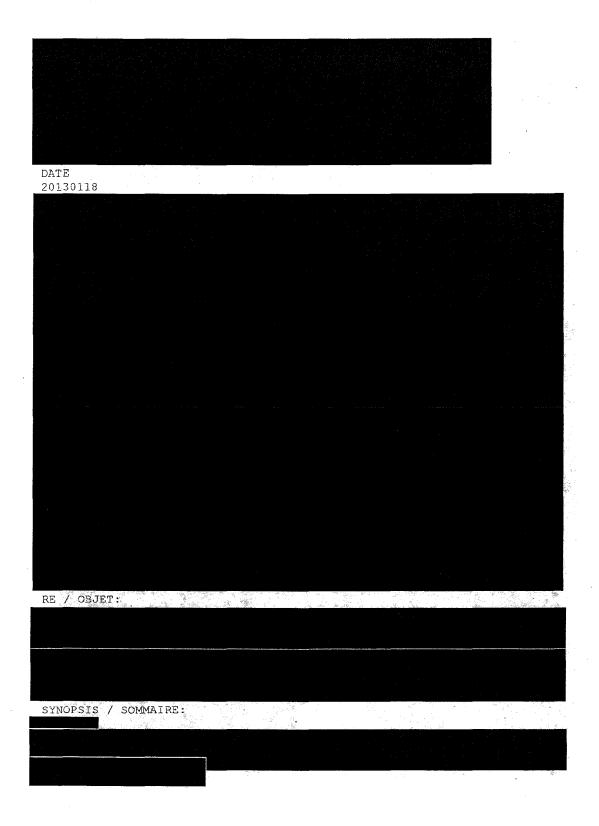
5) The above information has been collected and reported to assist the Service in assessing the threat environment and the potential for threat-related violence stemming from protests / demonstrations.

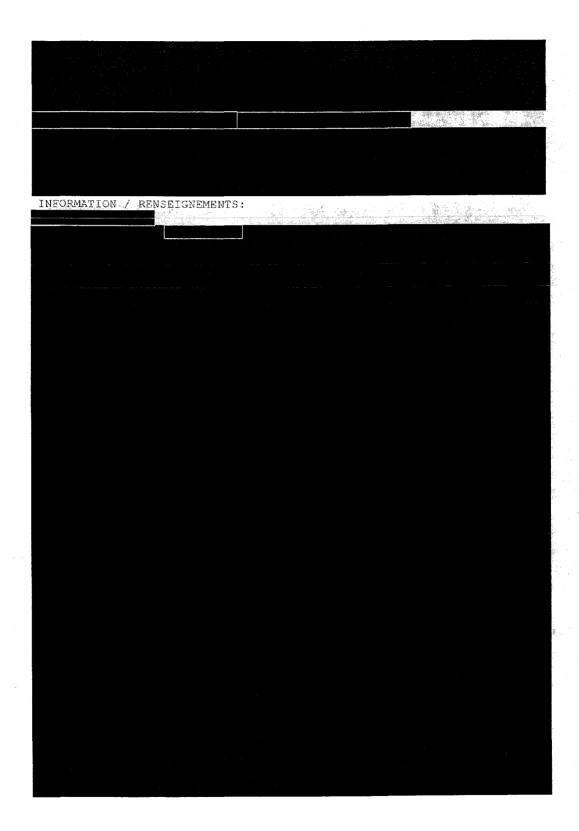


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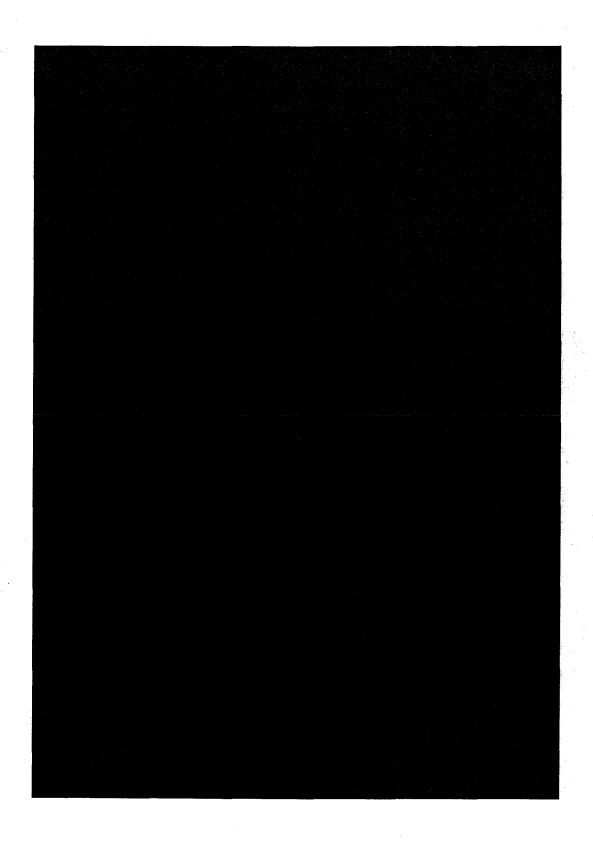


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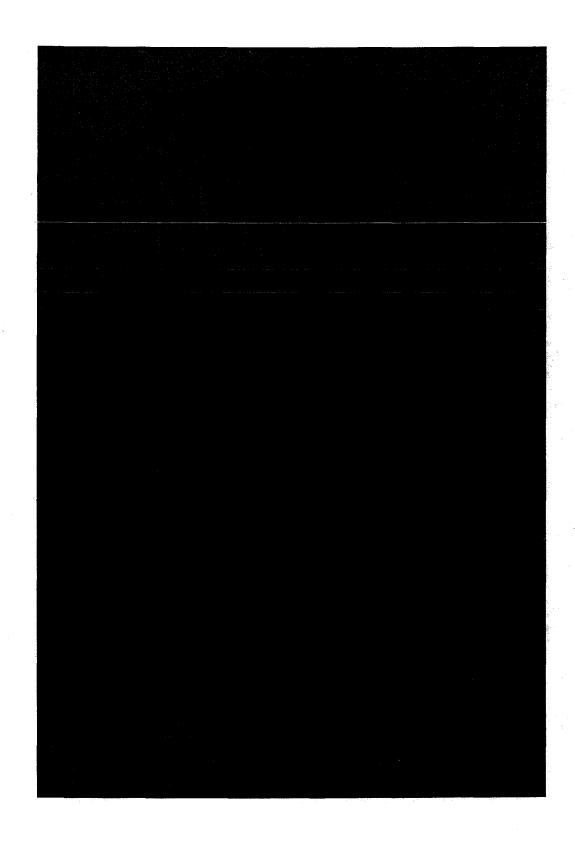




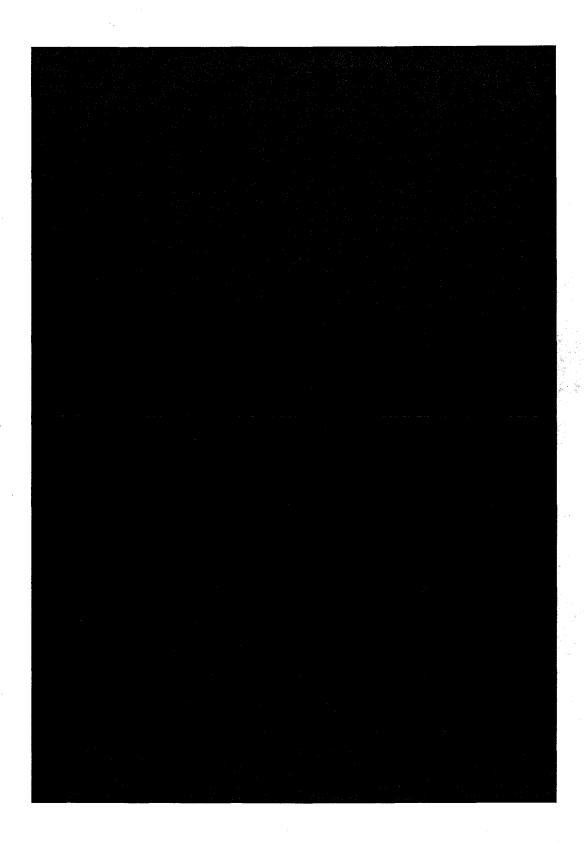
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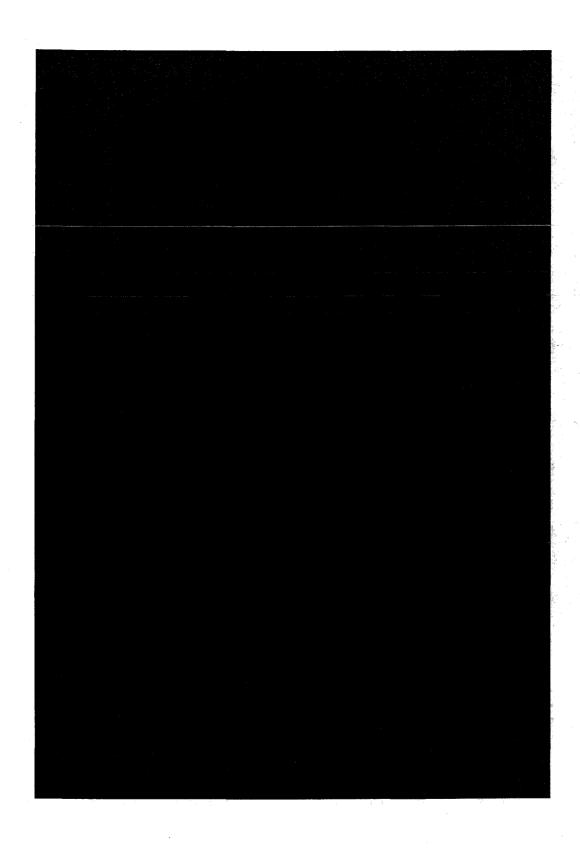


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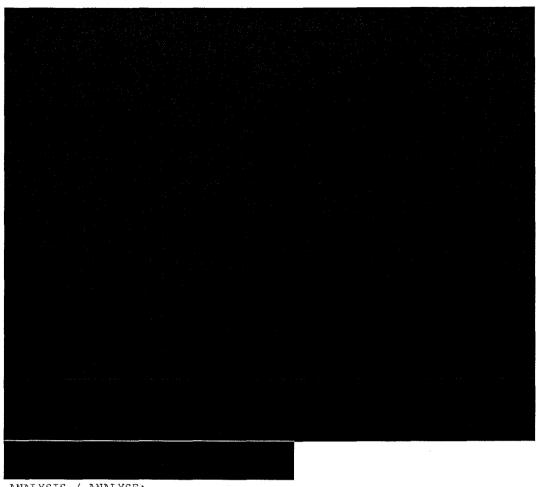
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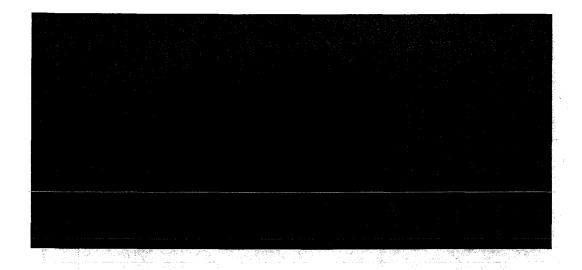
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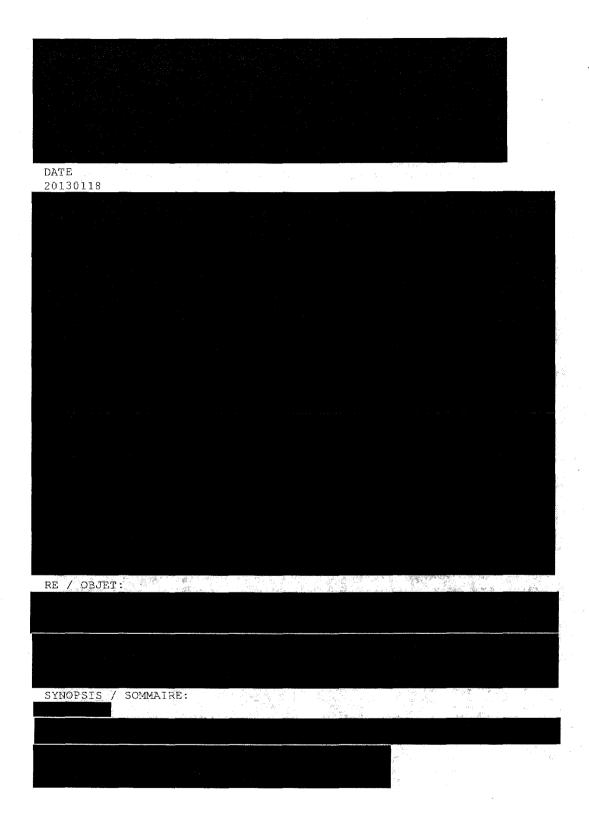


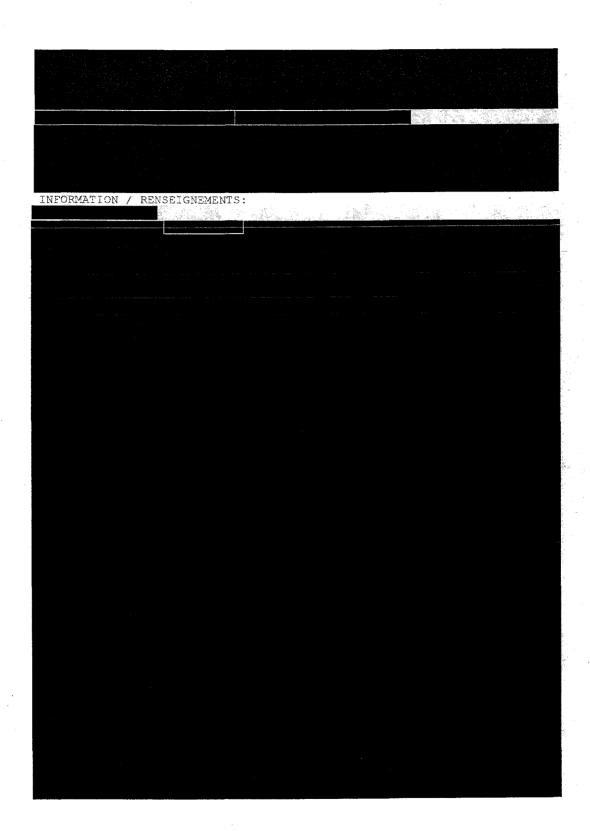
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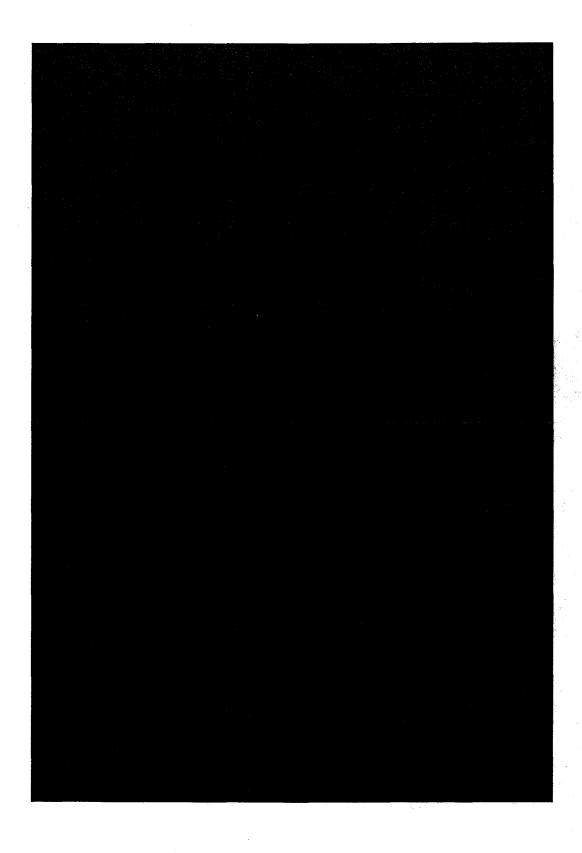
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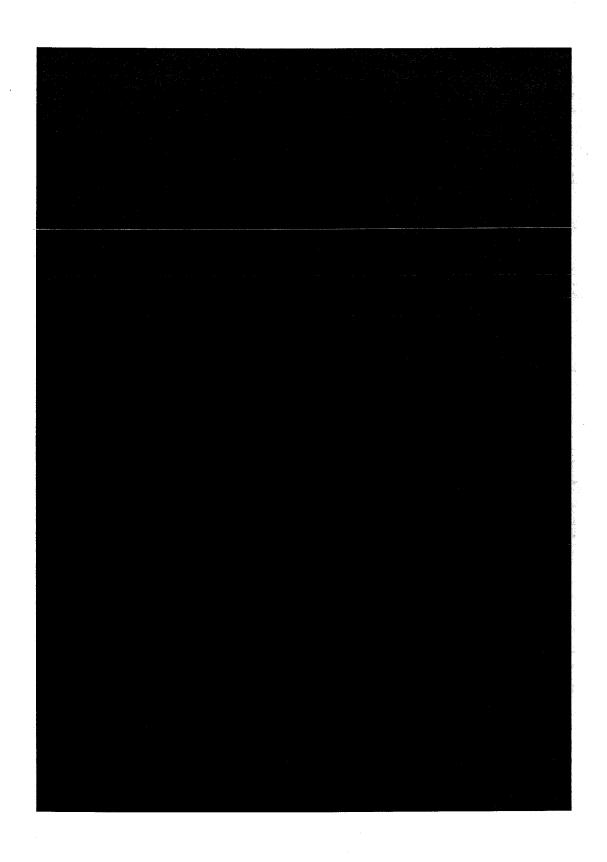


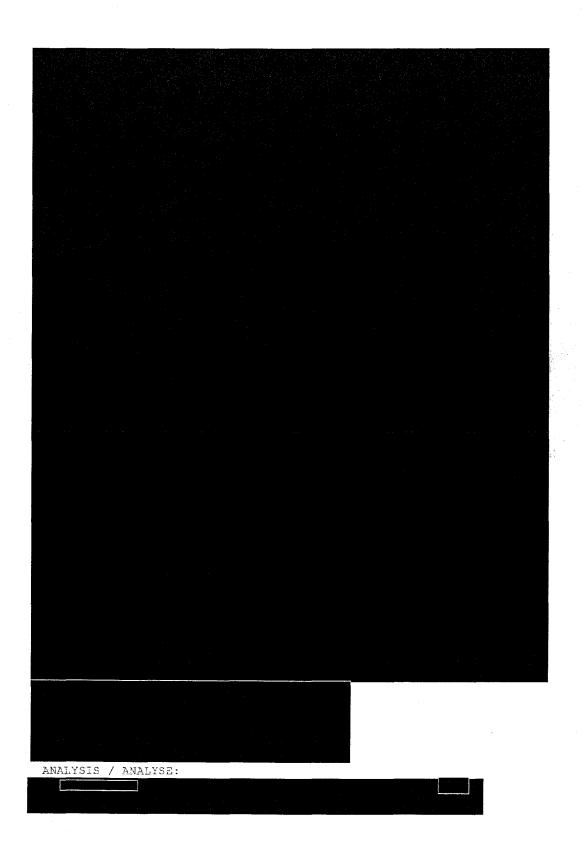


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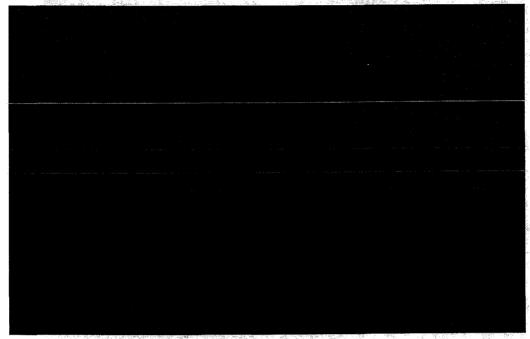
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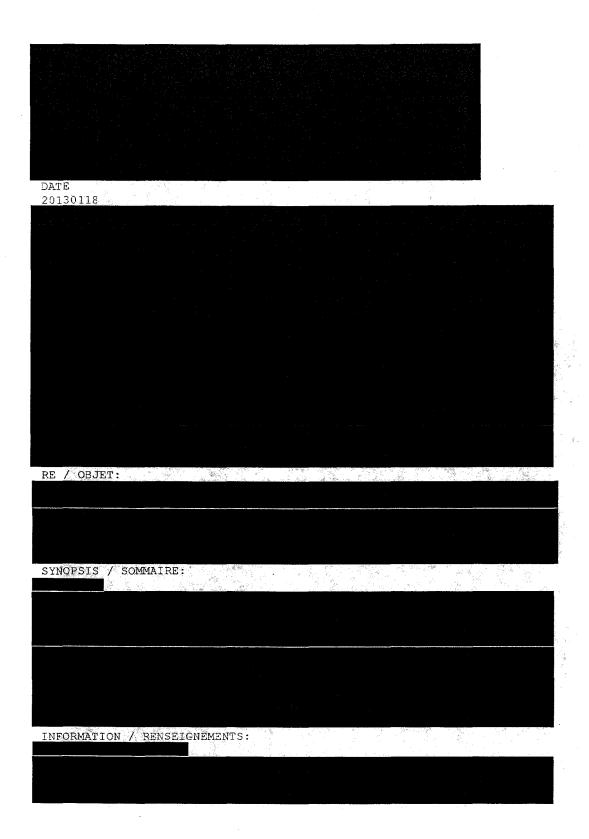




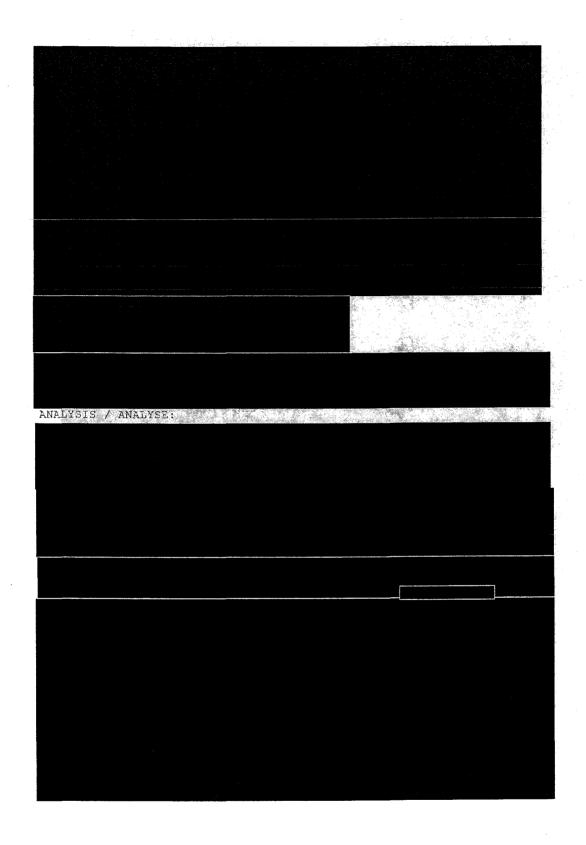
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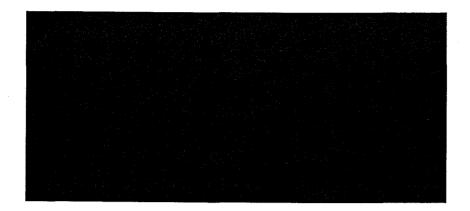




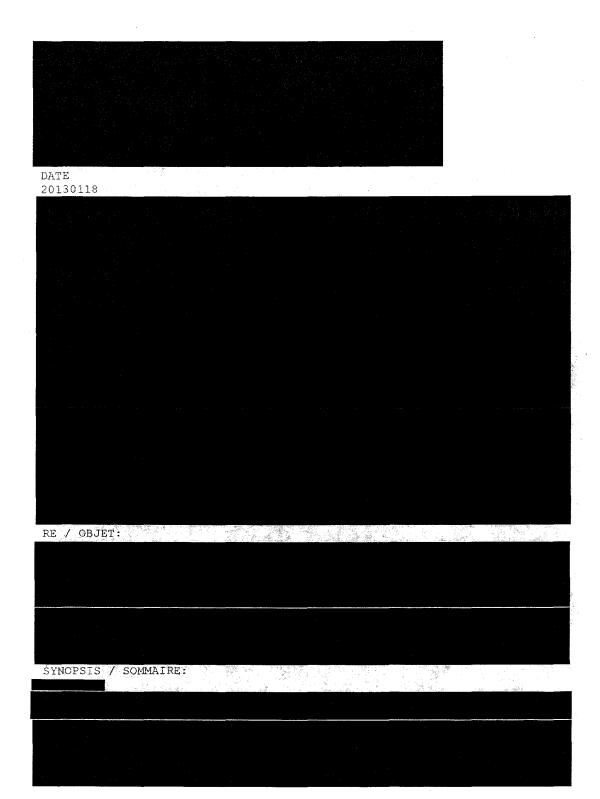
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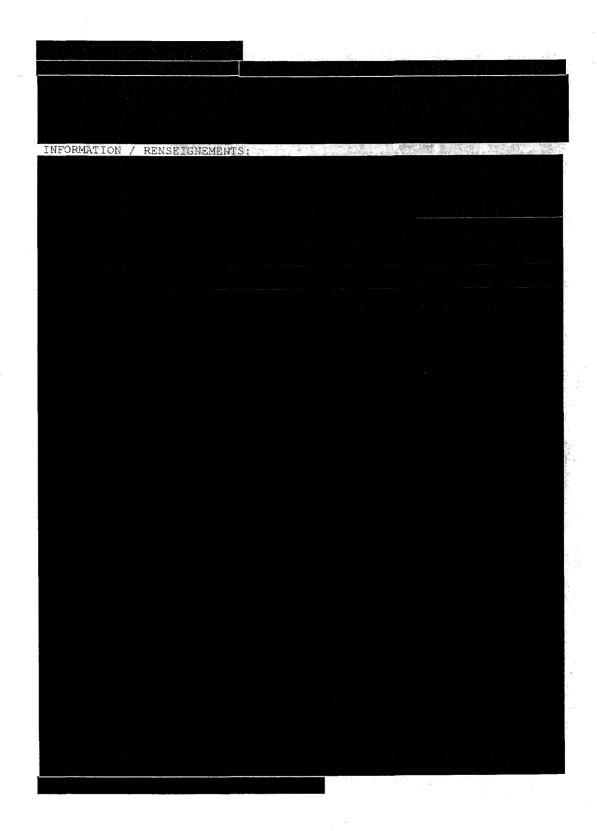


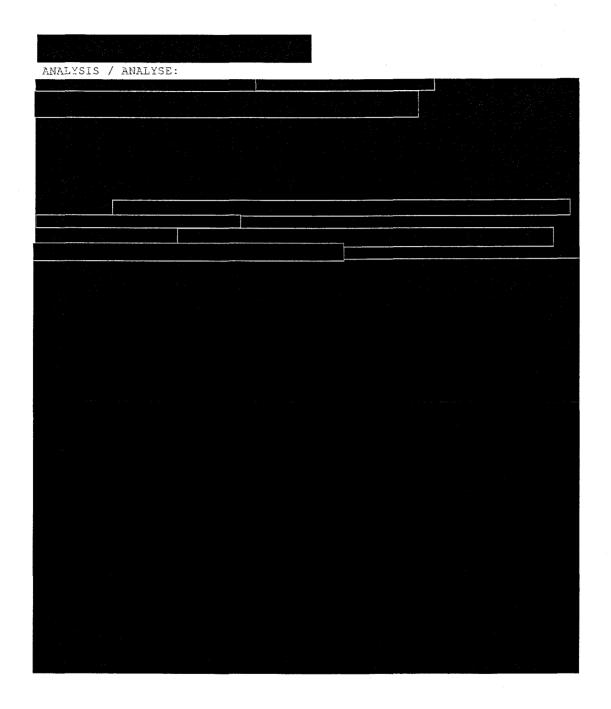
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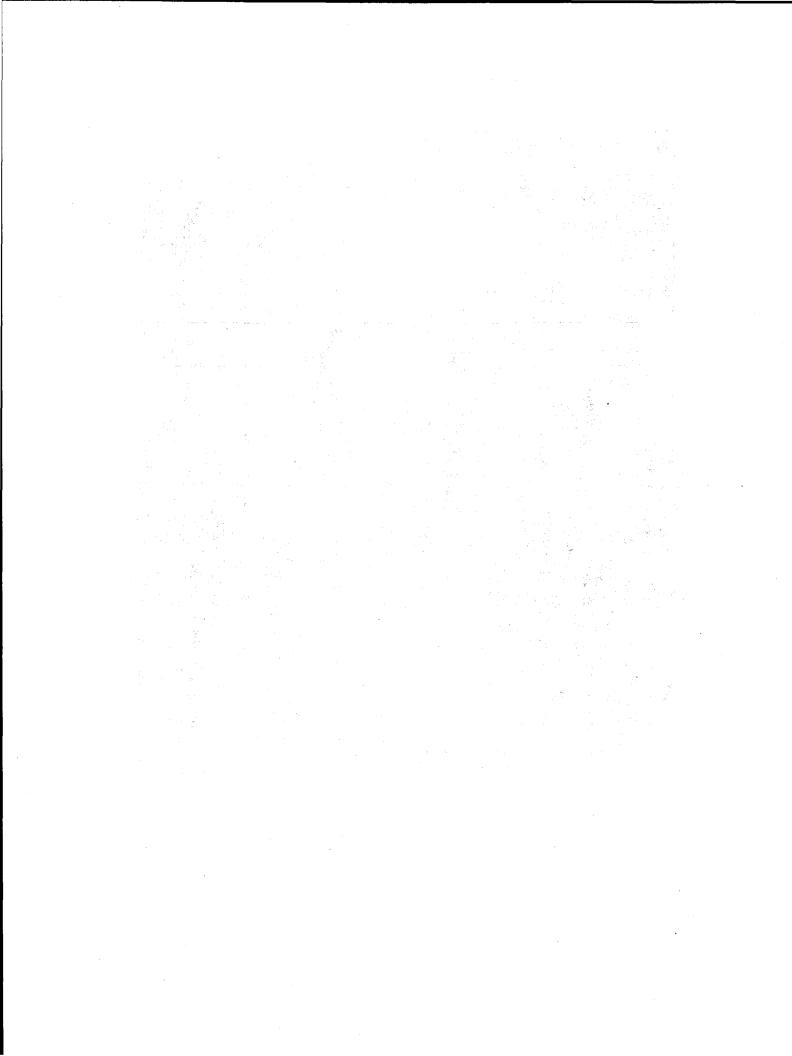


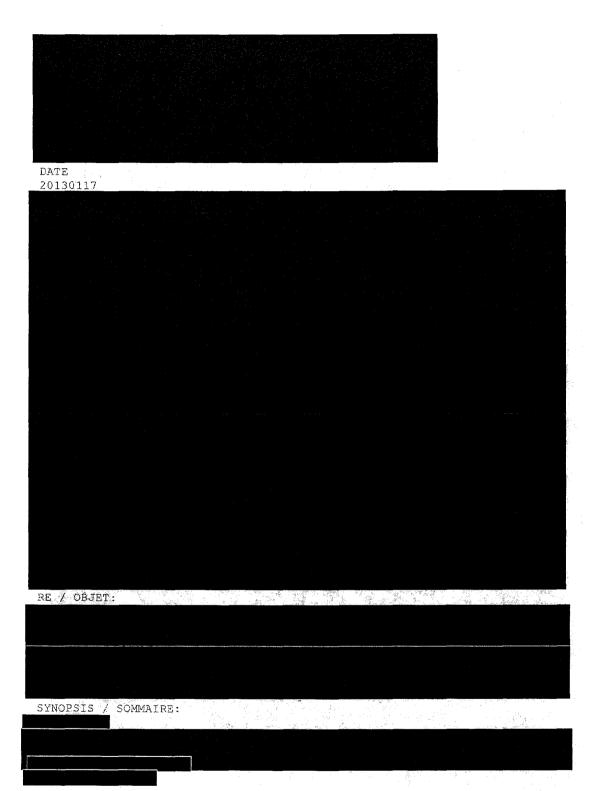




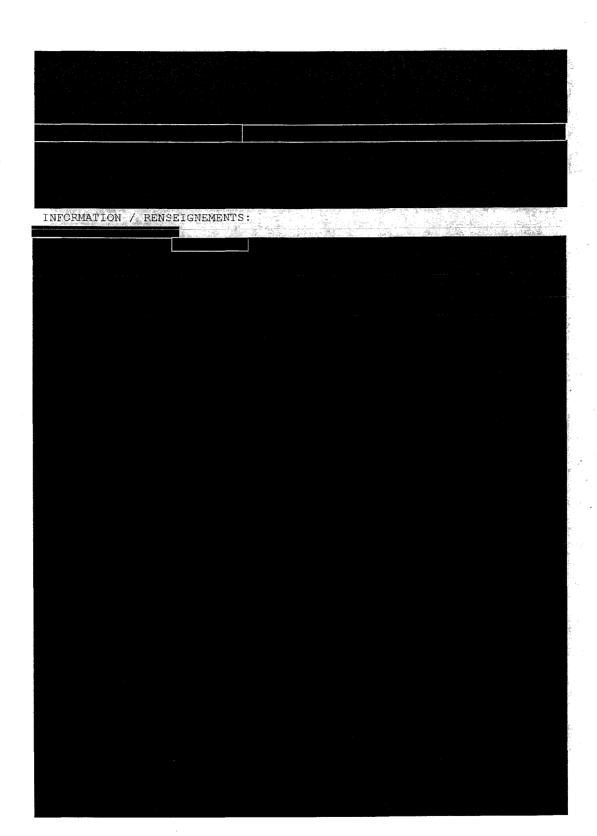


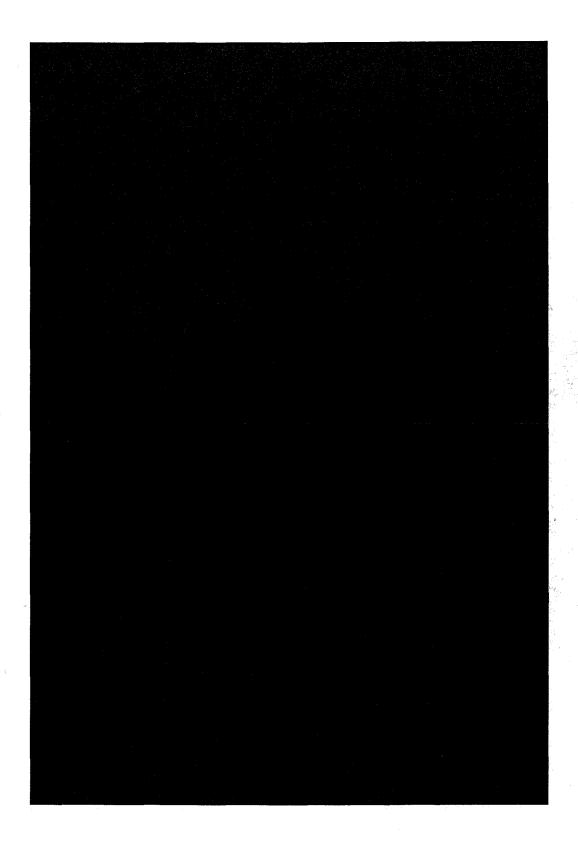




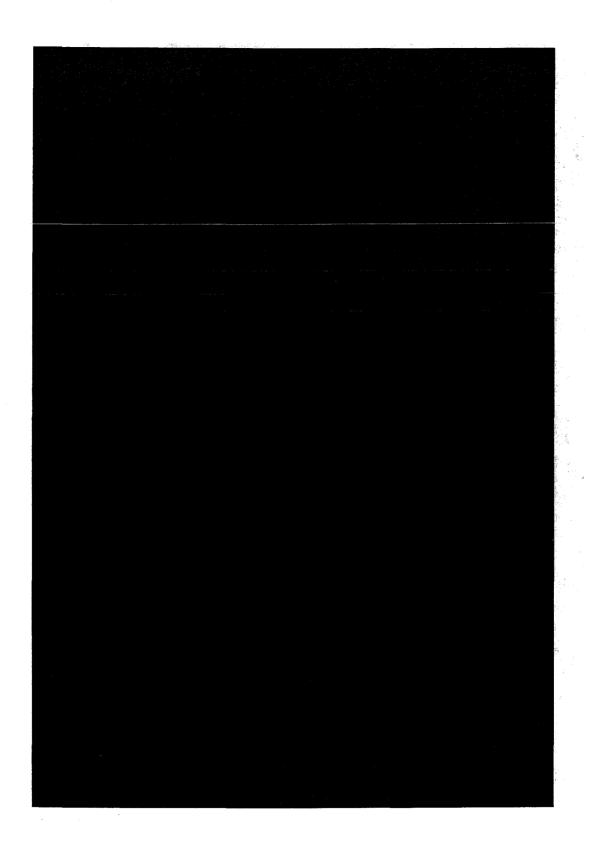


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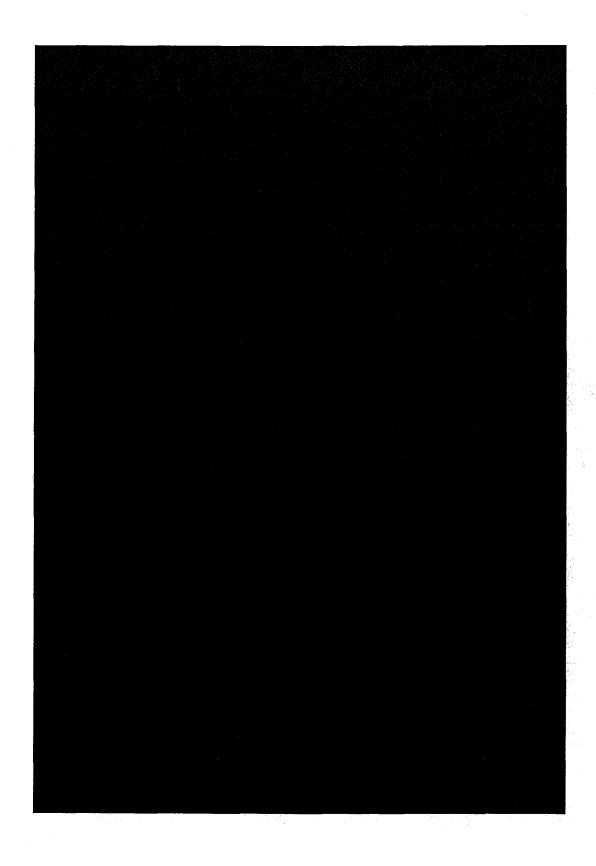




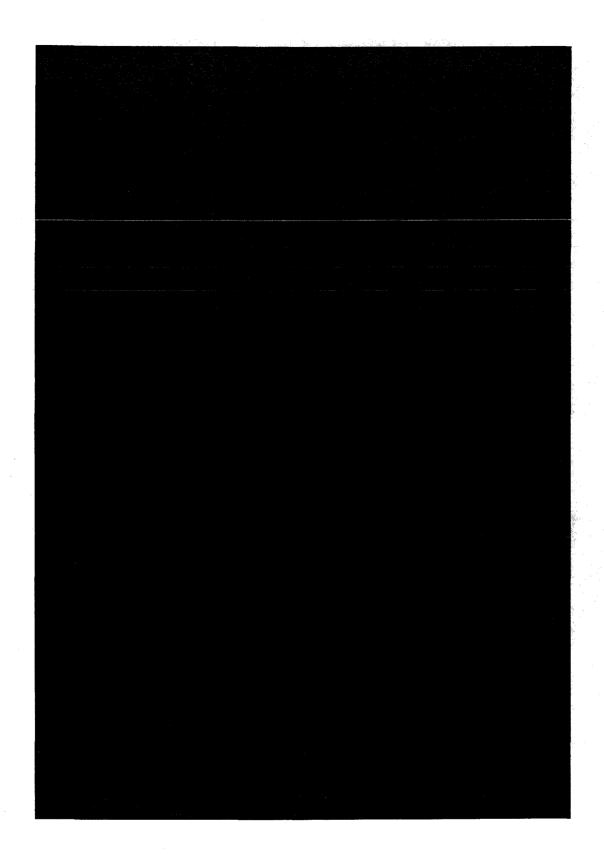
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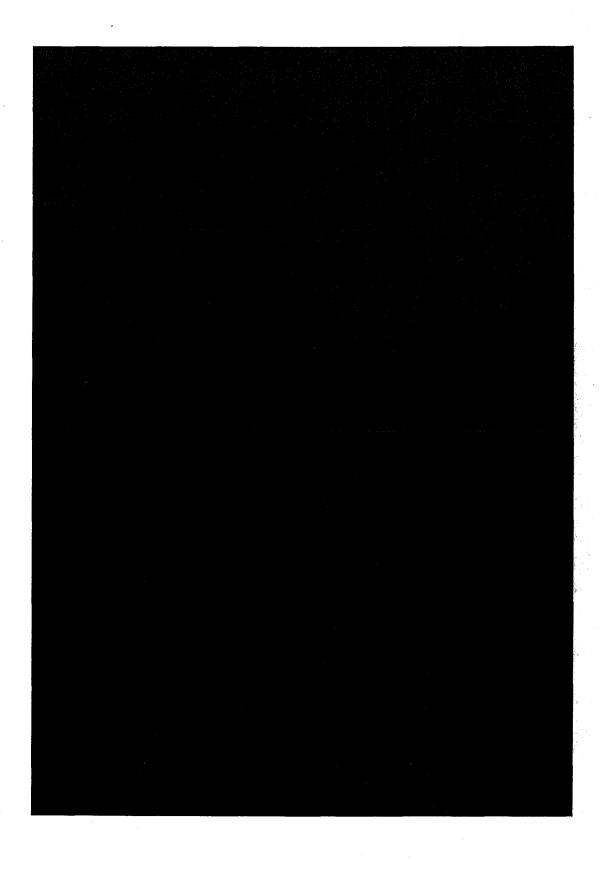
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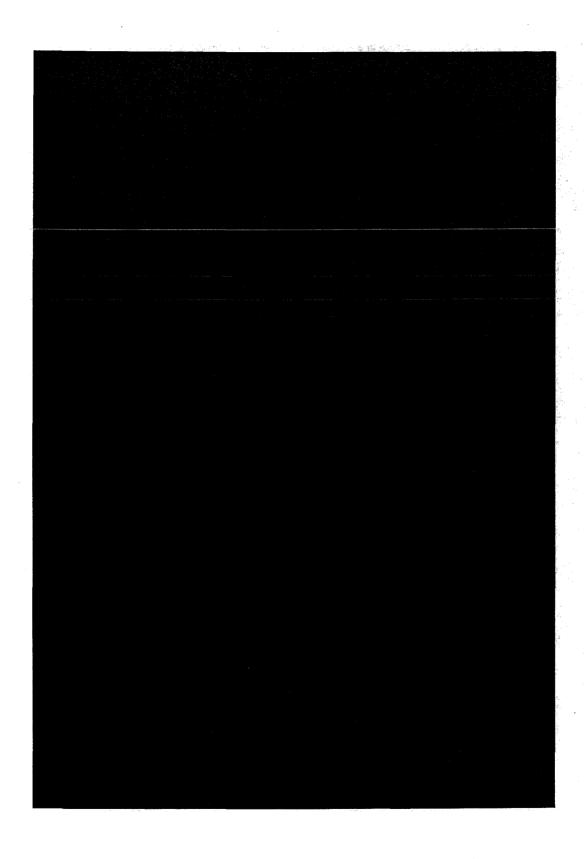
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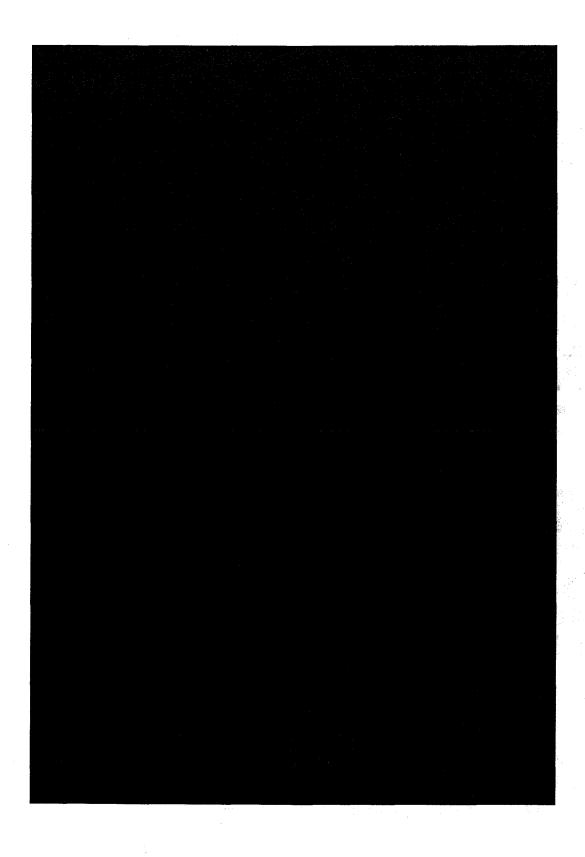
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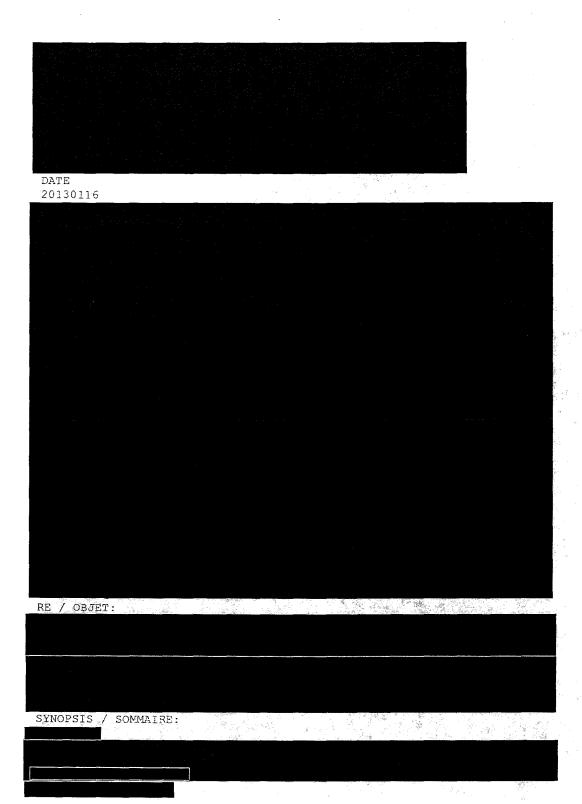
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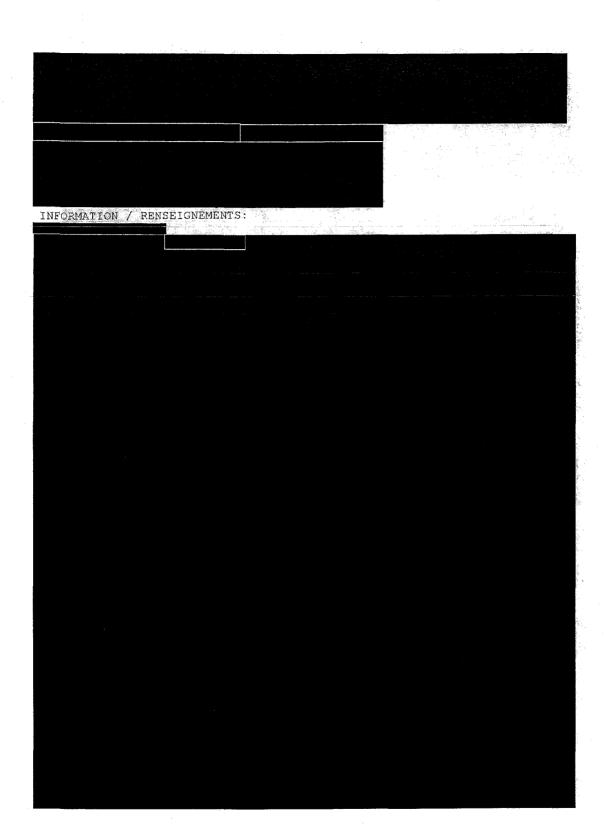
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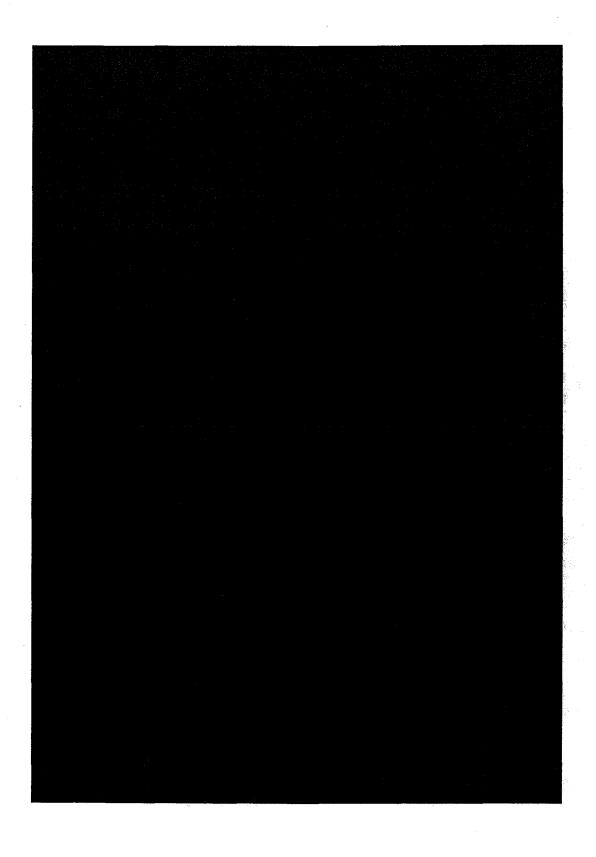


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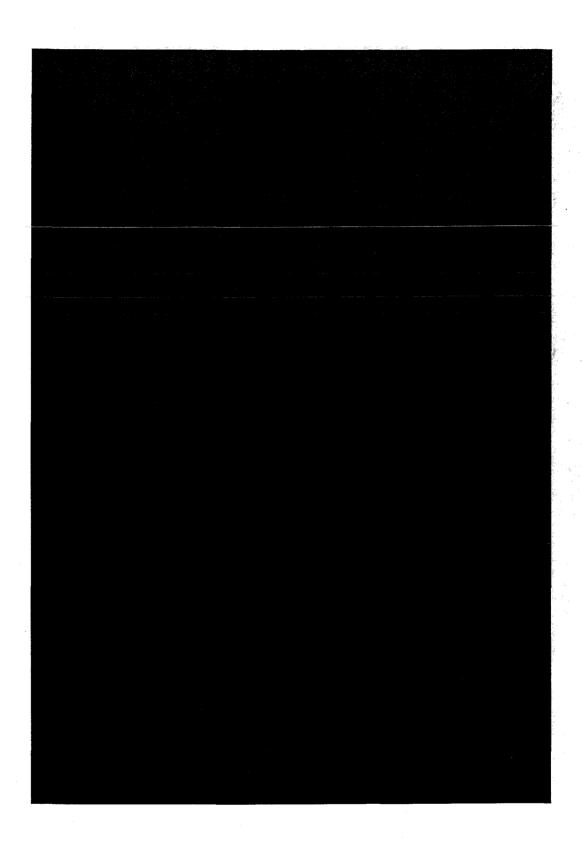


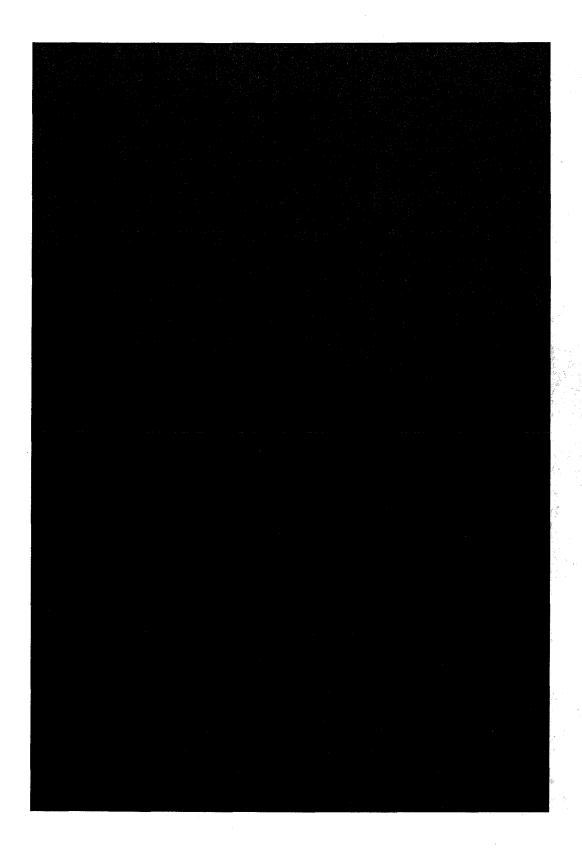
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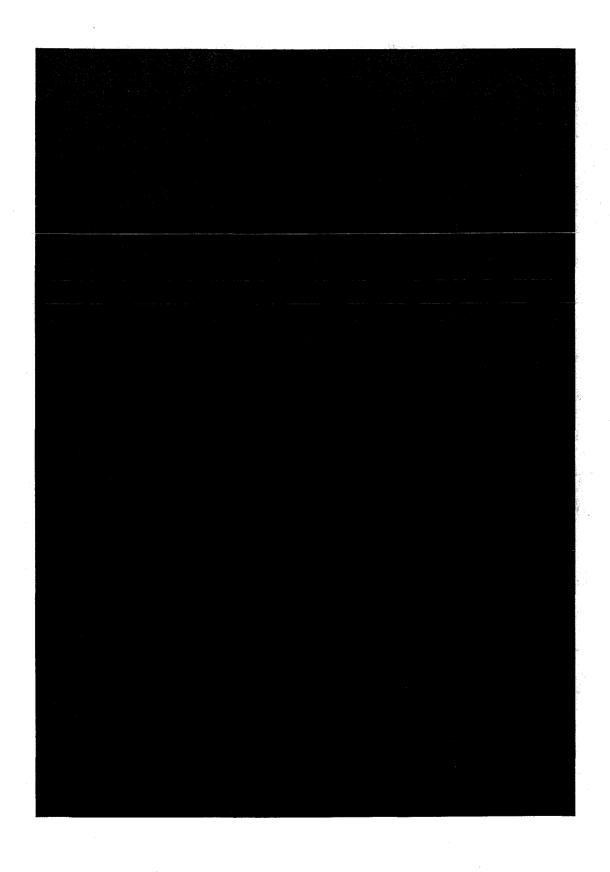
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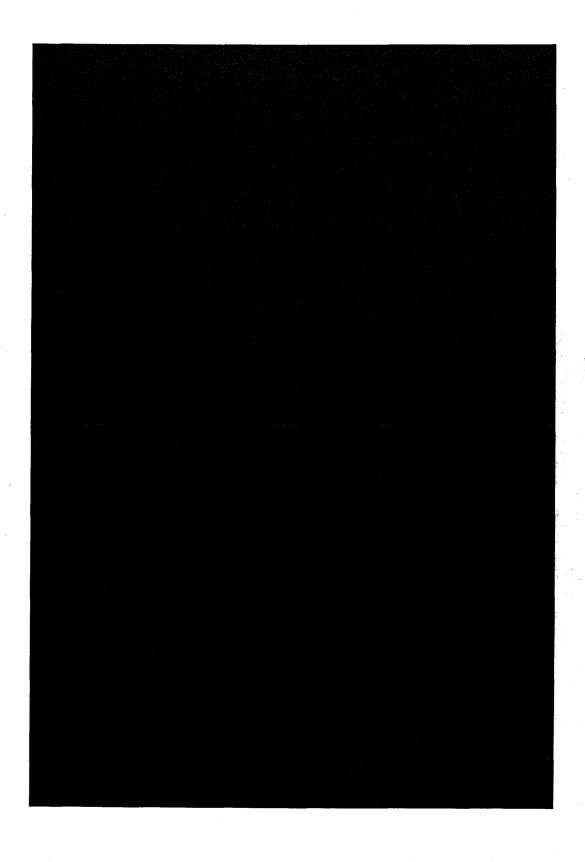


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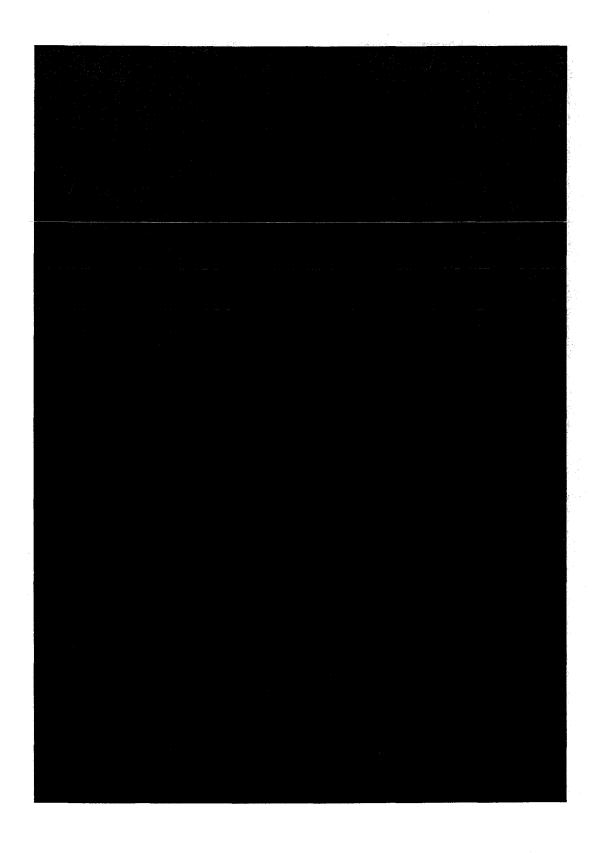
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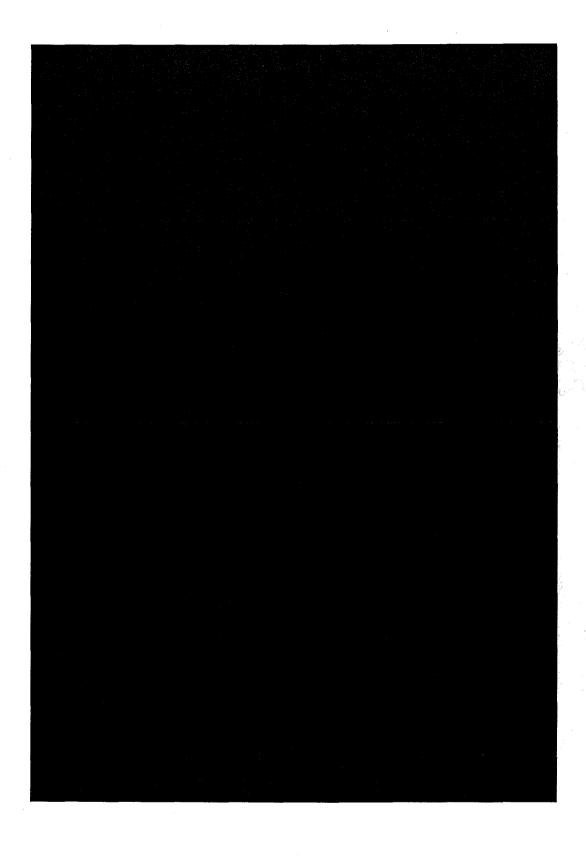
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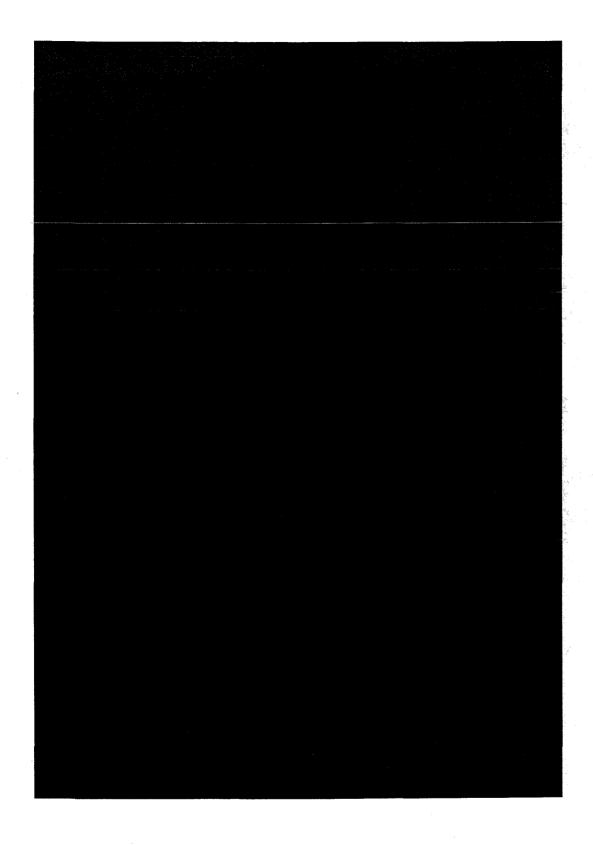


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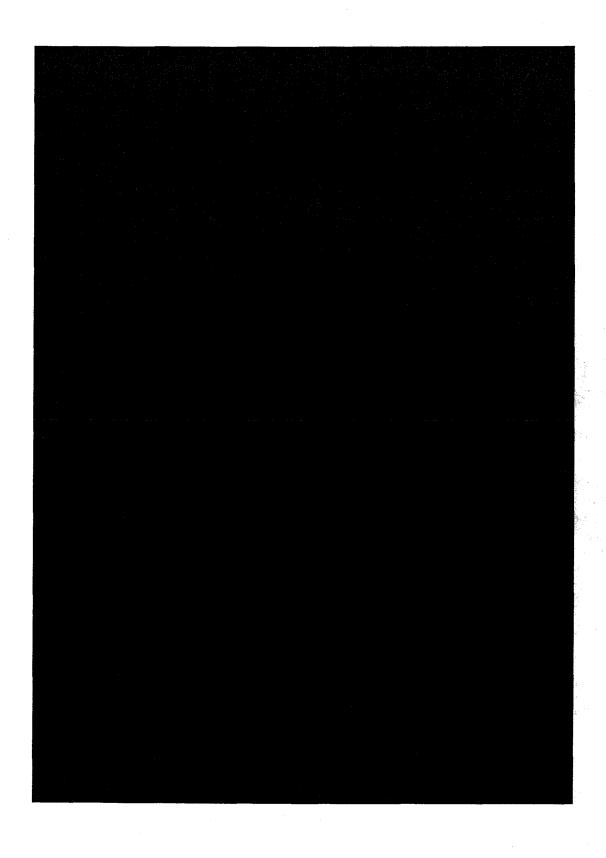
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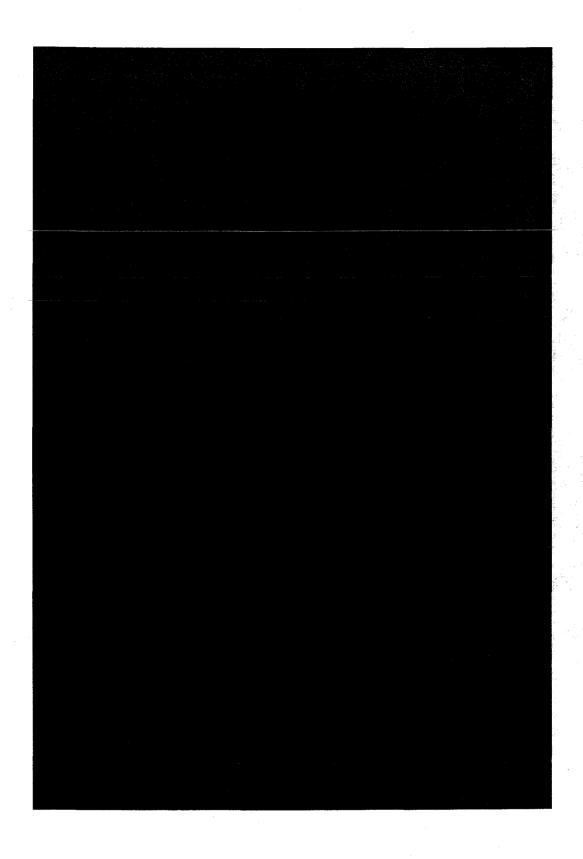


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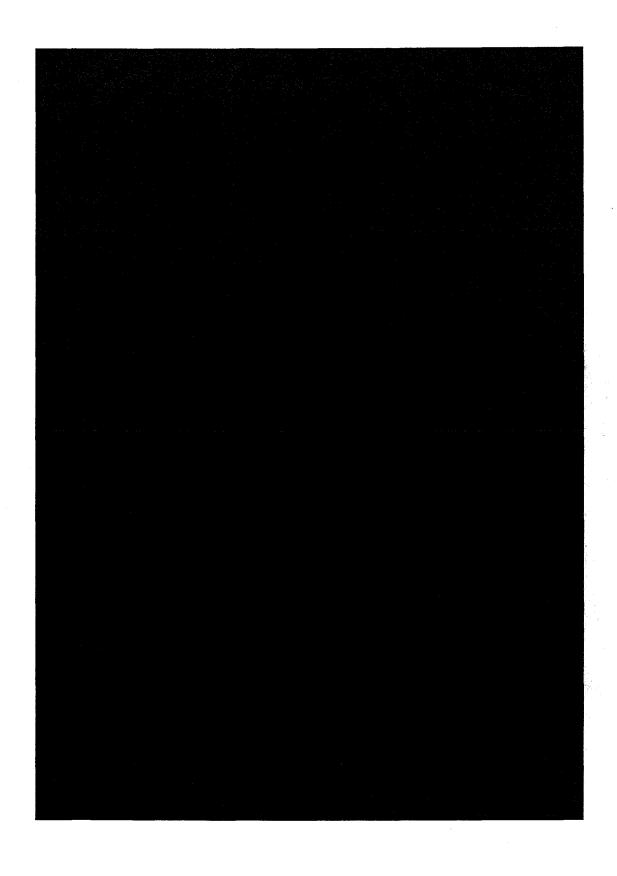
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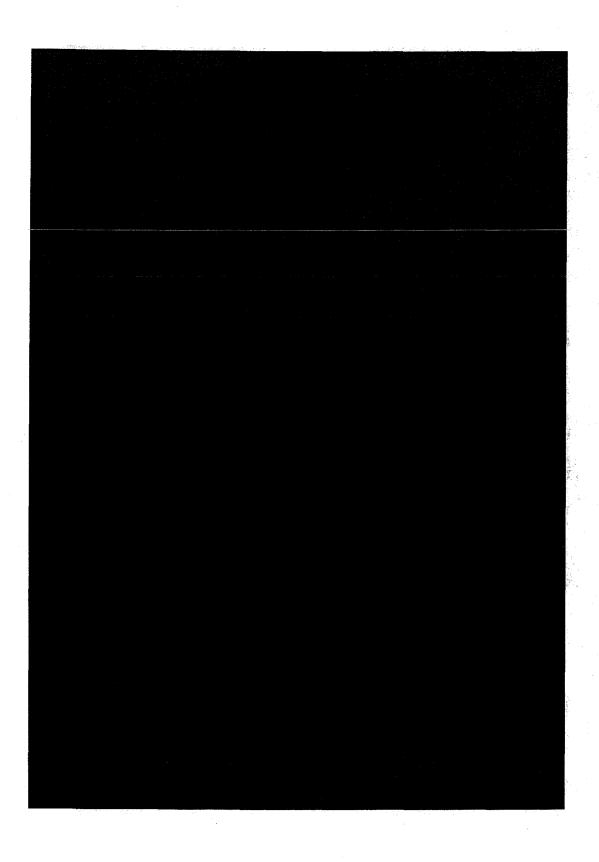
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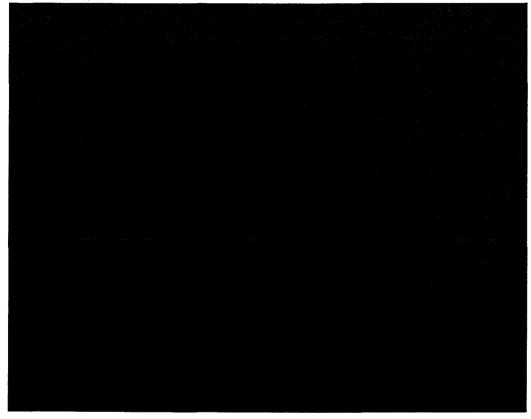
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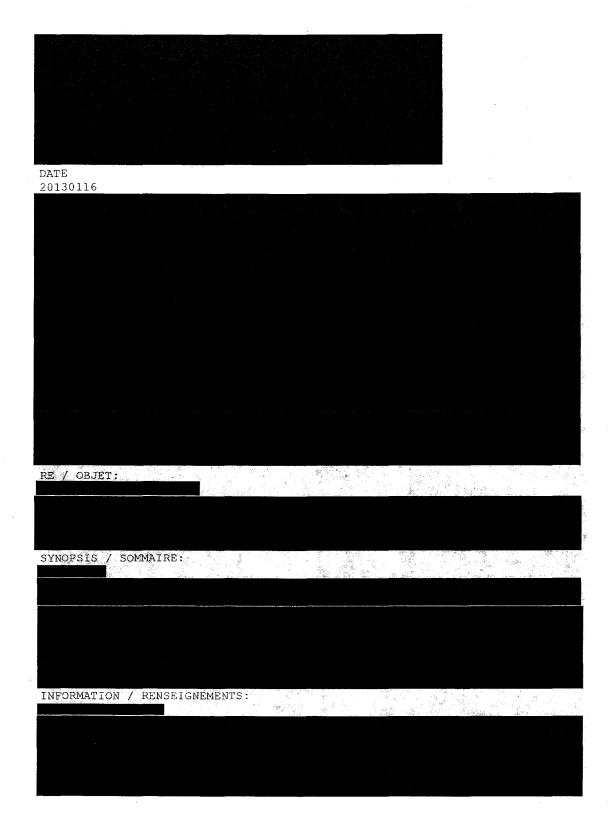
ANALYSIS / ANALYSE:

5) The above information has been collected and reported to assist the Service in assessing the threat environment and the potential for threat-related violence stemming from the protests / demonstrations.

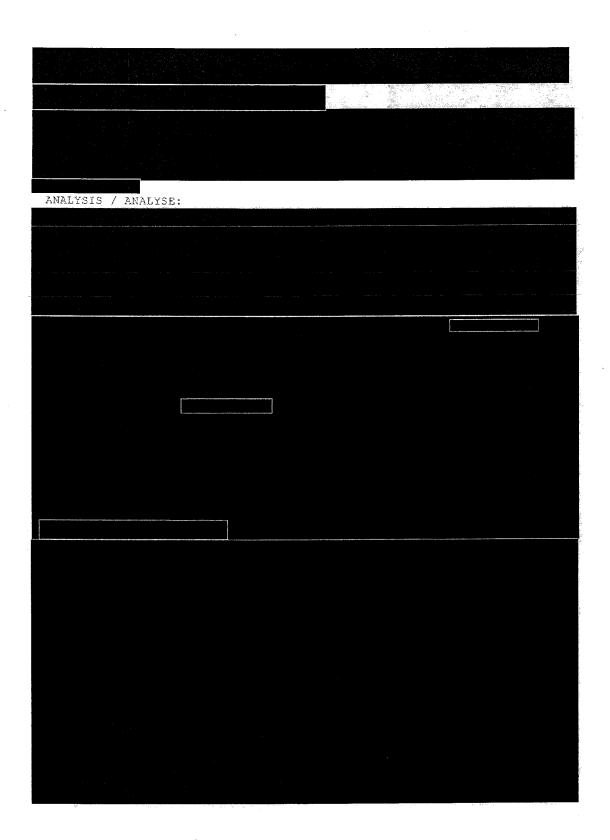


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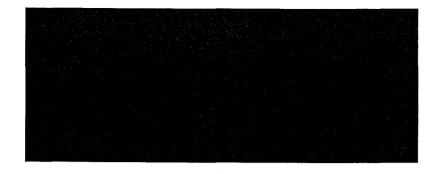
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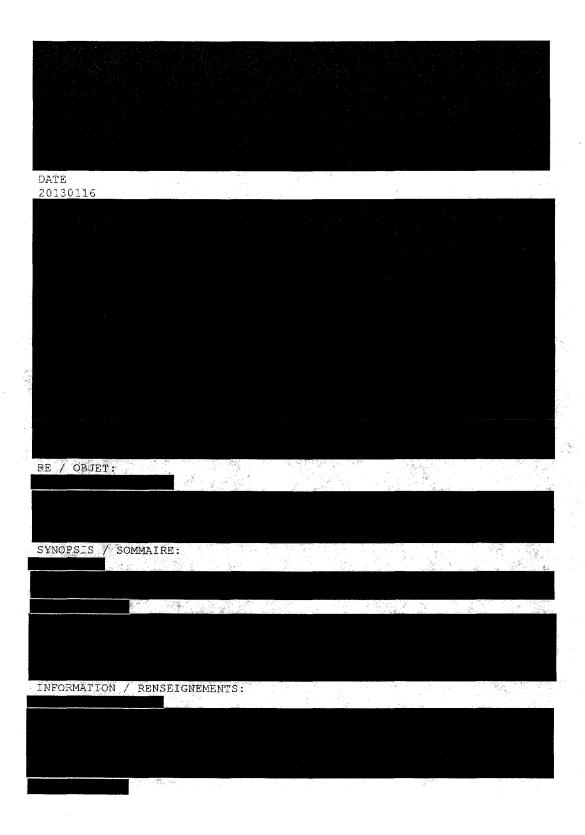


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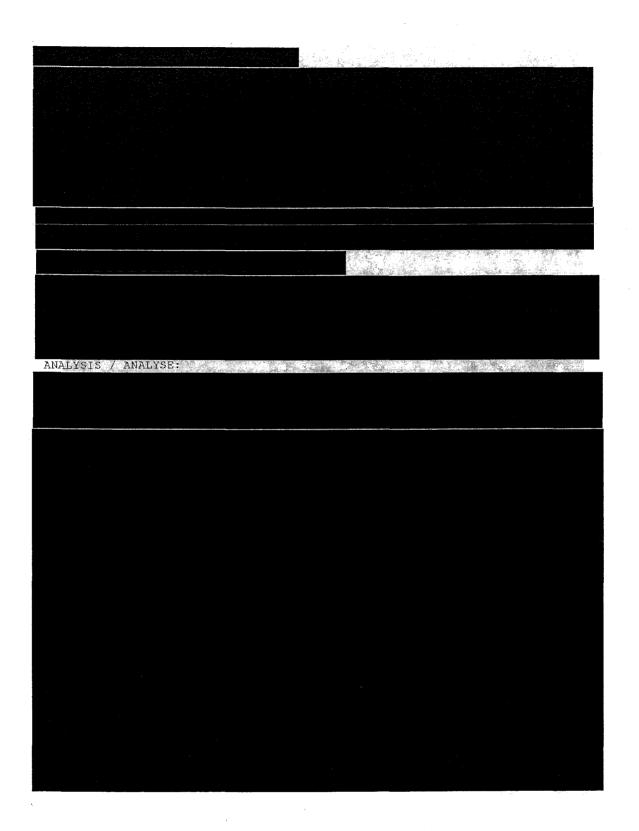


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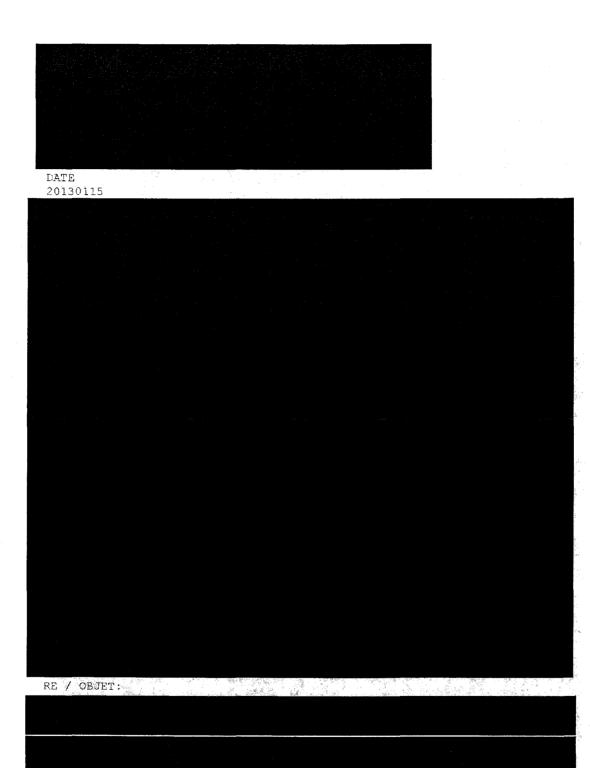


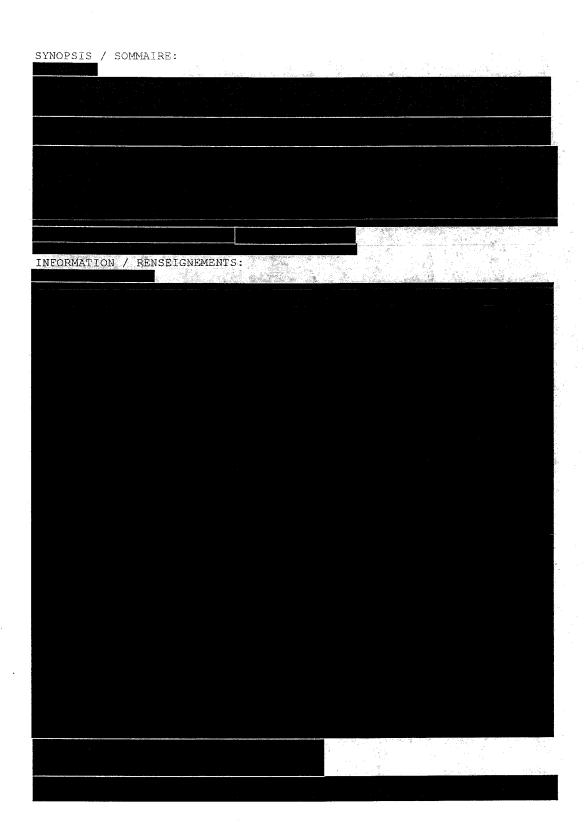


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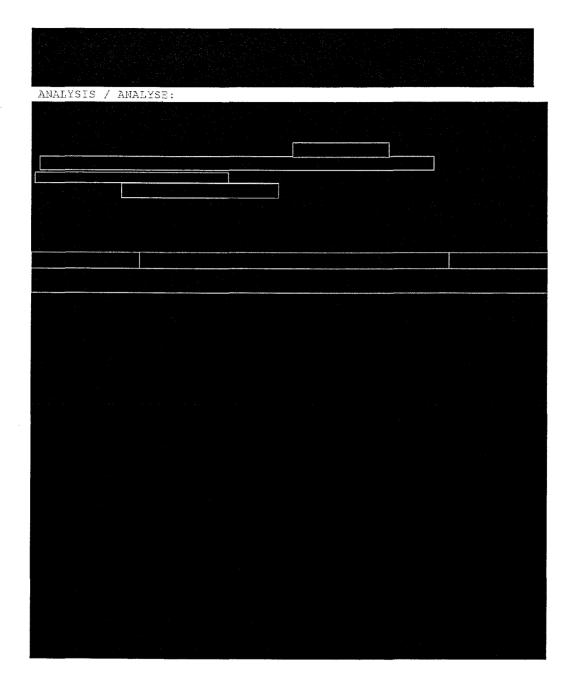
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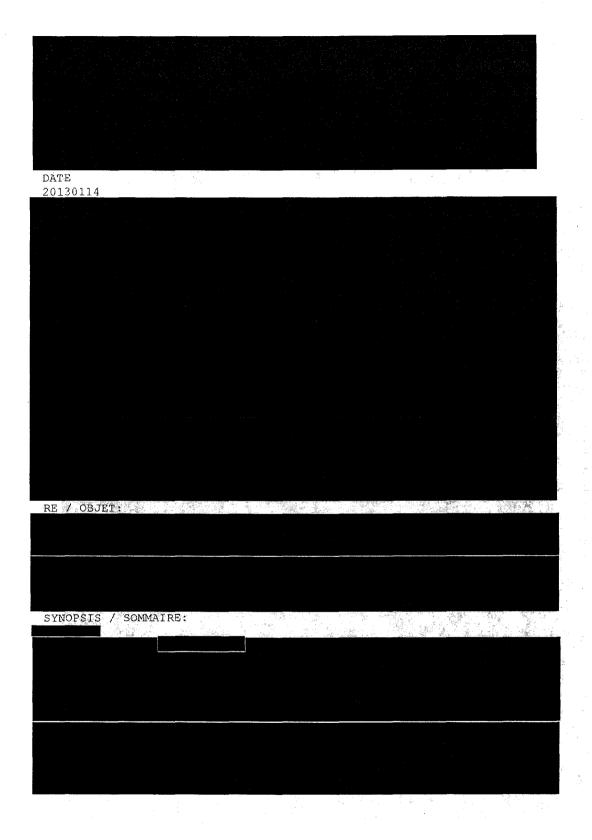


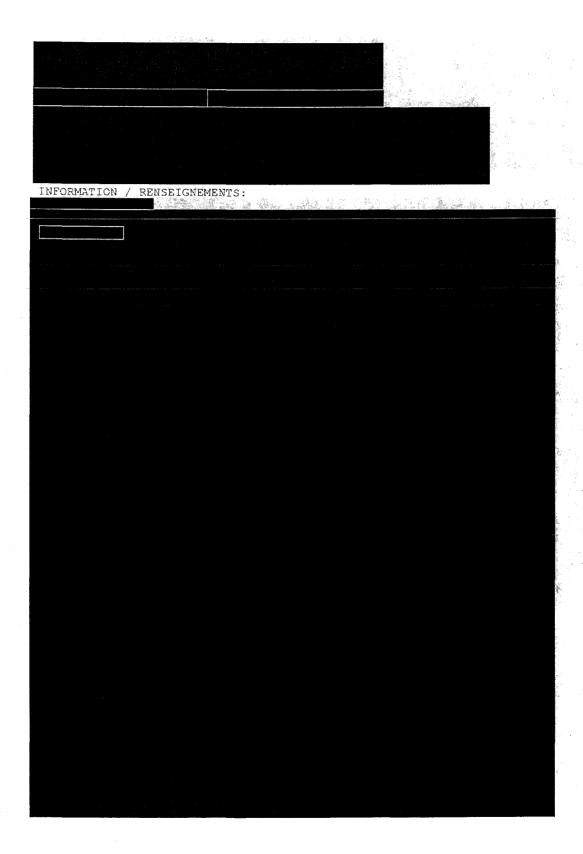
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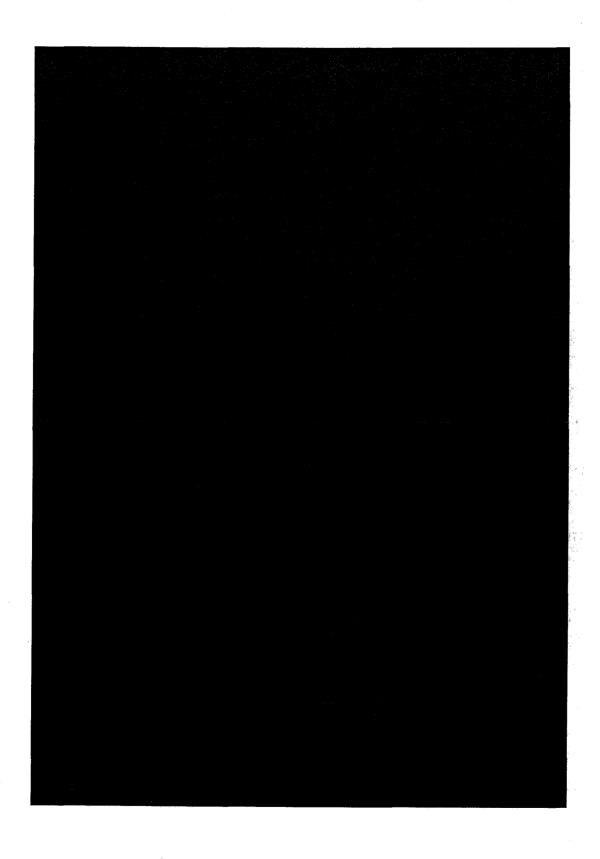


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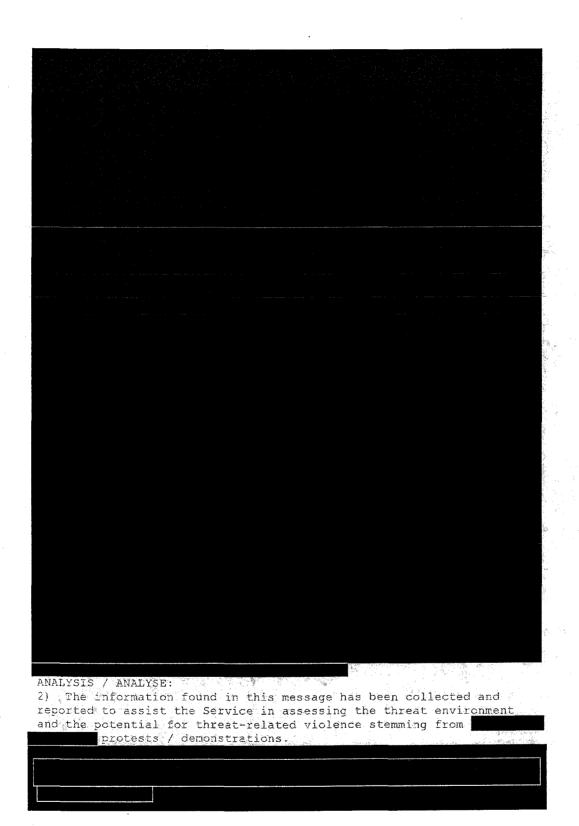


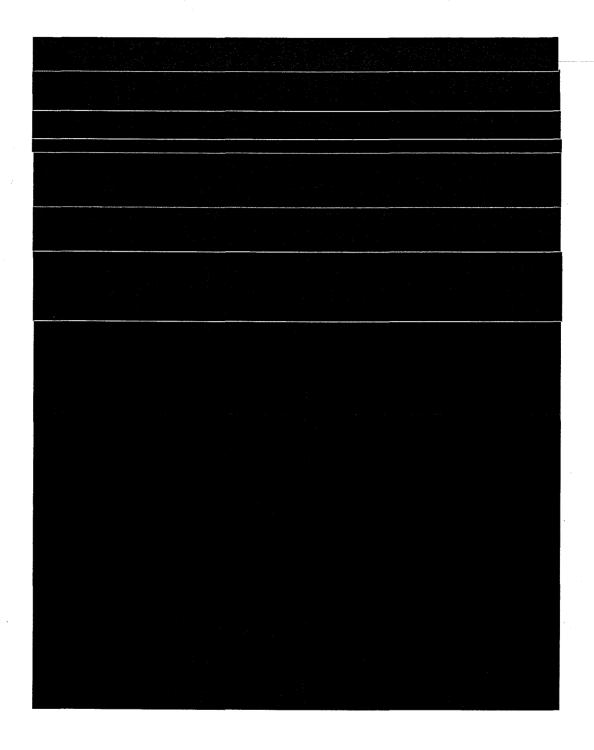


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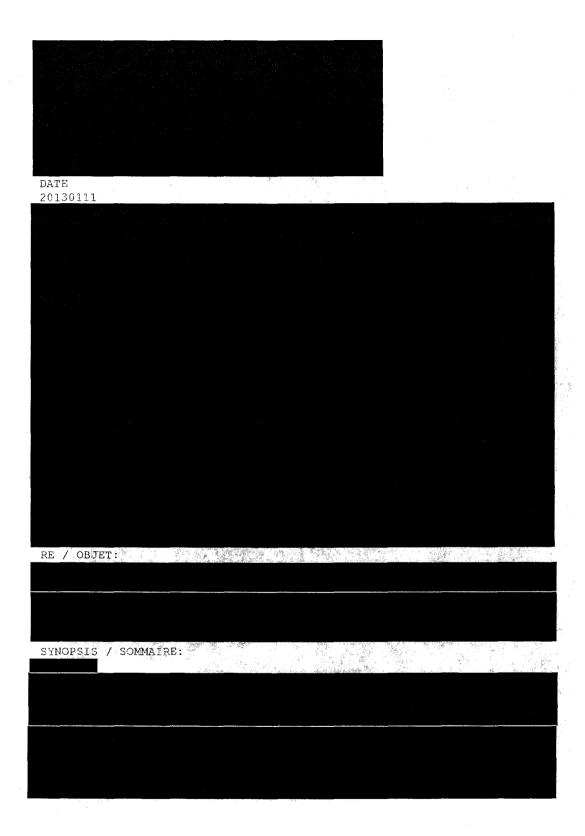
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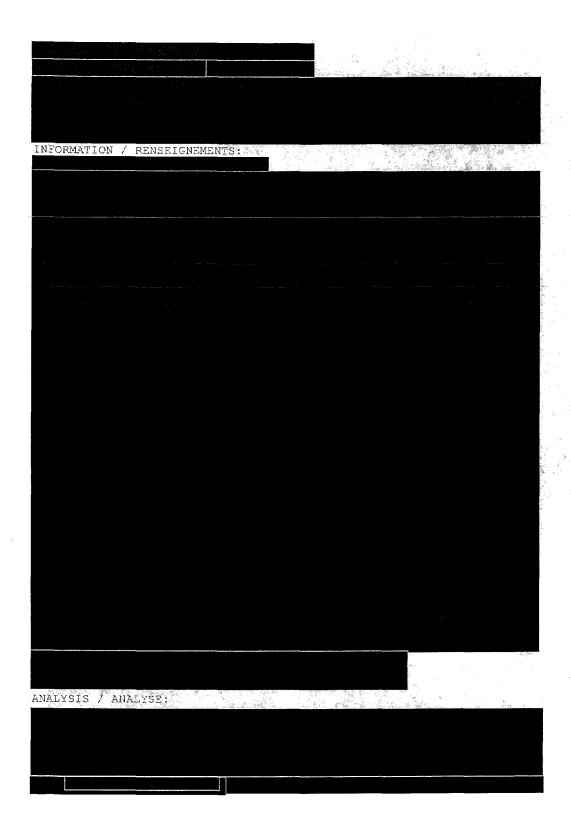


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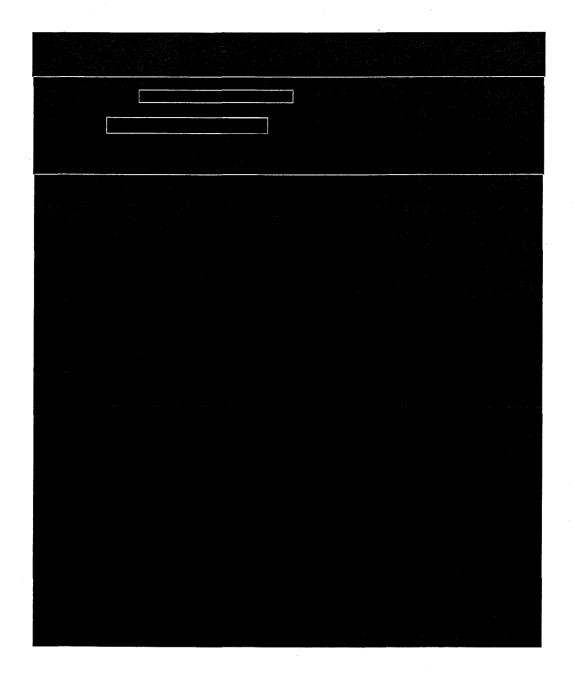


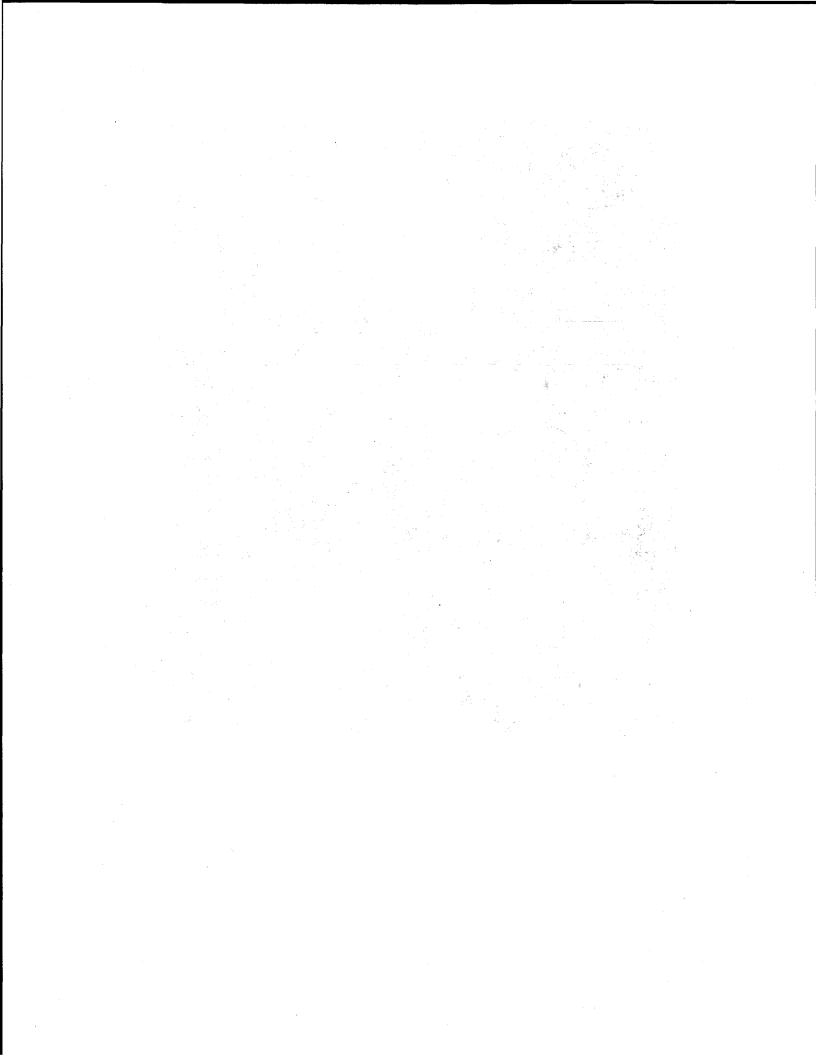


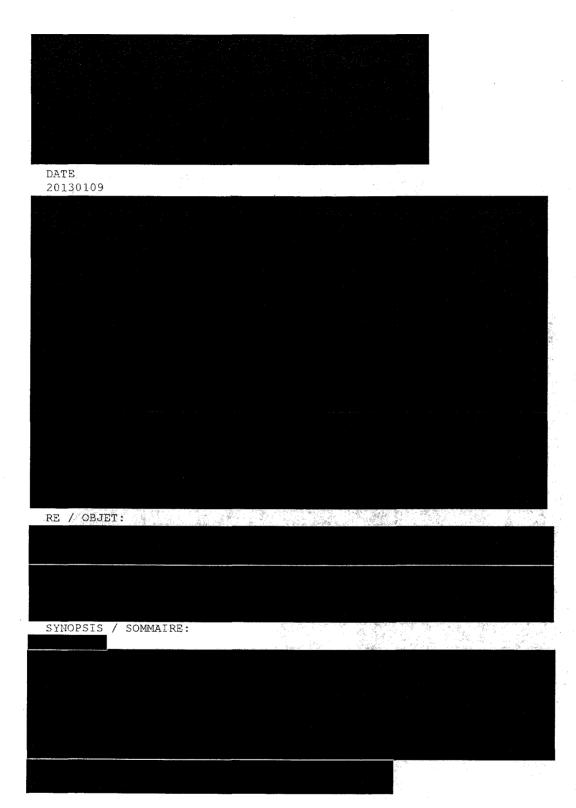
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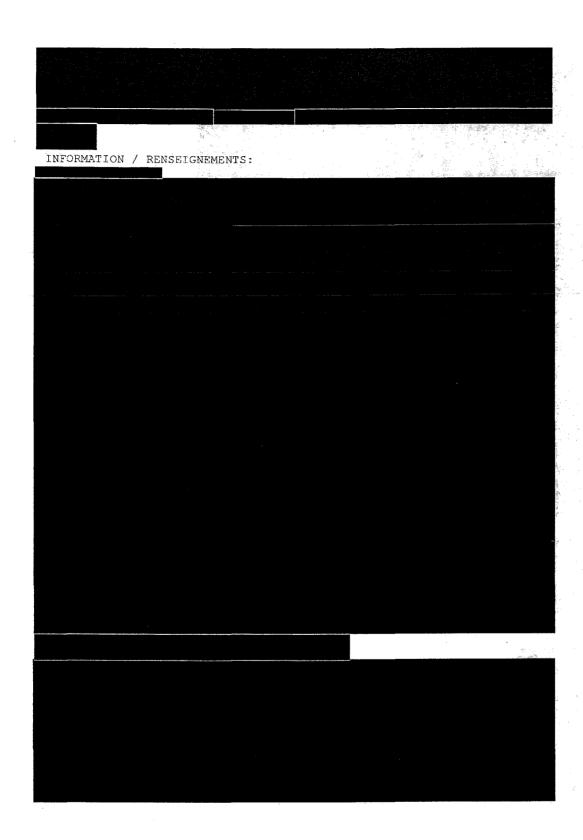
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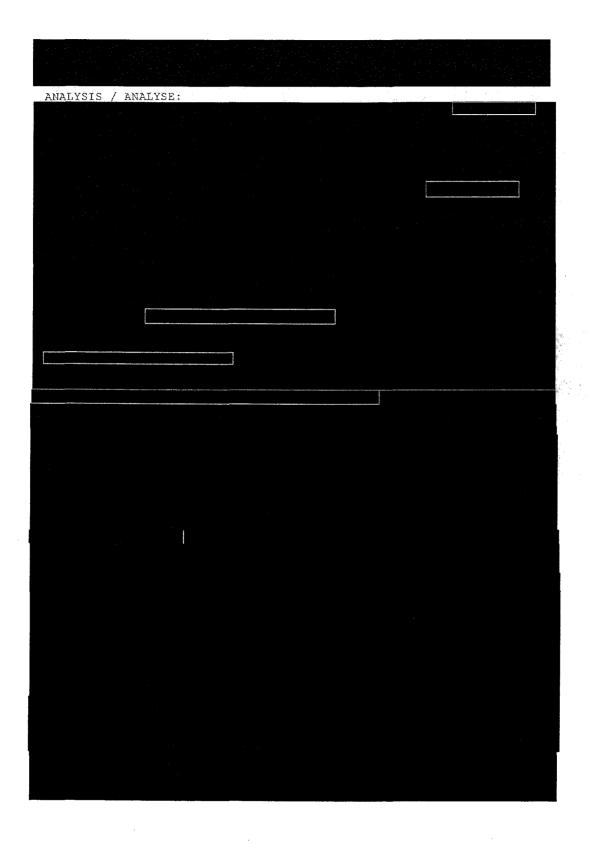


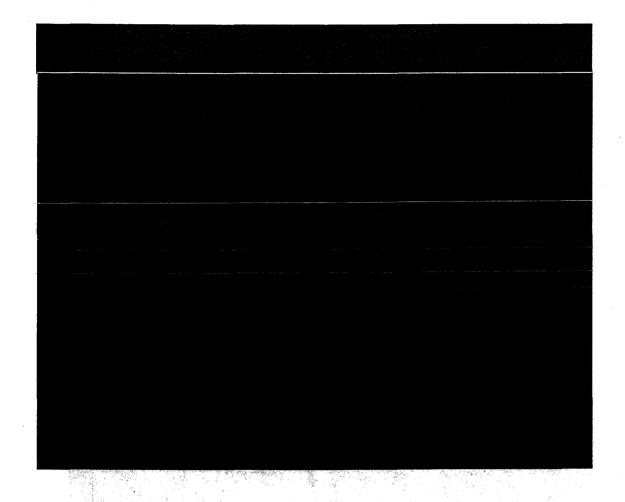


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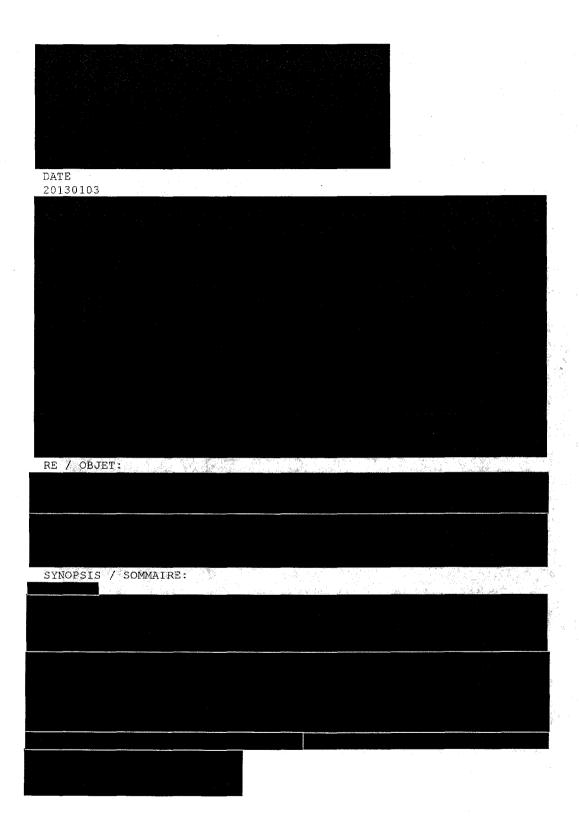


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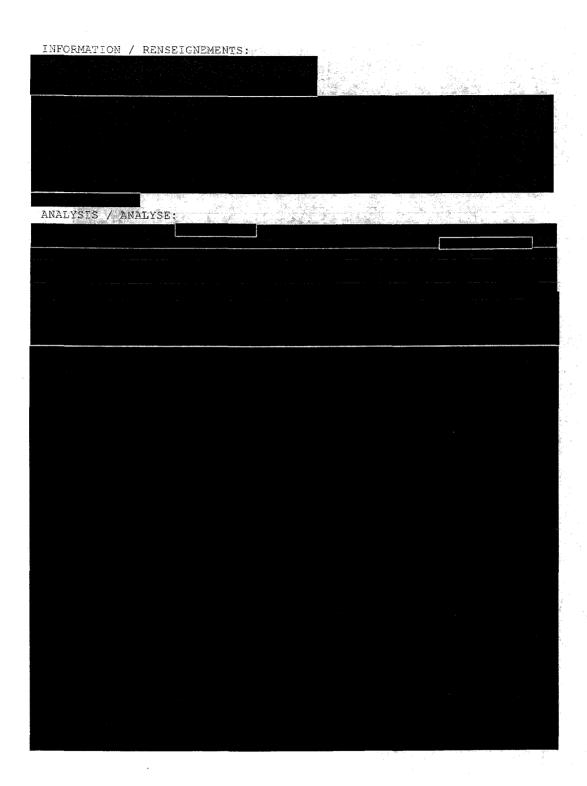


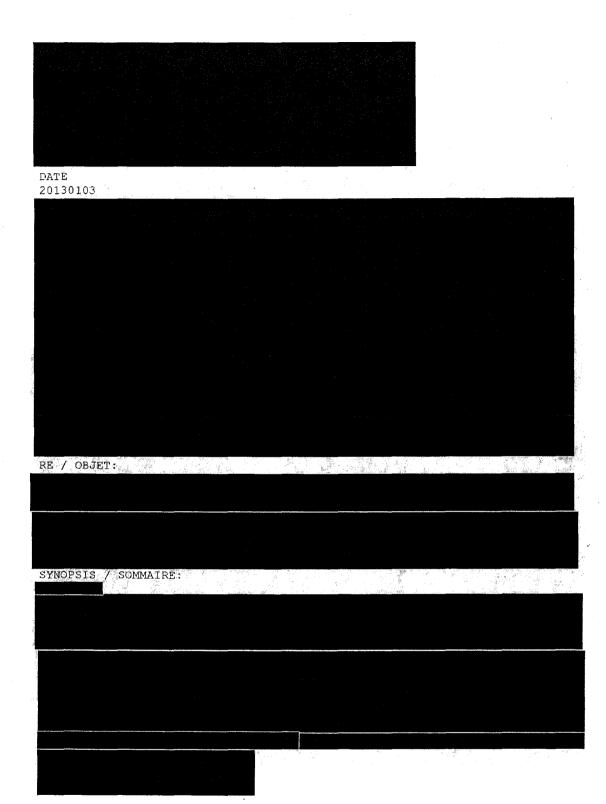


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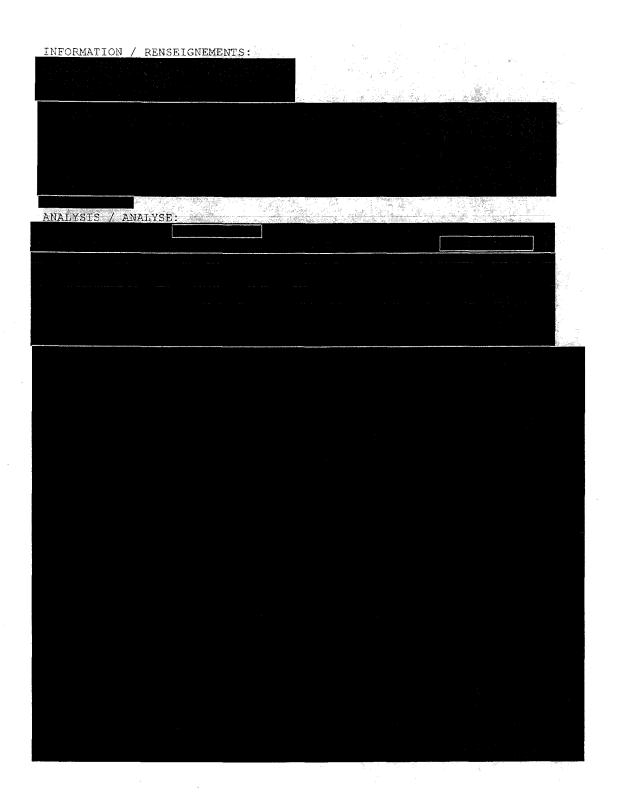
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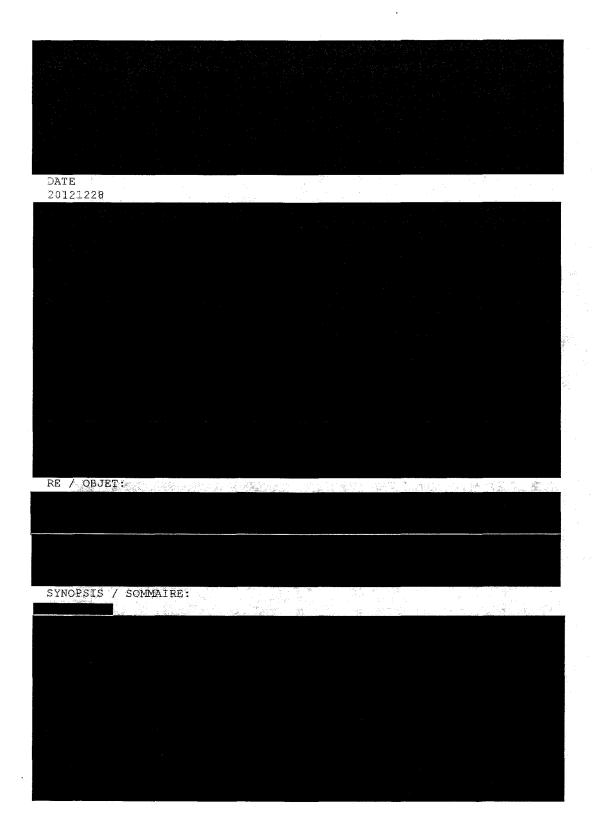




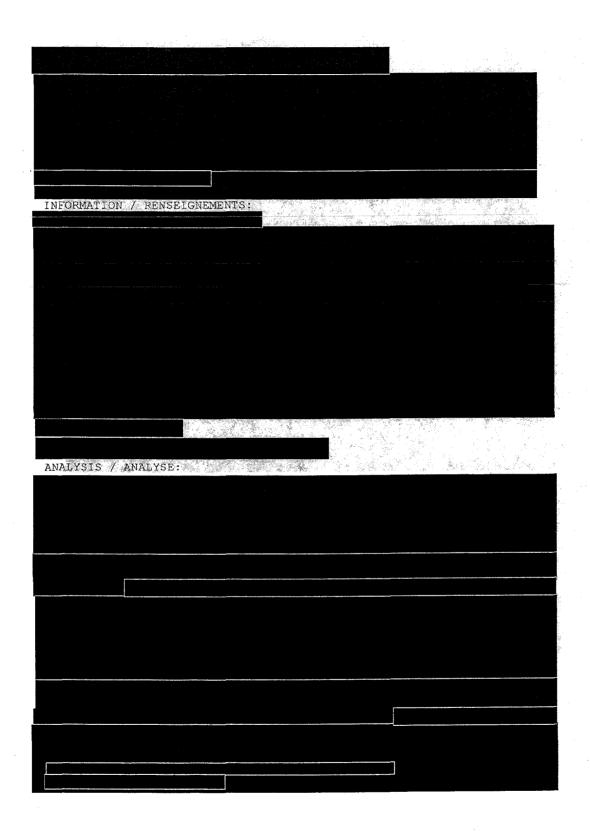
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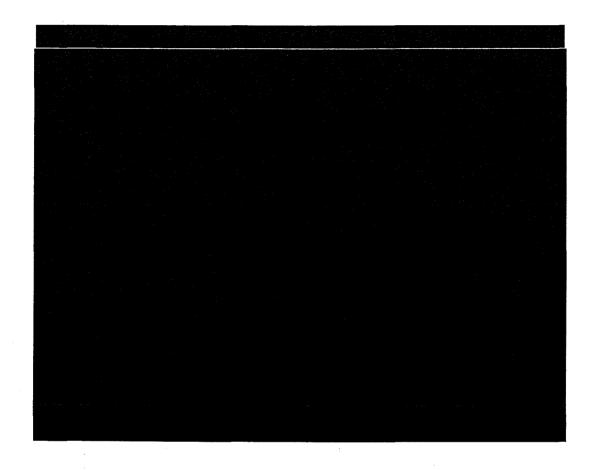


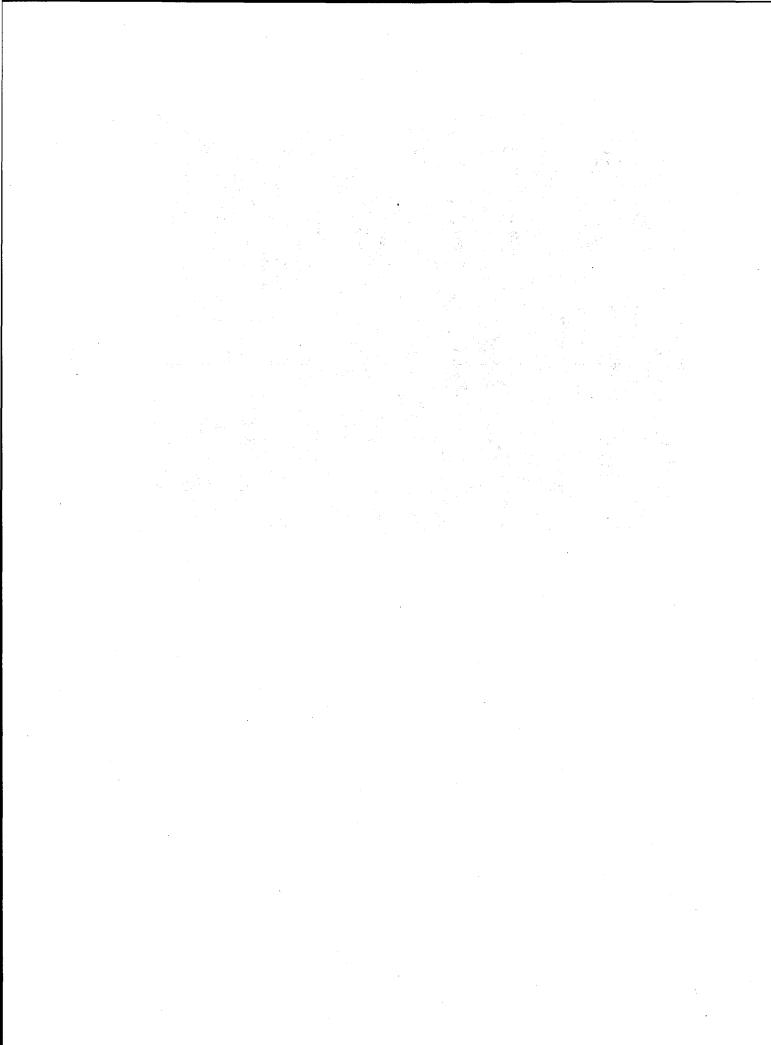


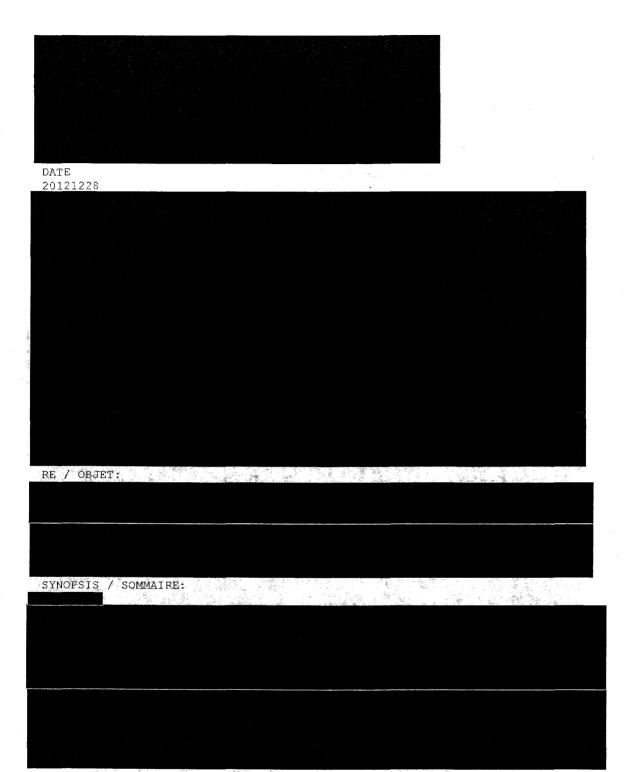
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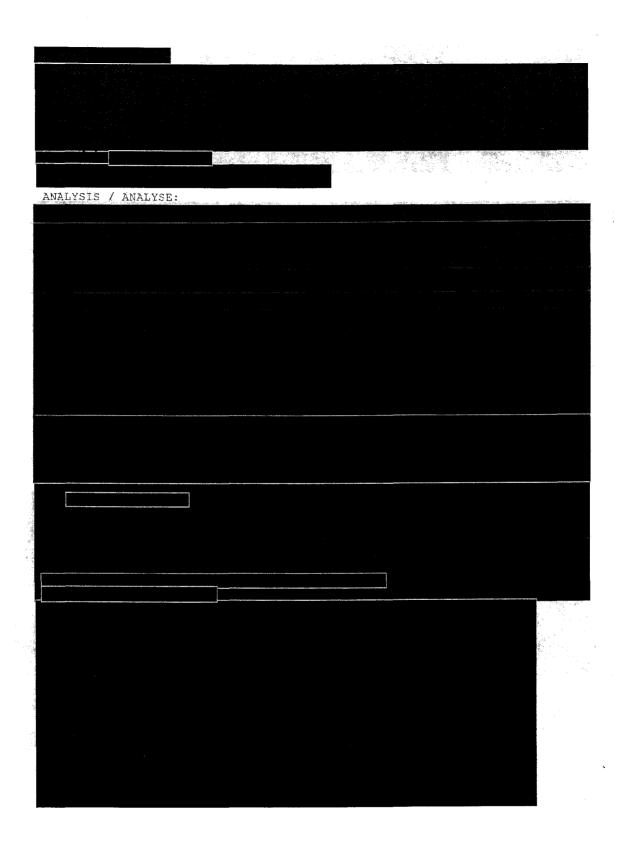
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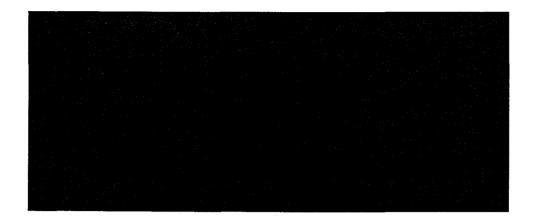


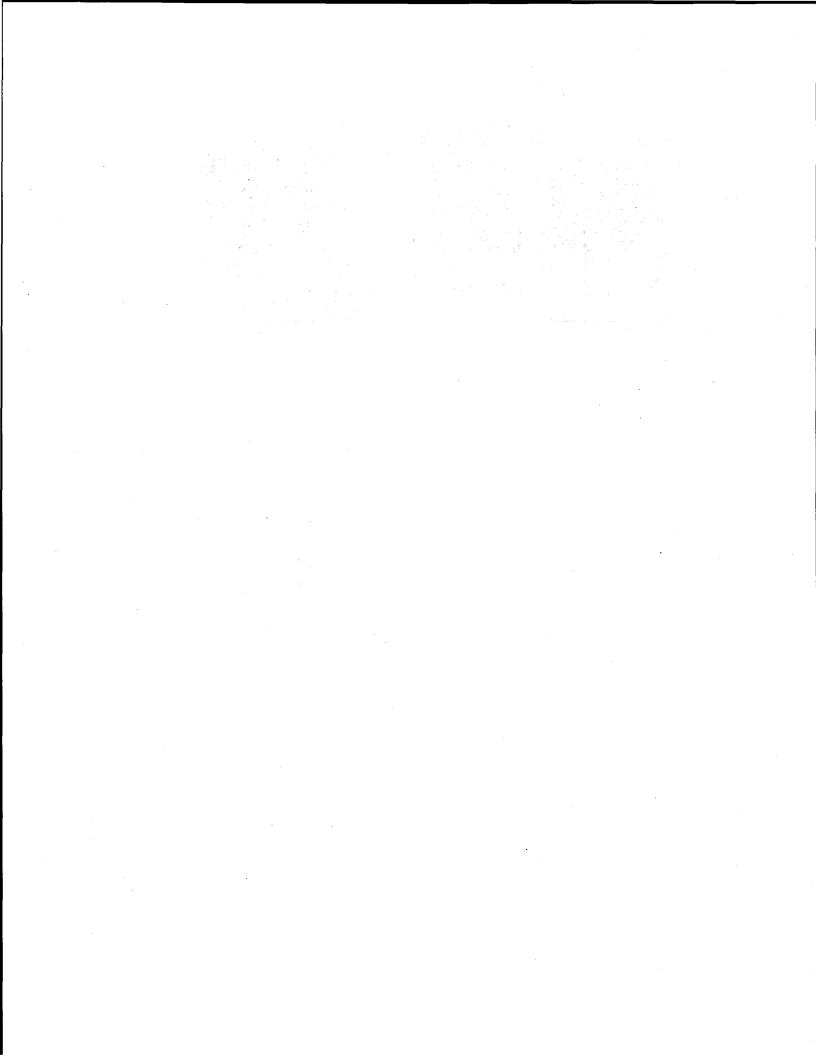


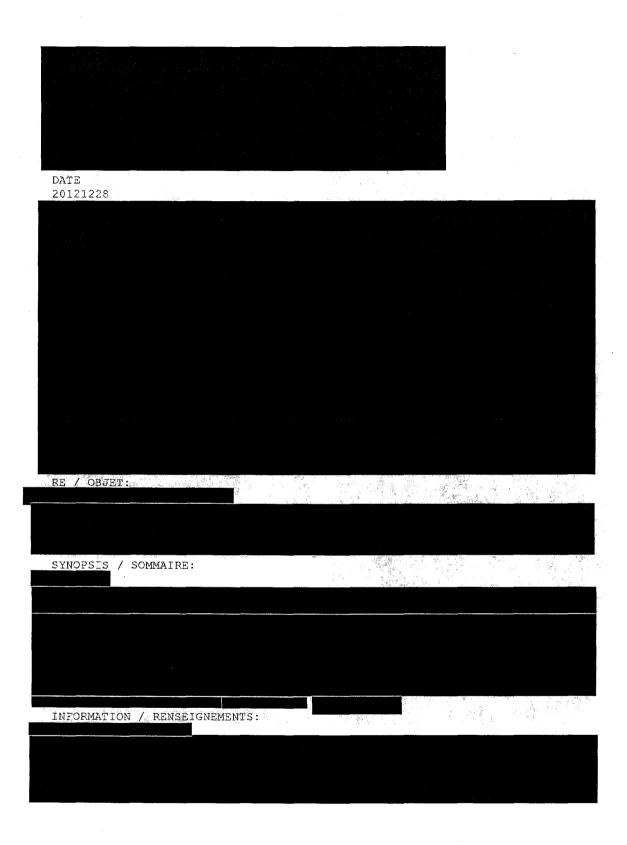


INFORMATION / RENSEIGNEMENTS:

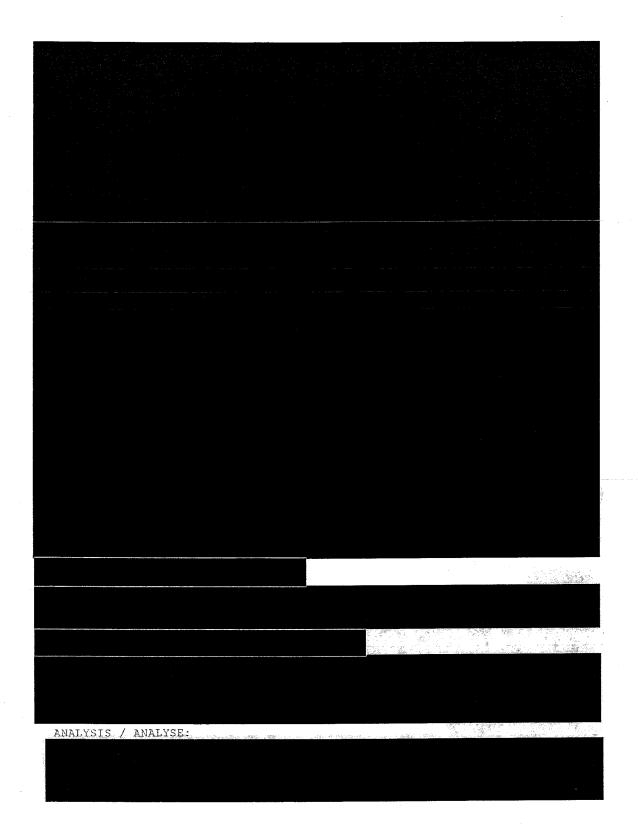


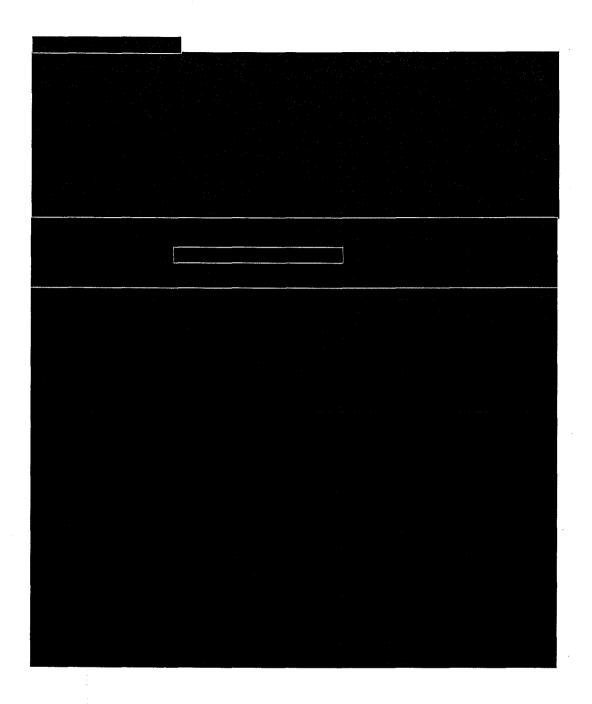


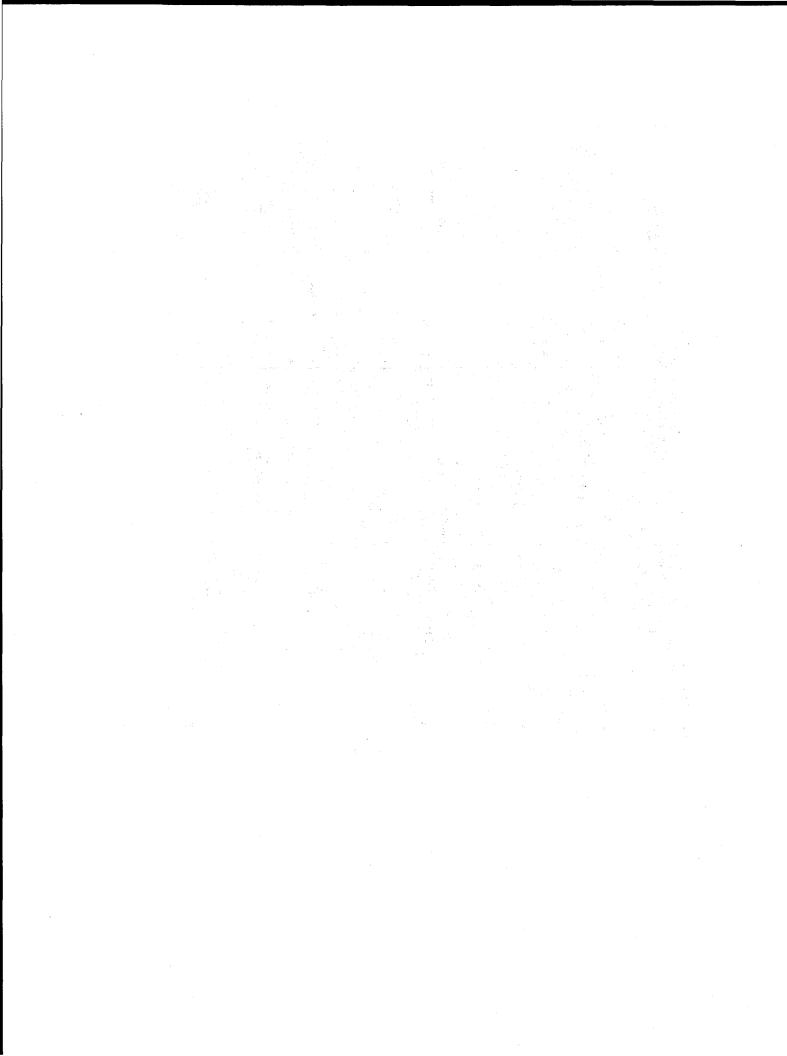


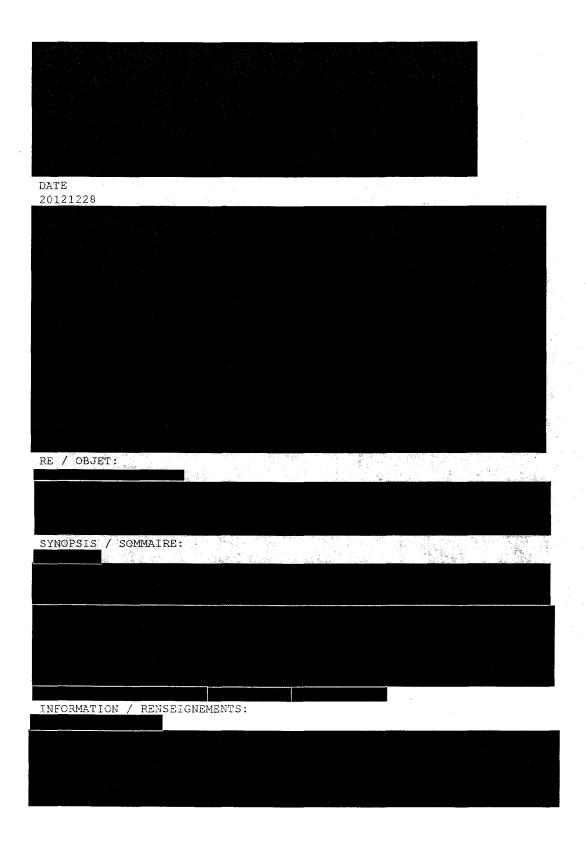


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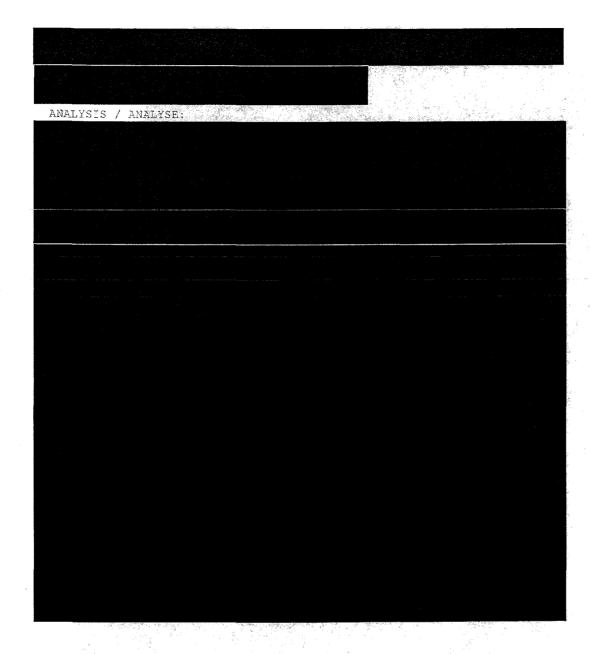




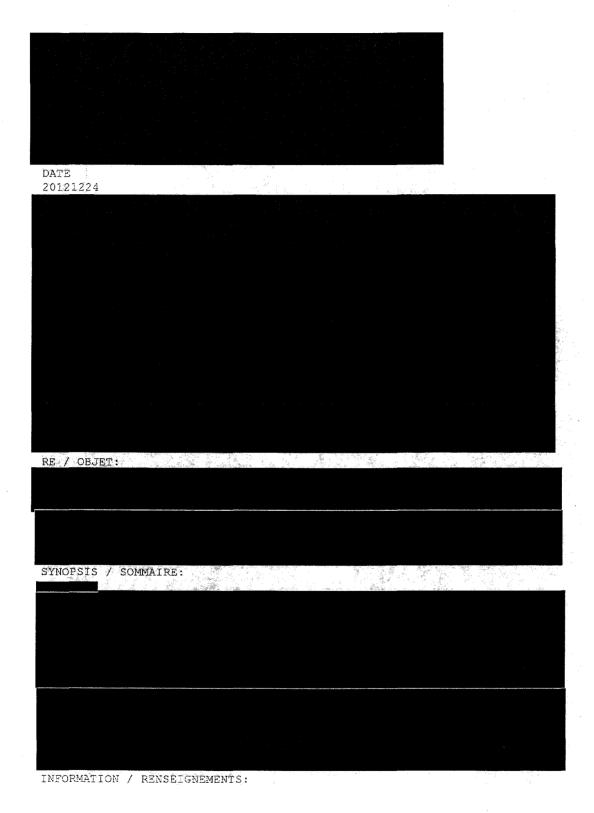




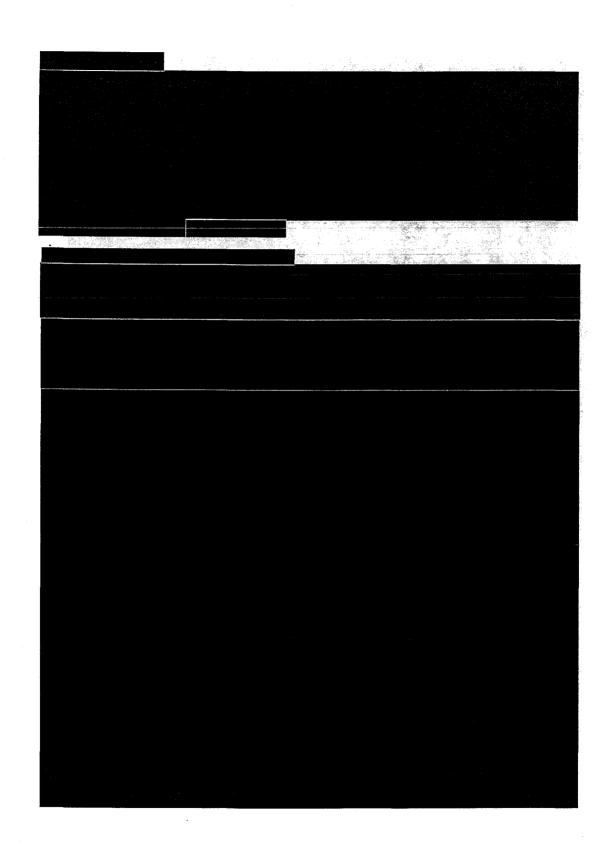
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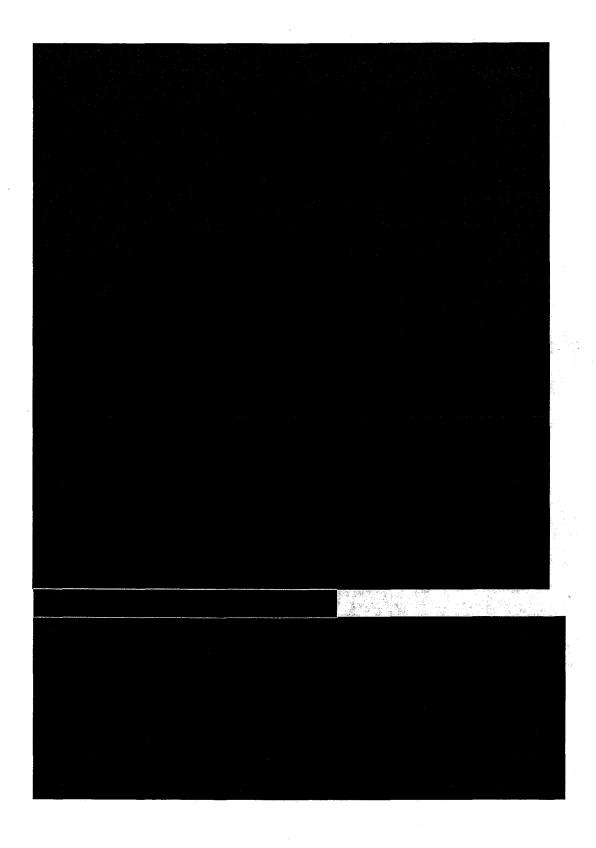


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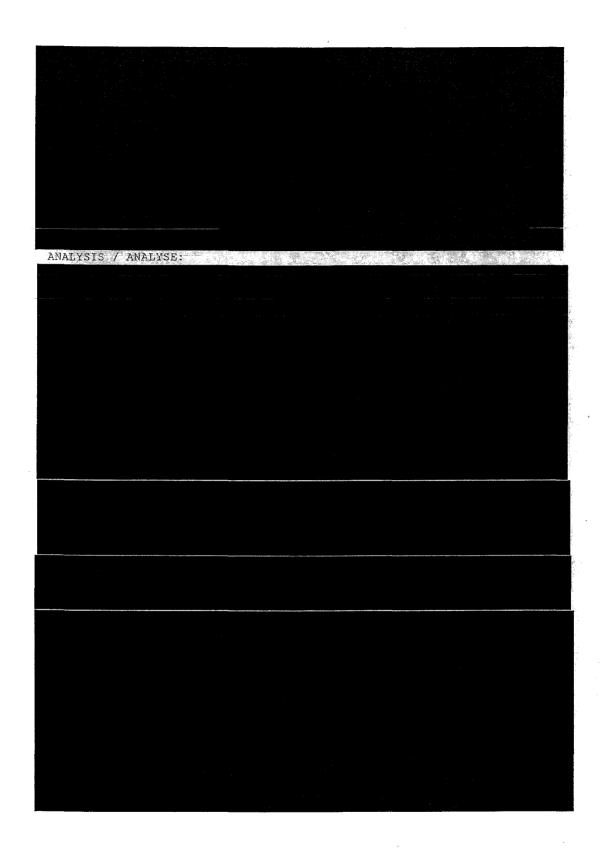


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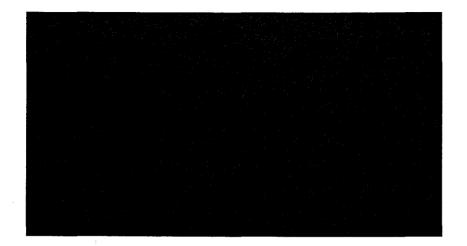
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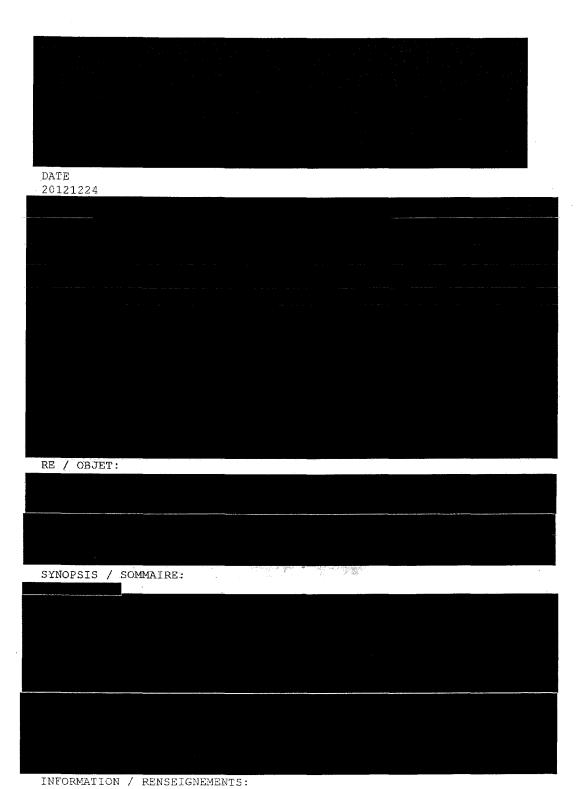


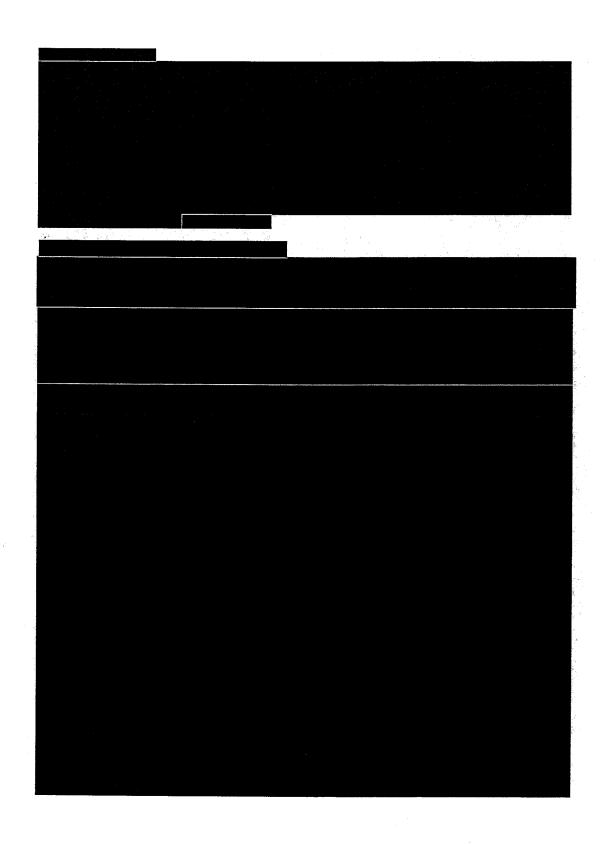
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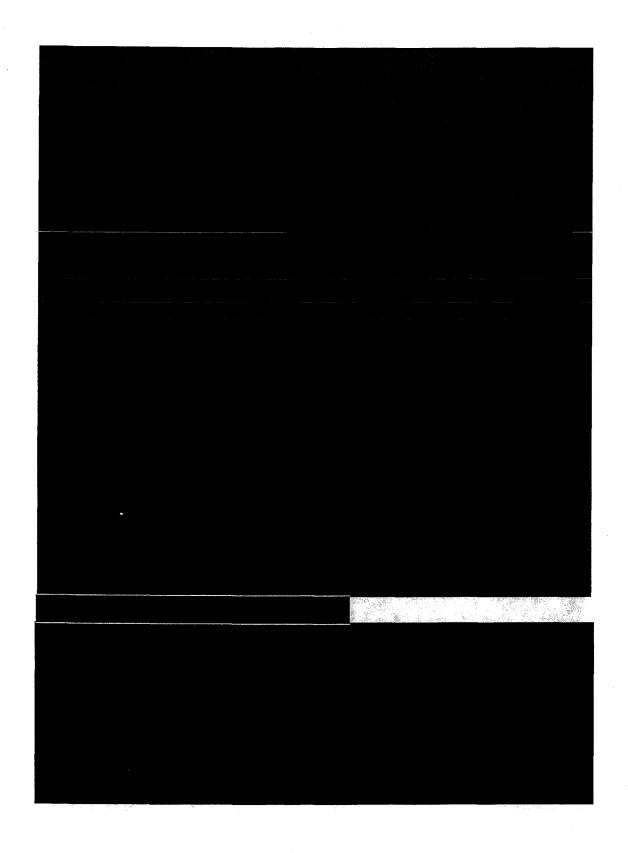
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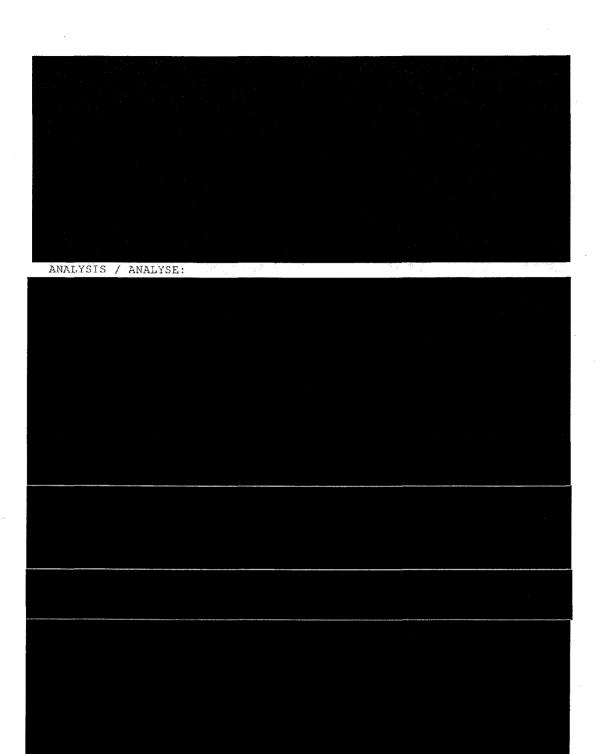




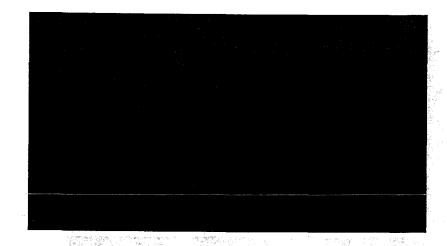
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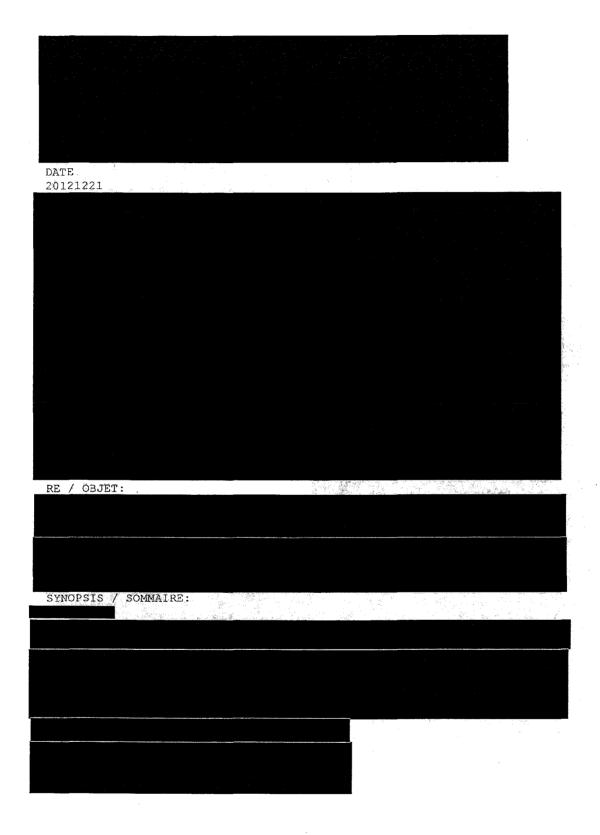
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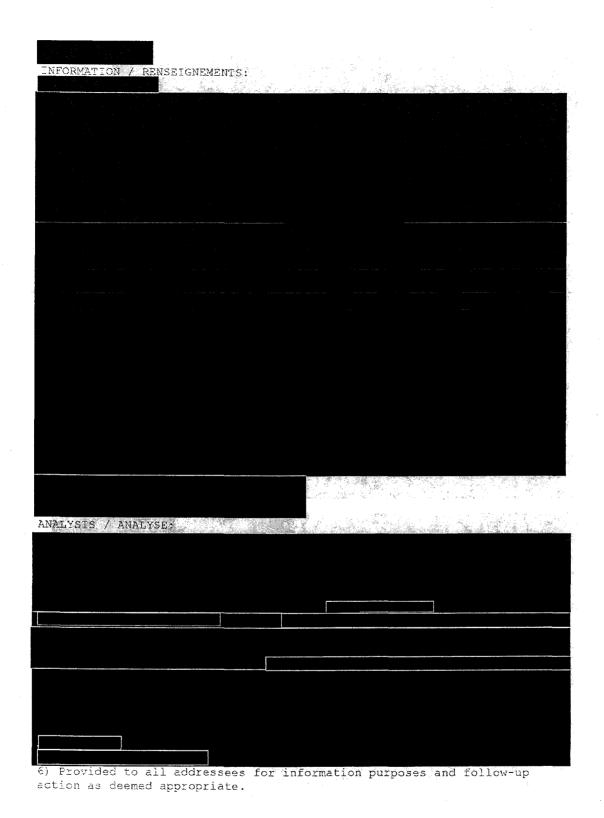


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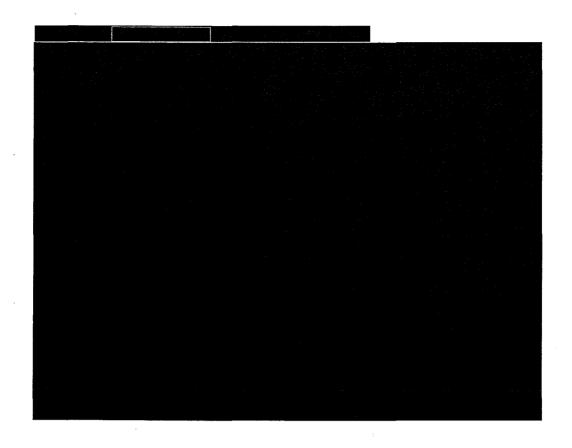


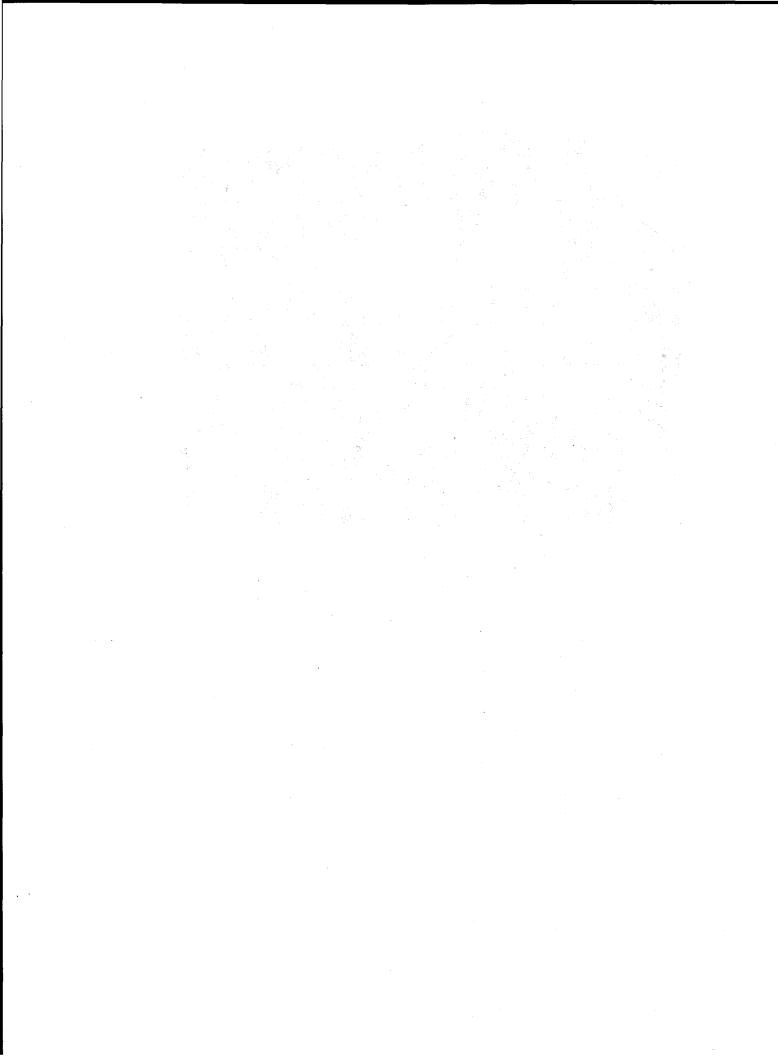
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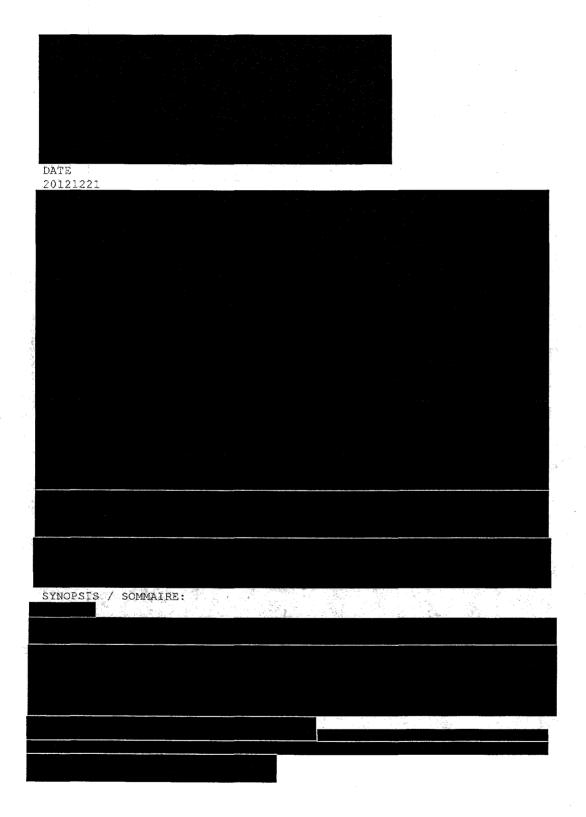
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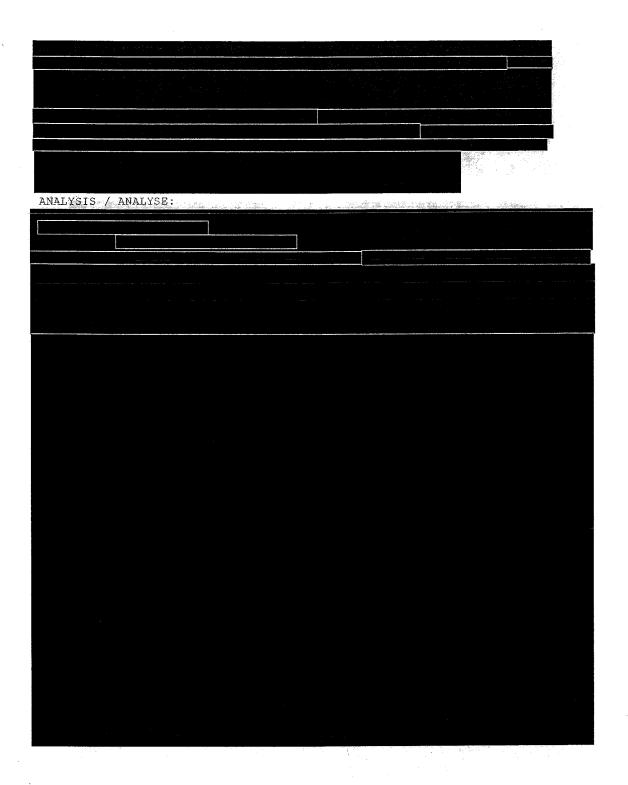
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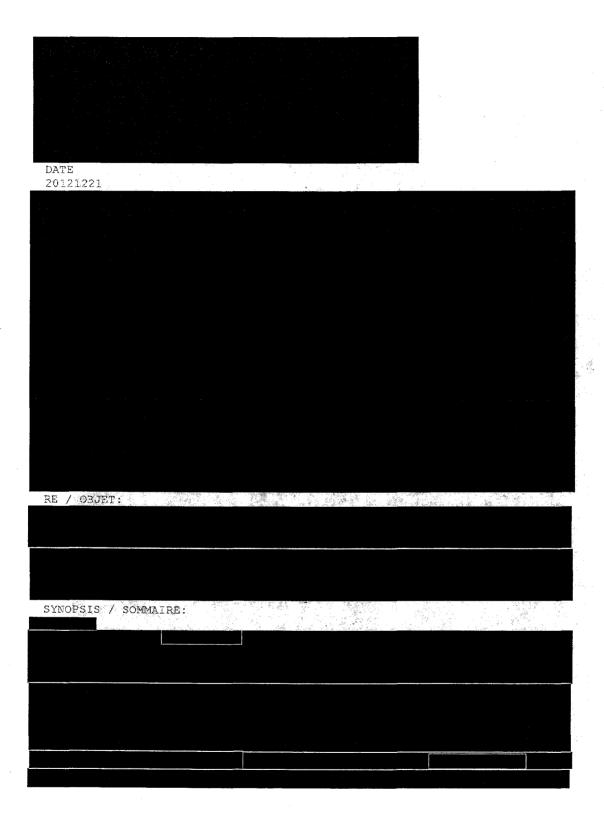




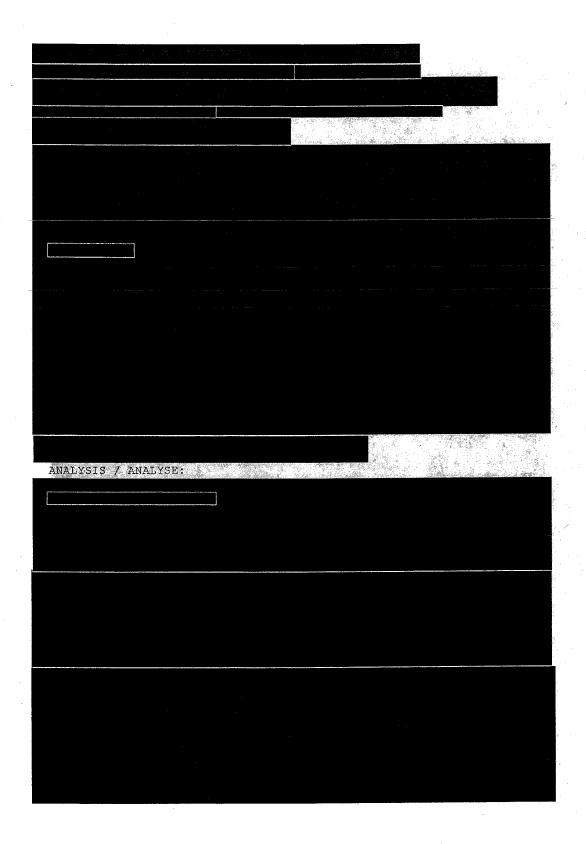
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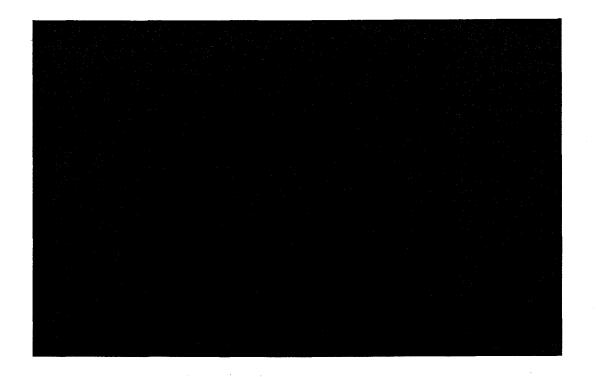


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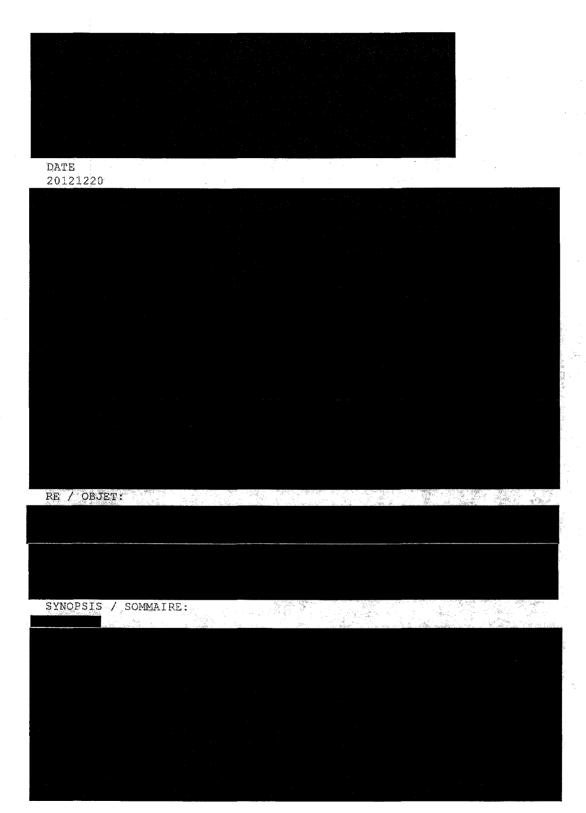
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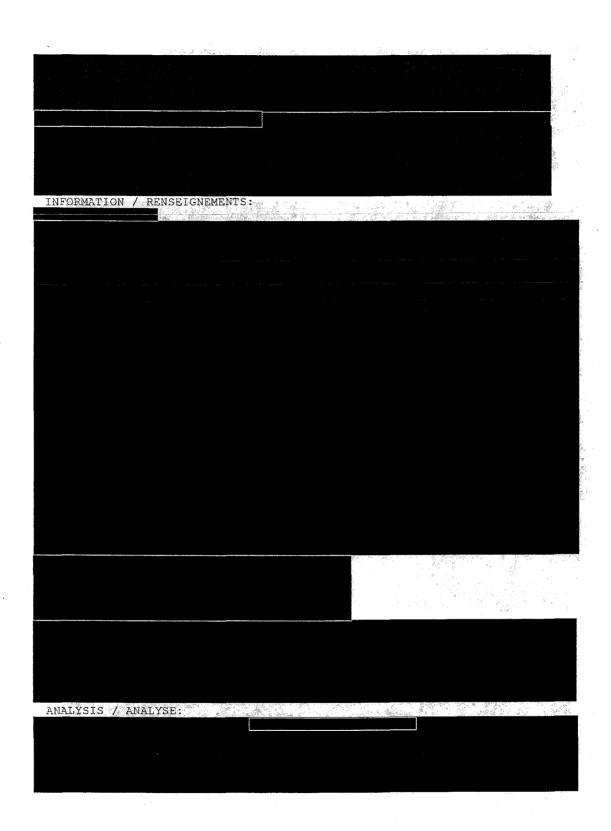
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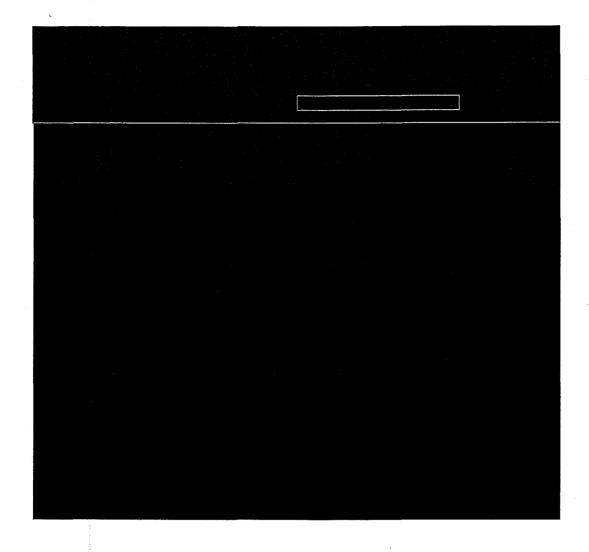


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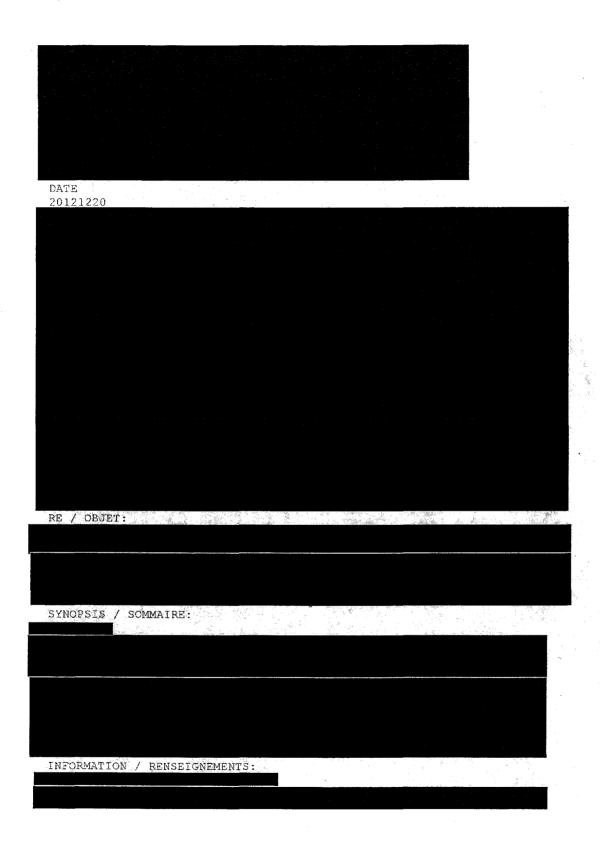
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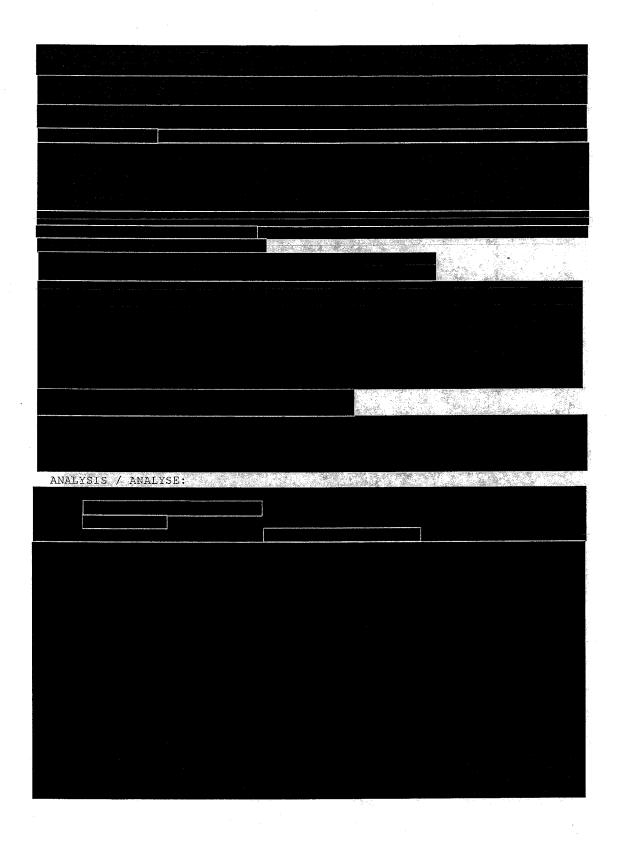


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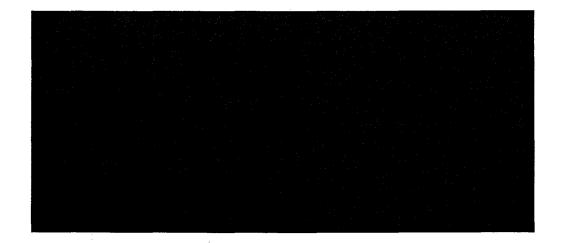


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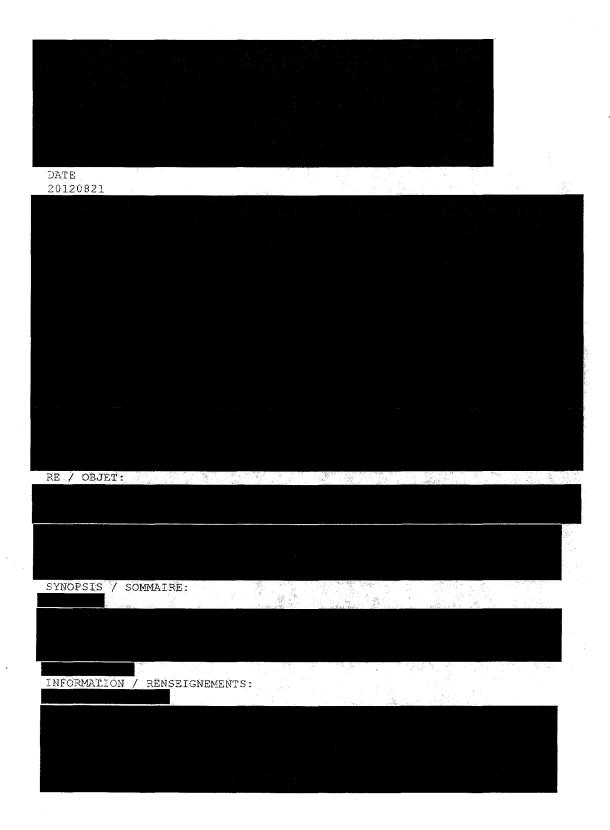


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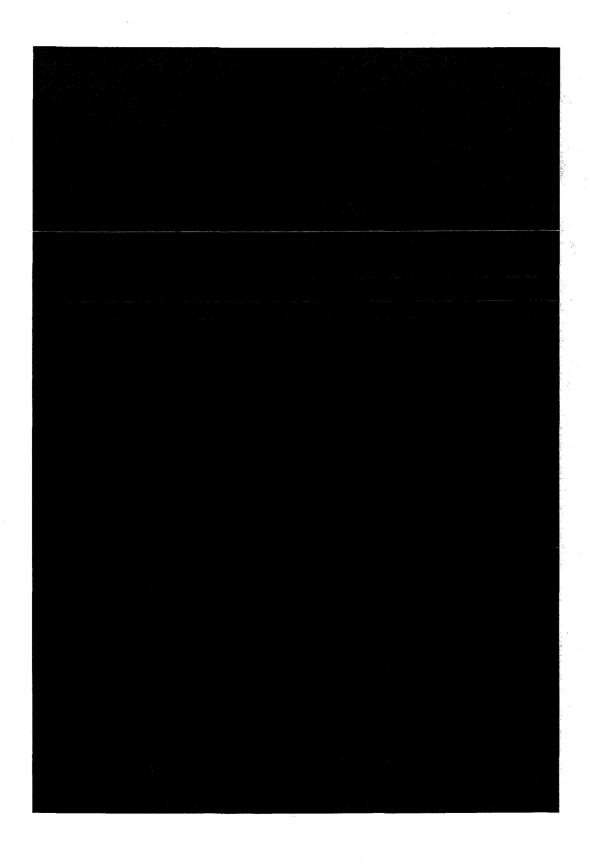
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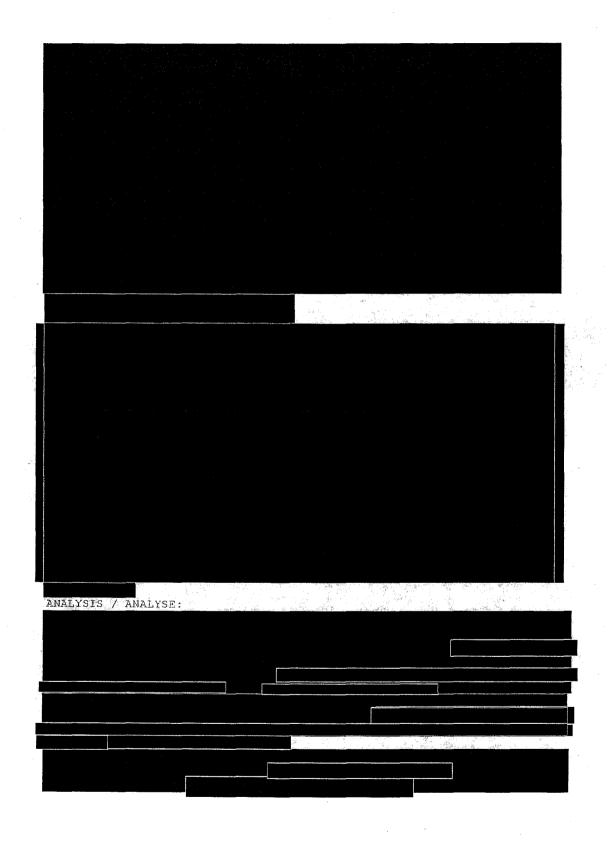


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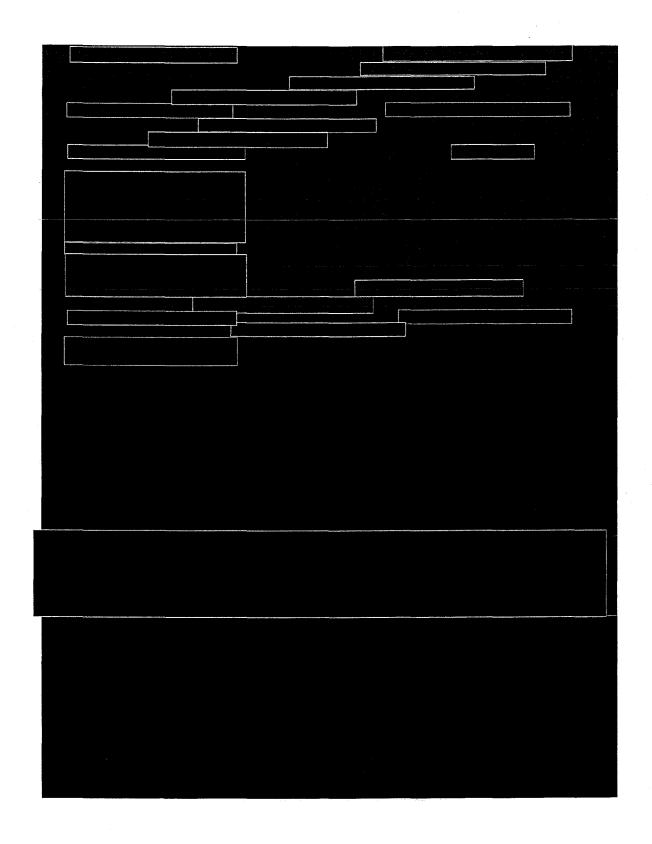
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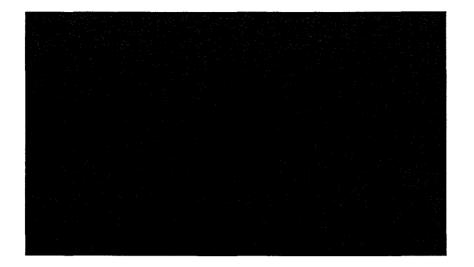


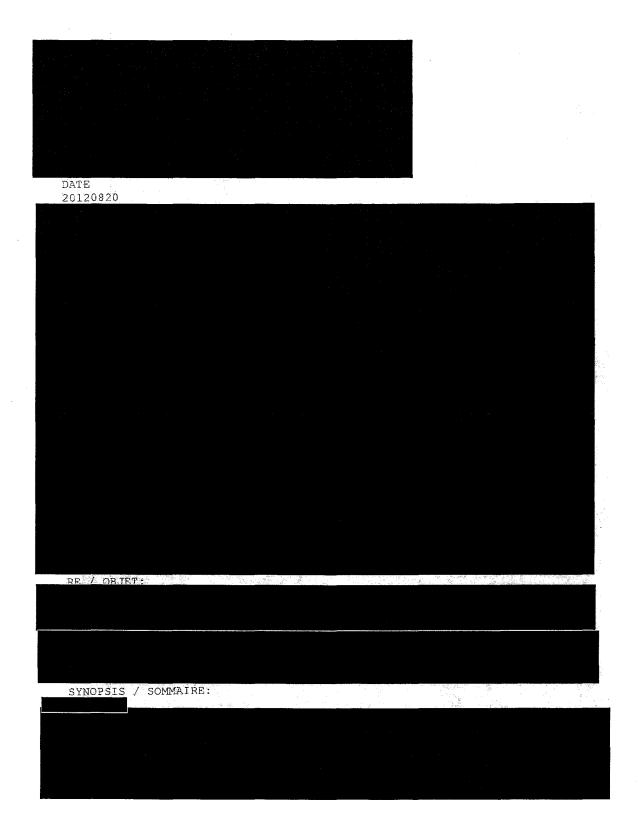
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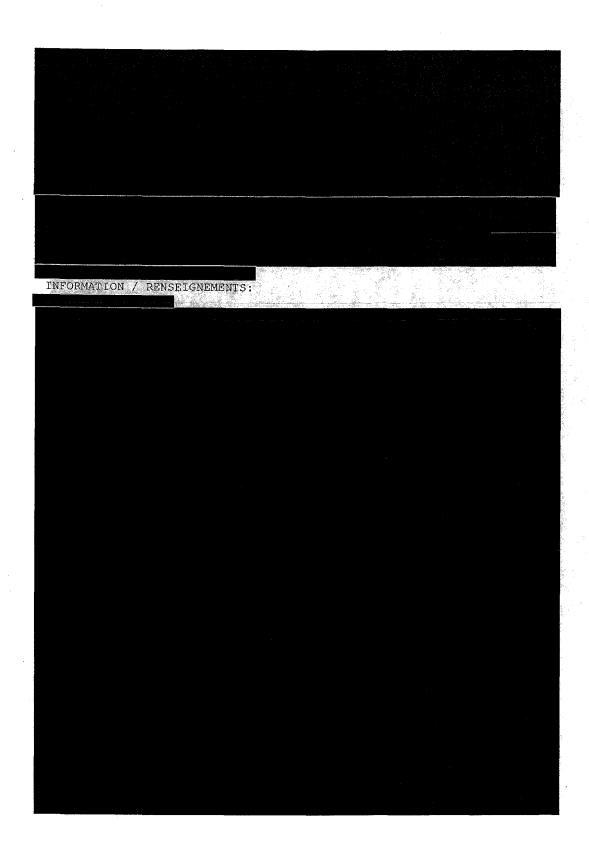
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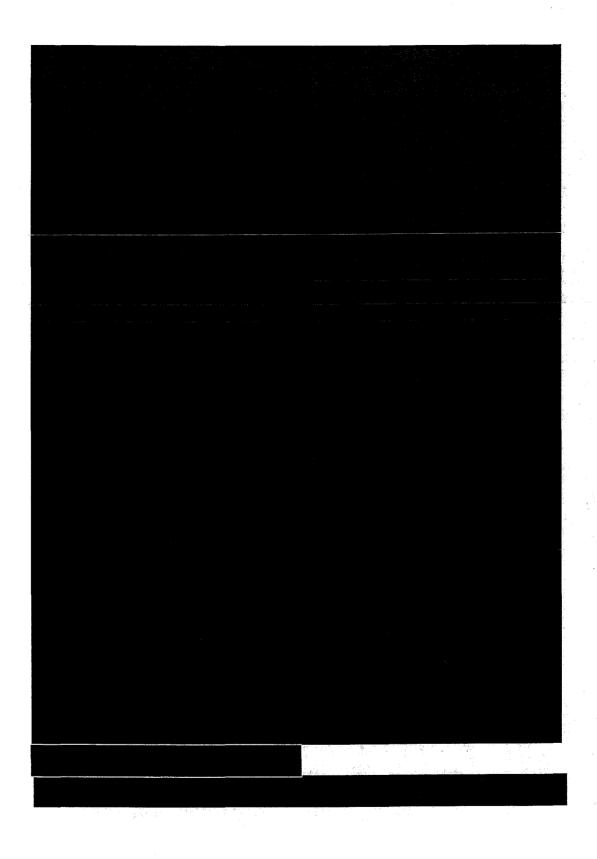


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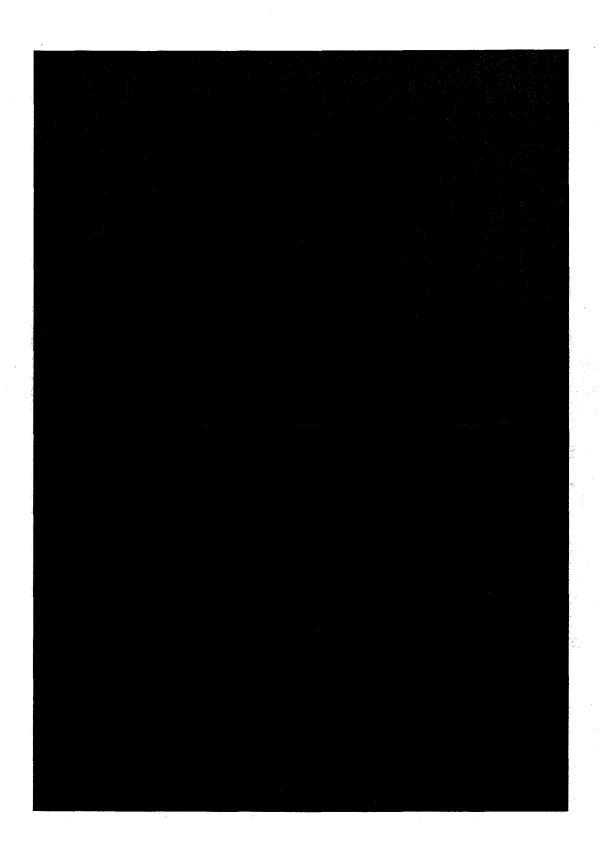


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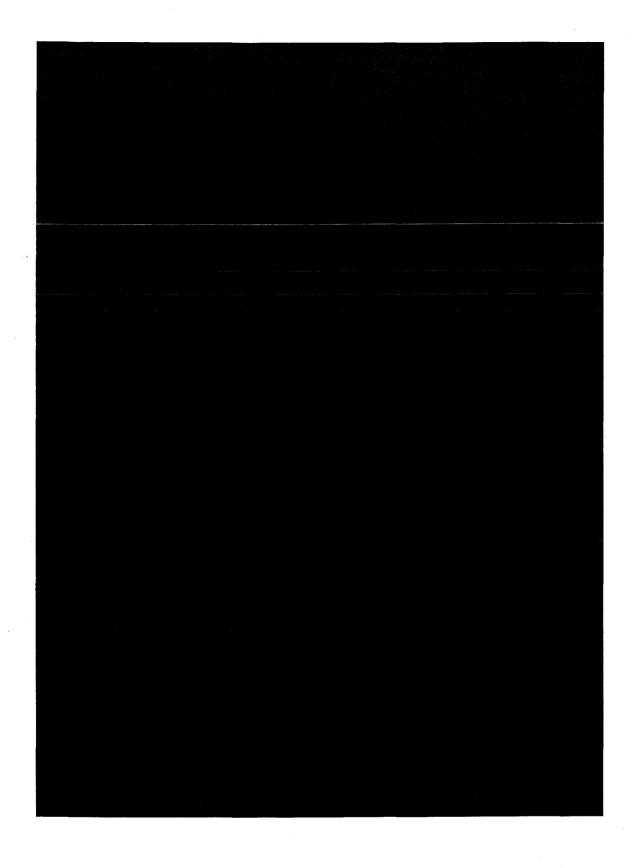


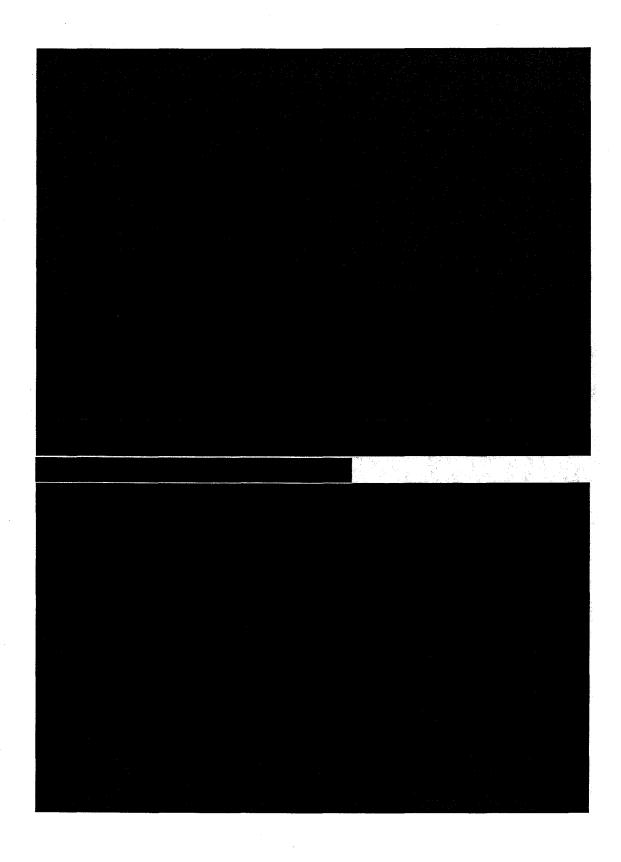
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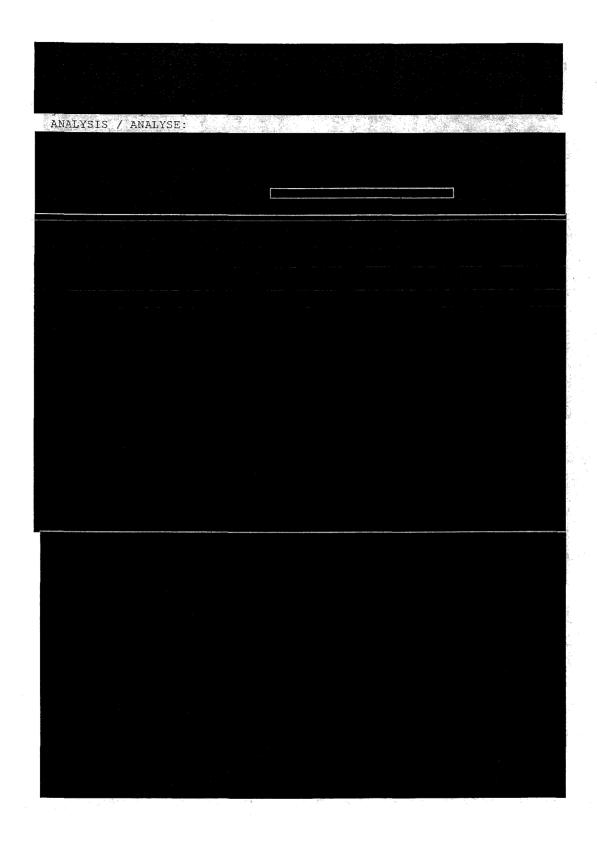
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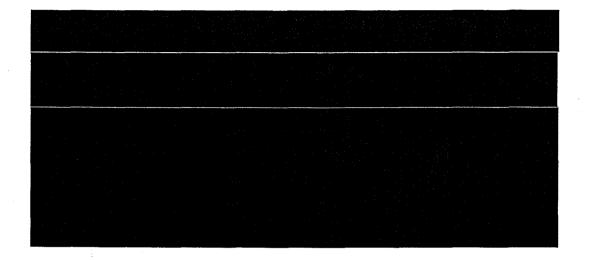


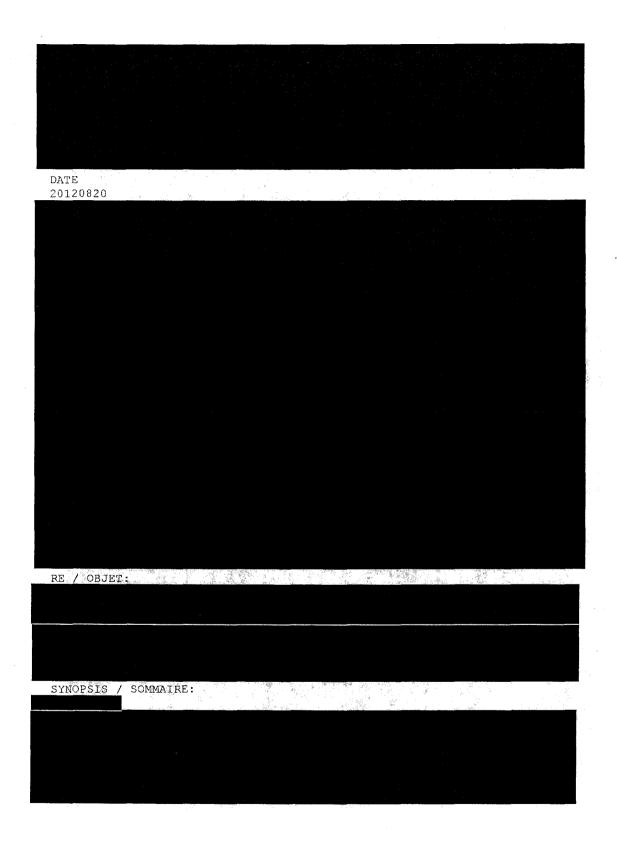


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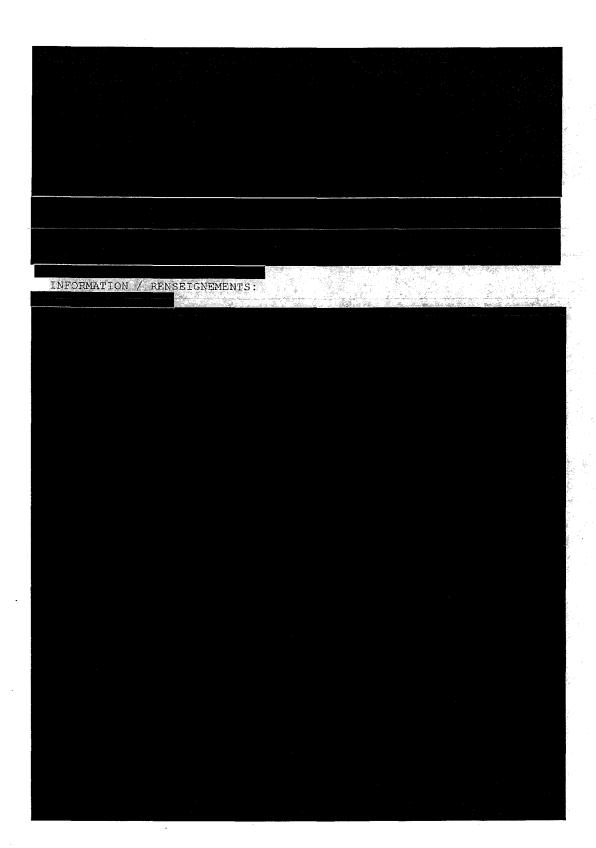


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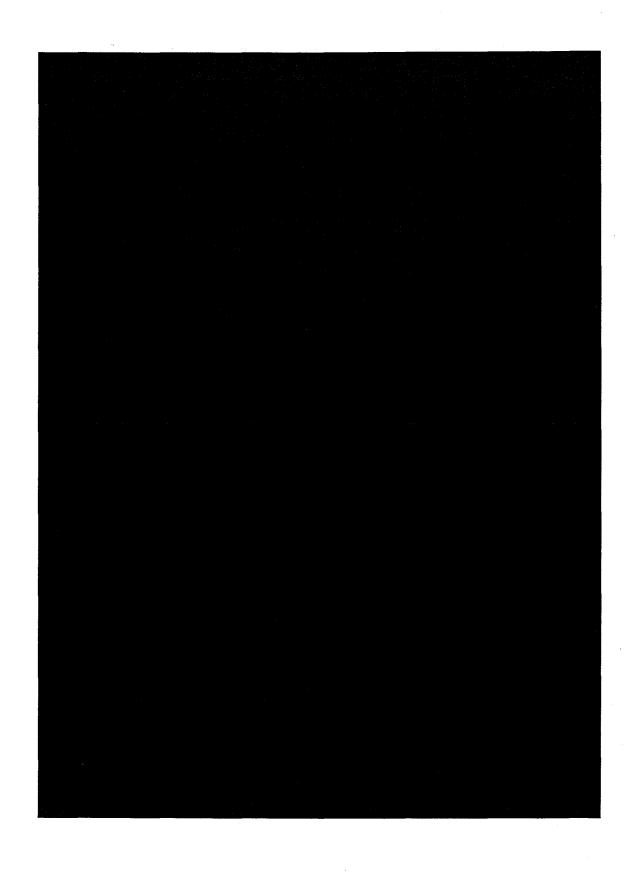


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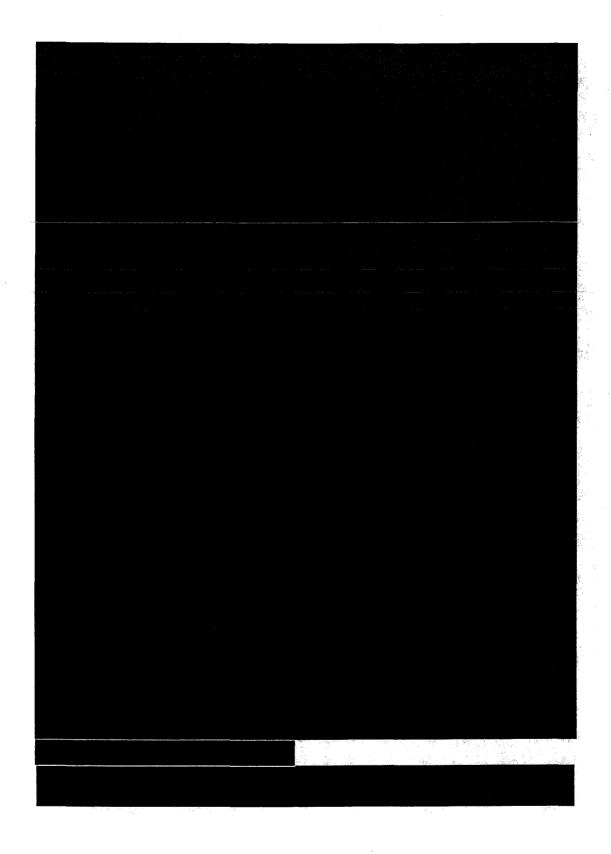
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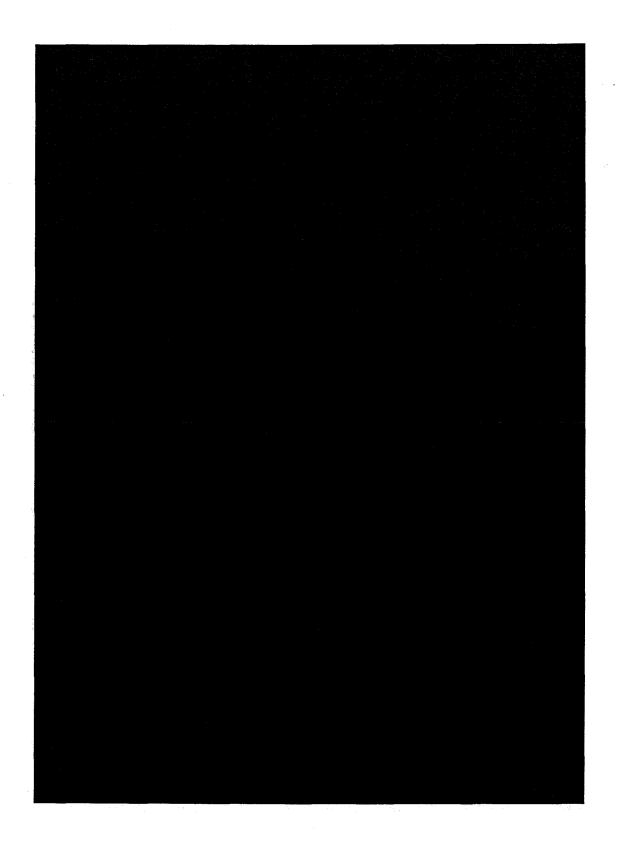
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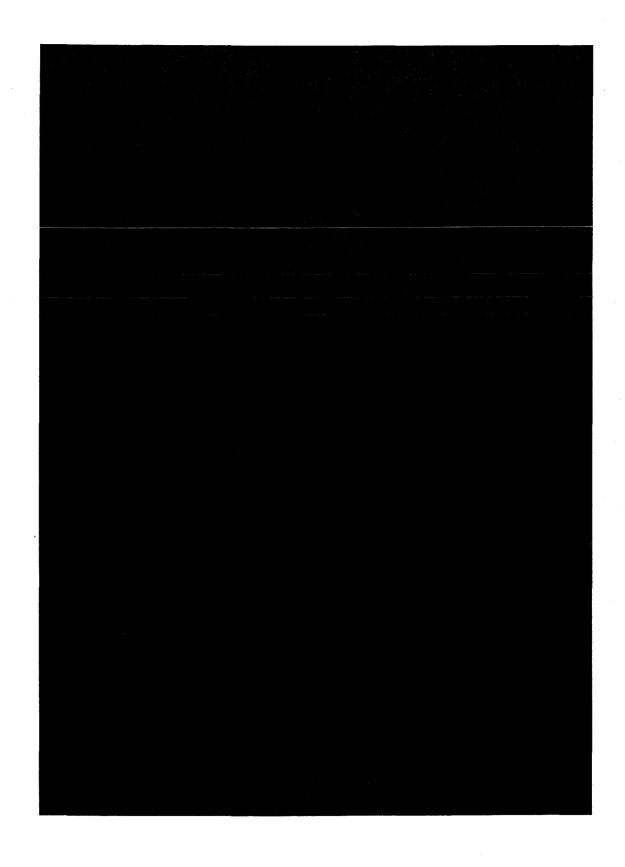
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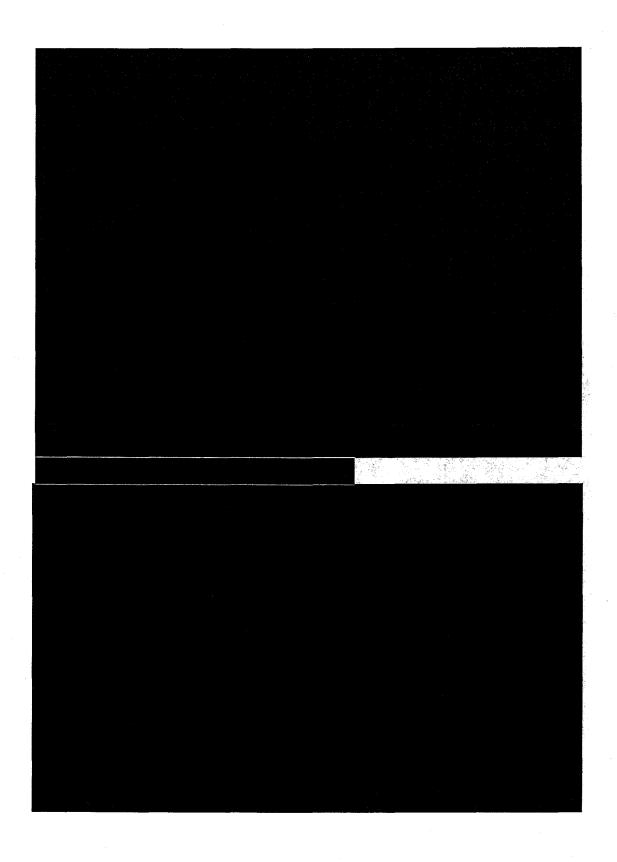
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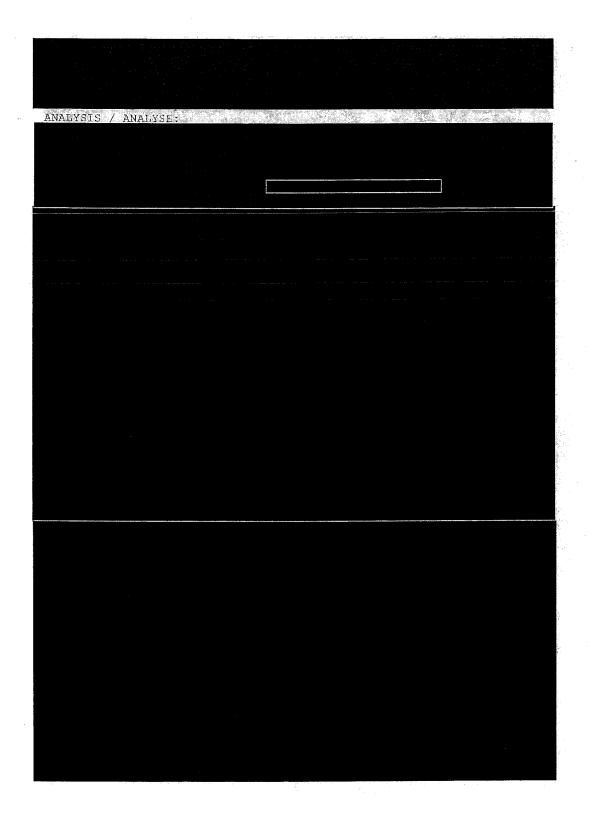


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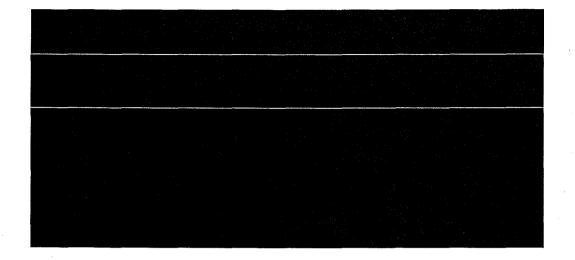


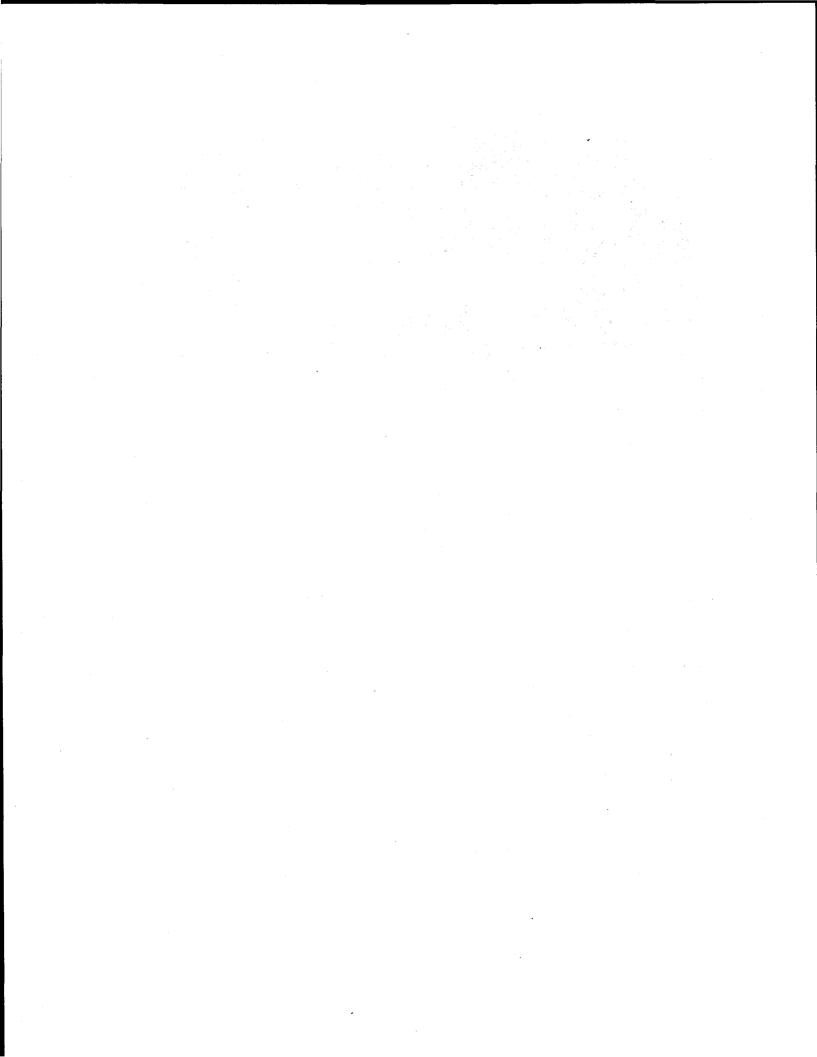
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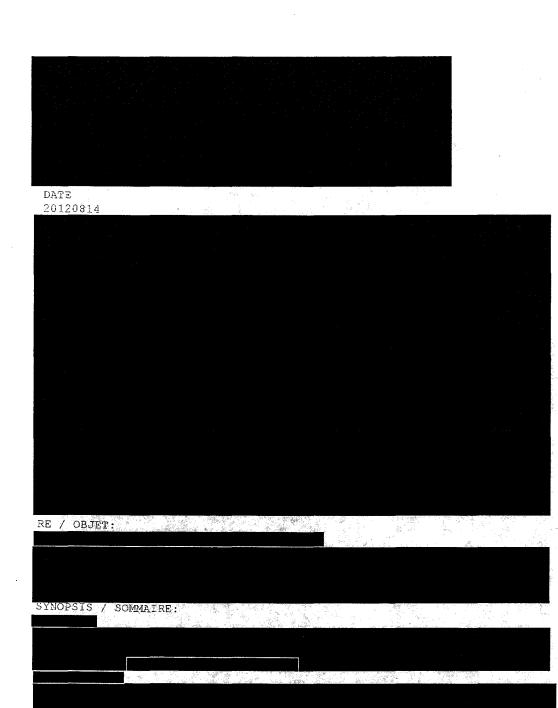




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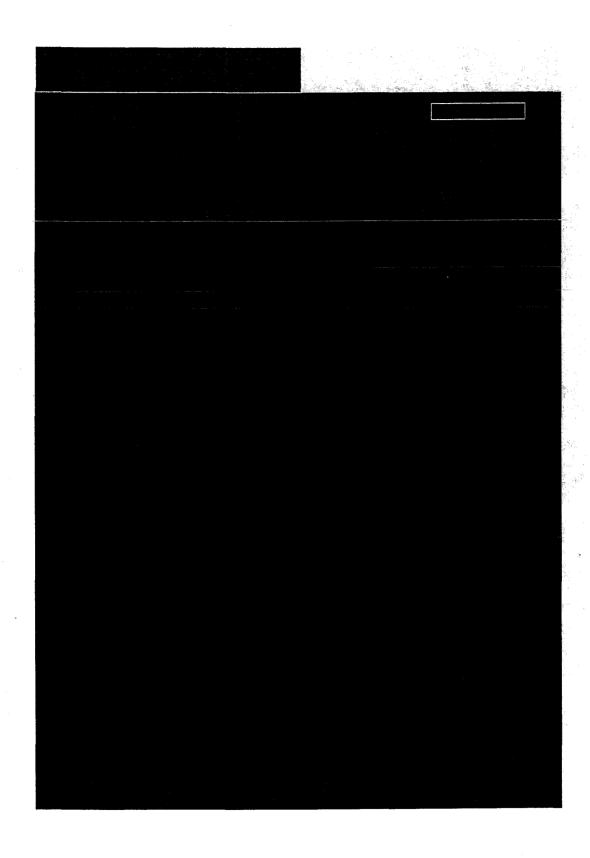


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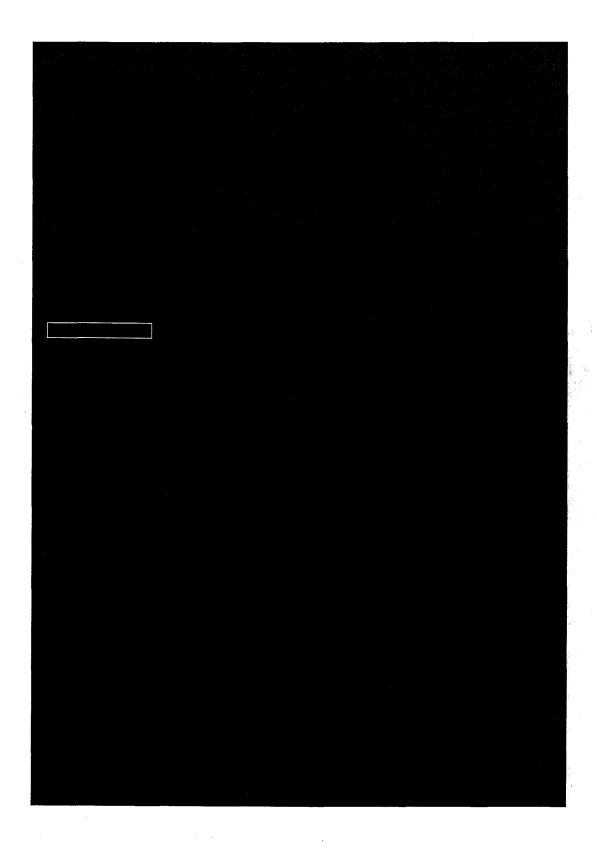
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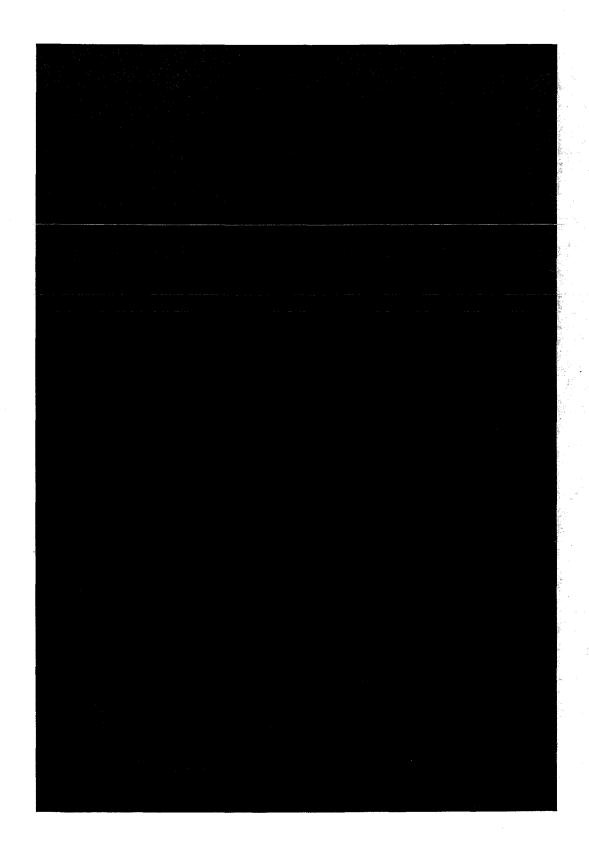


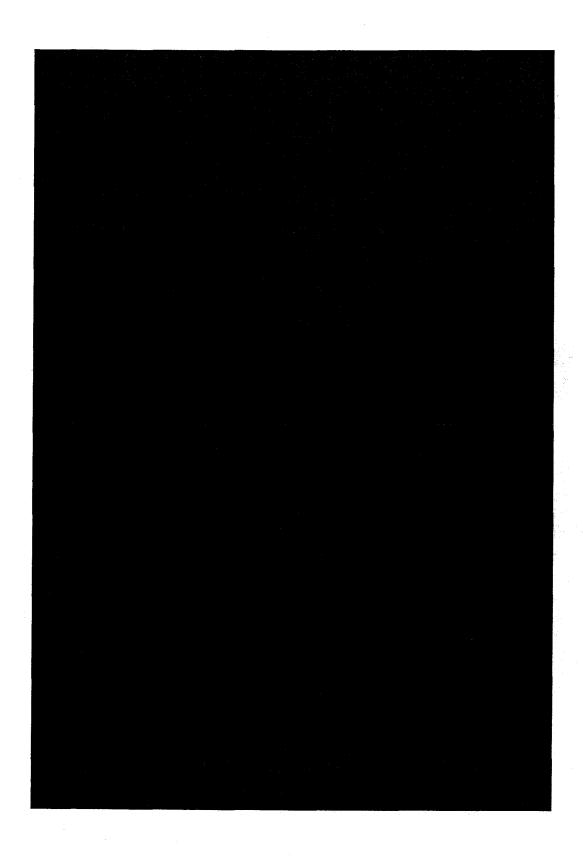
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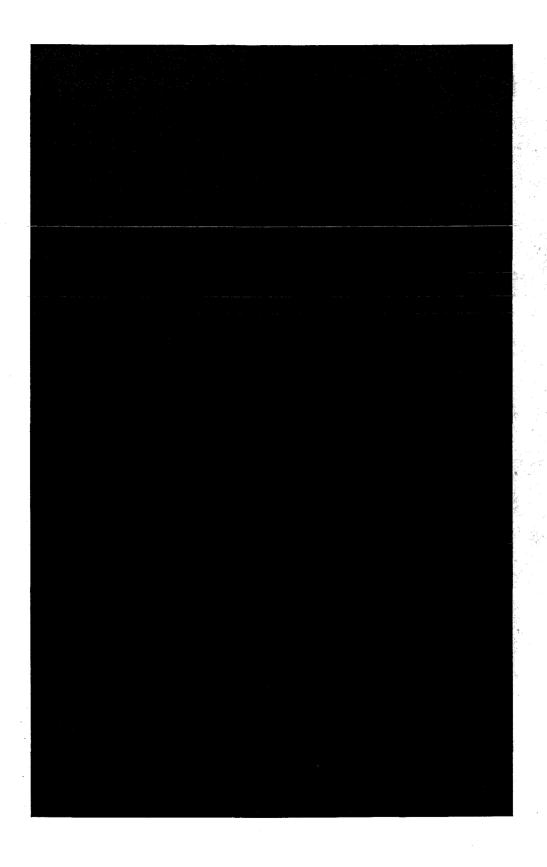


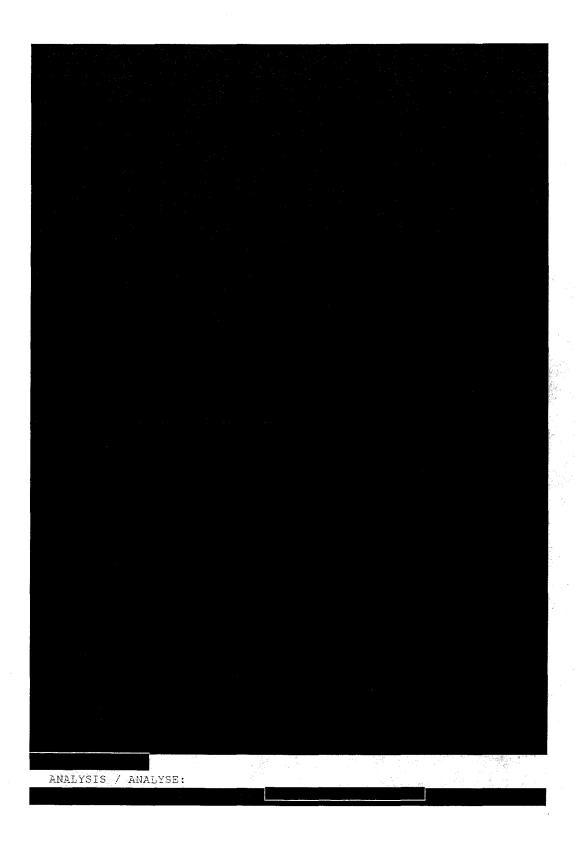
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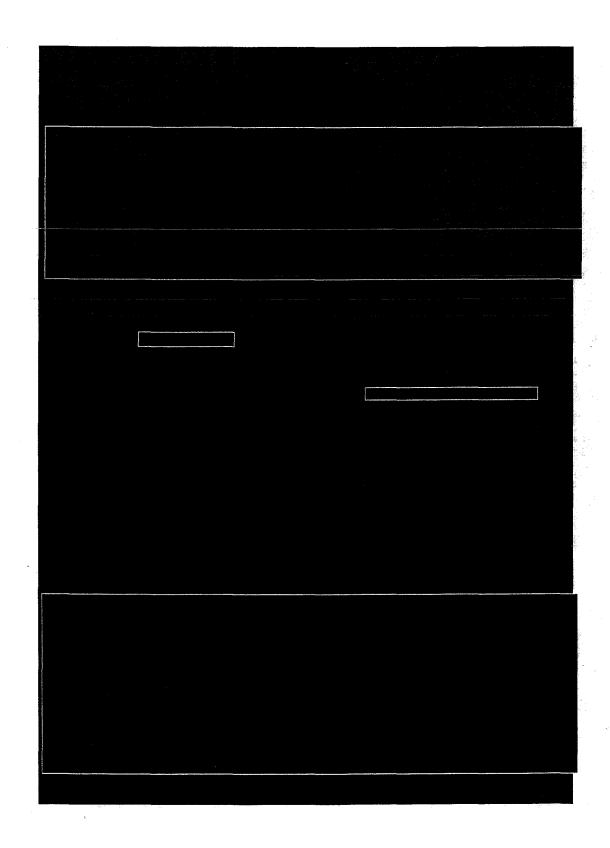


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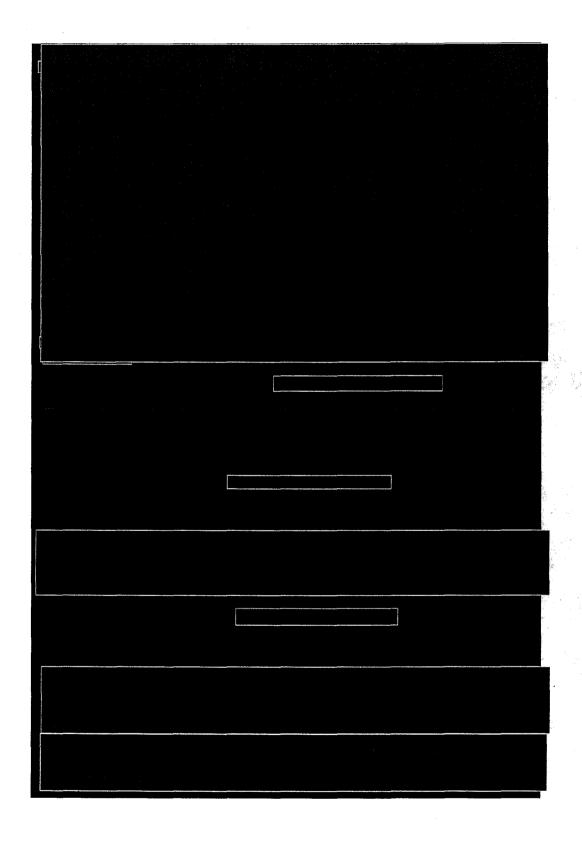


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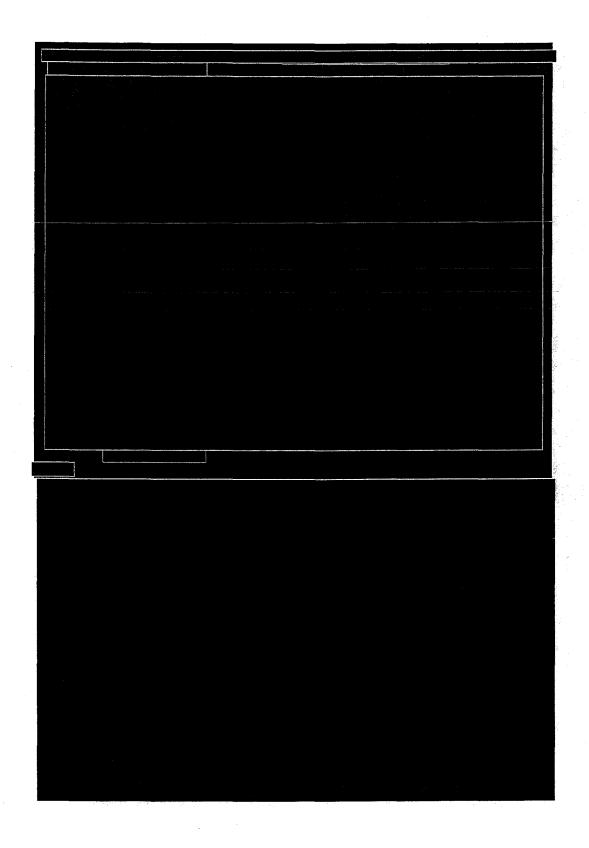


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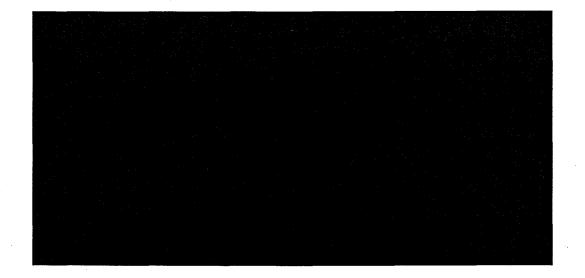
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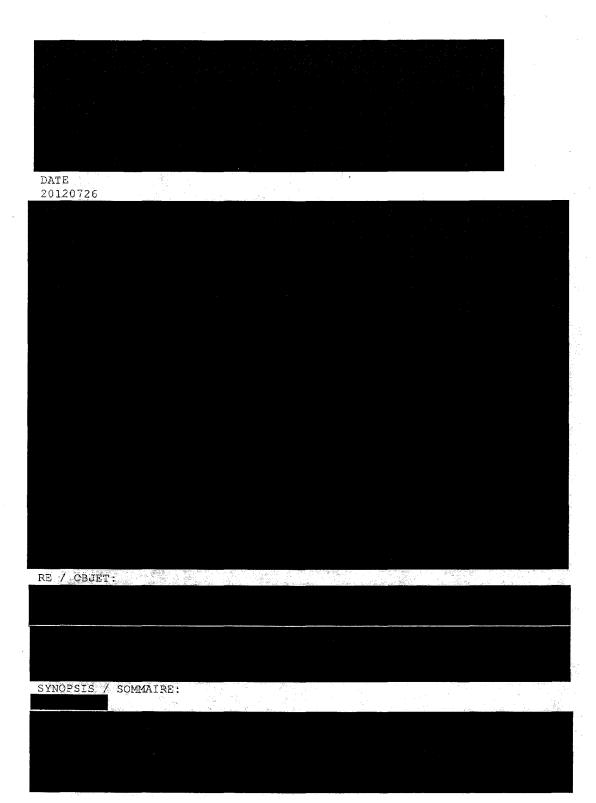
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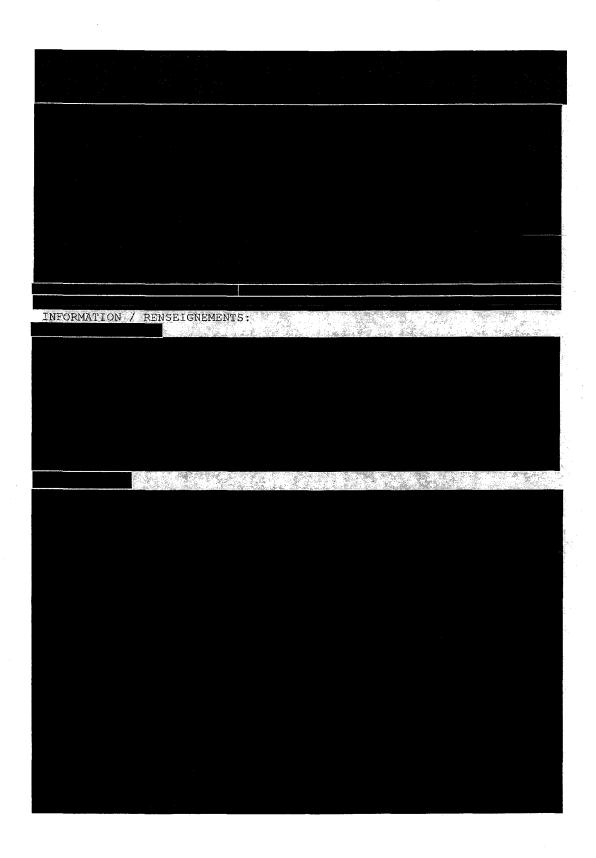
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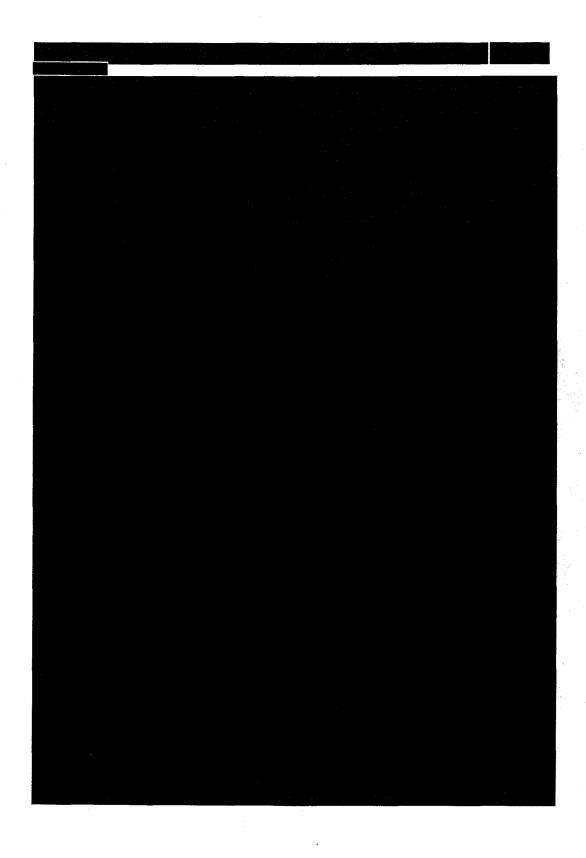


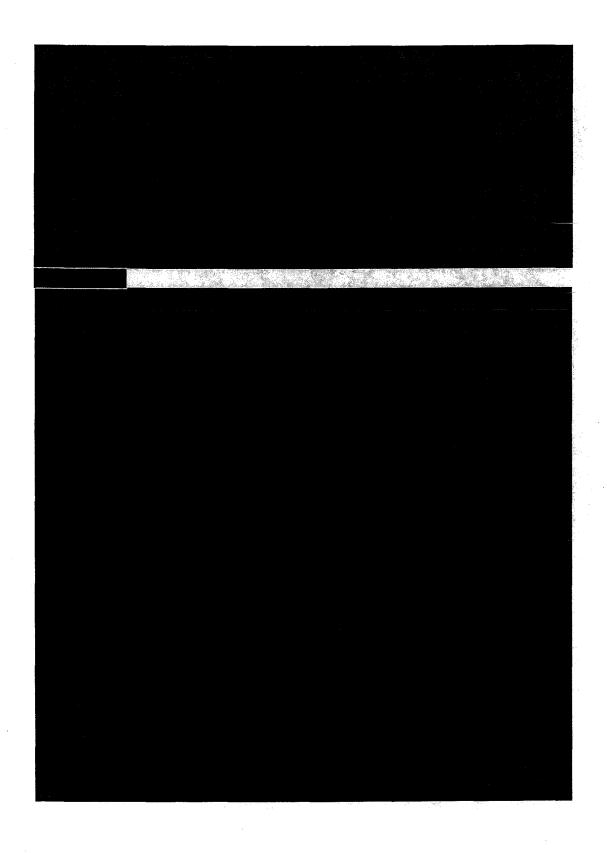
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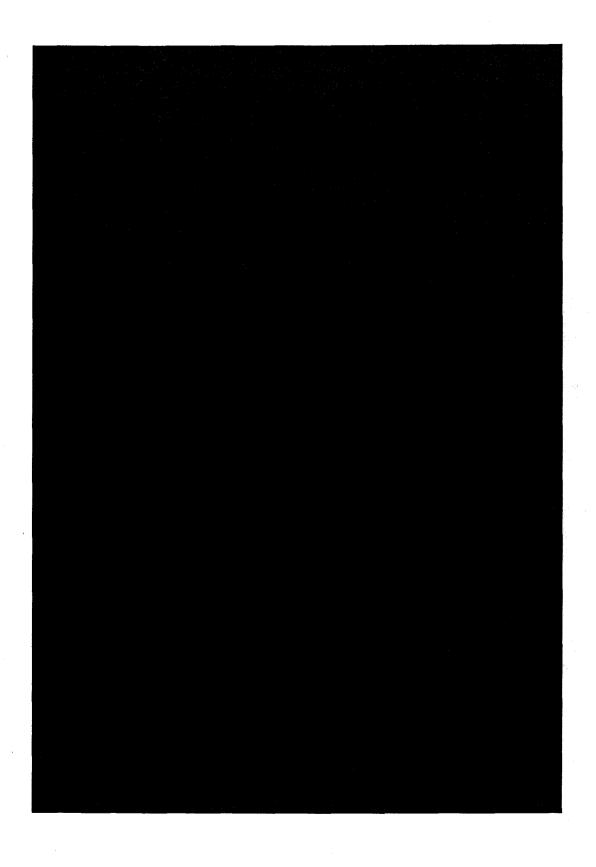
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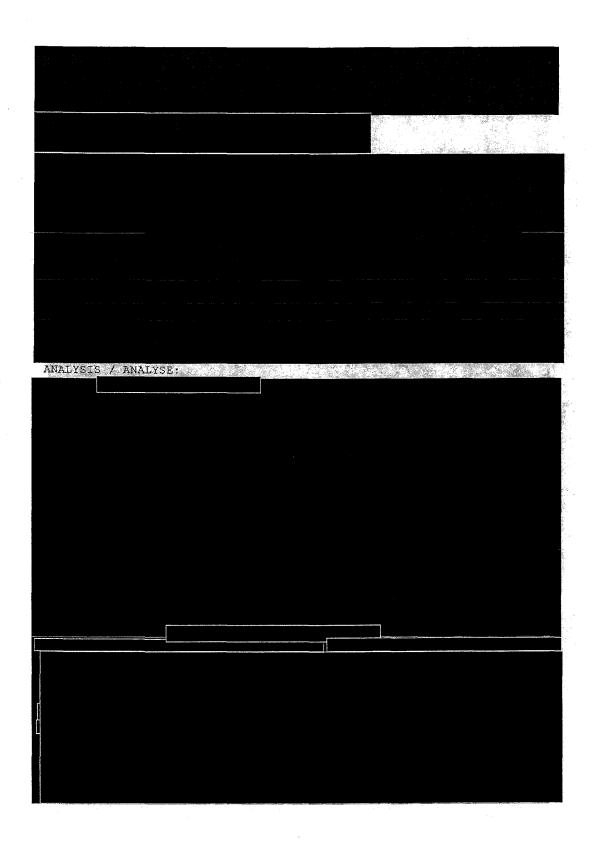


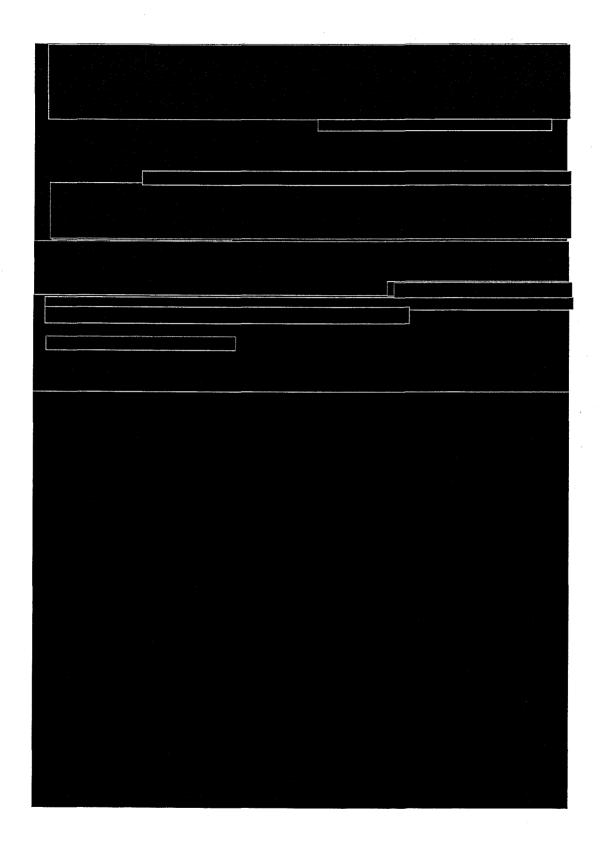


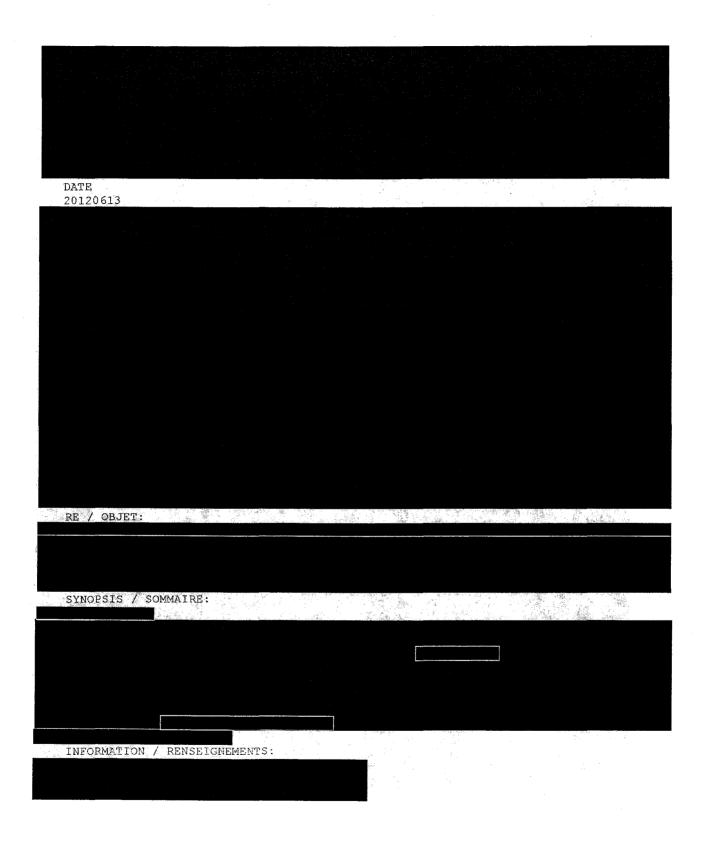
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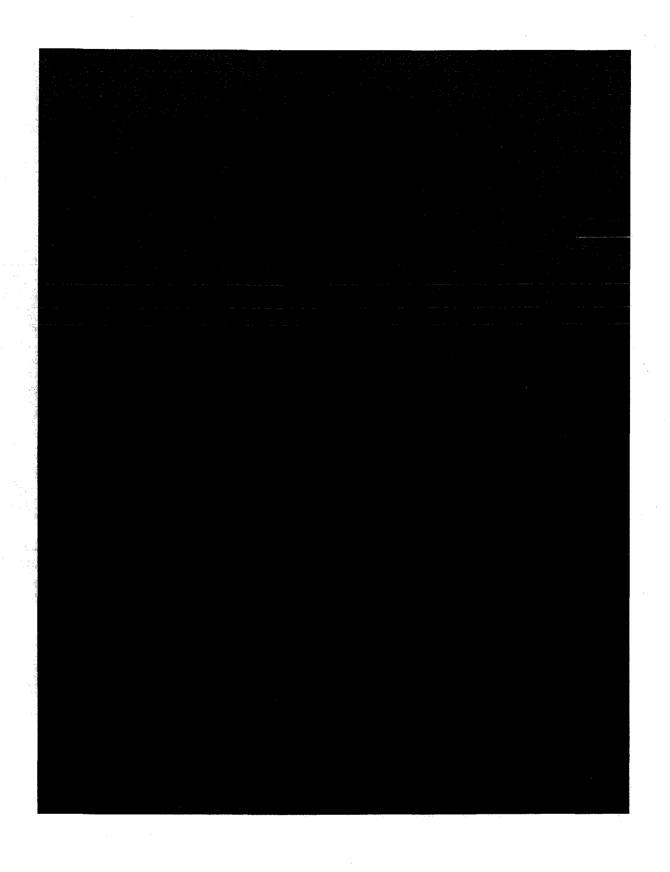
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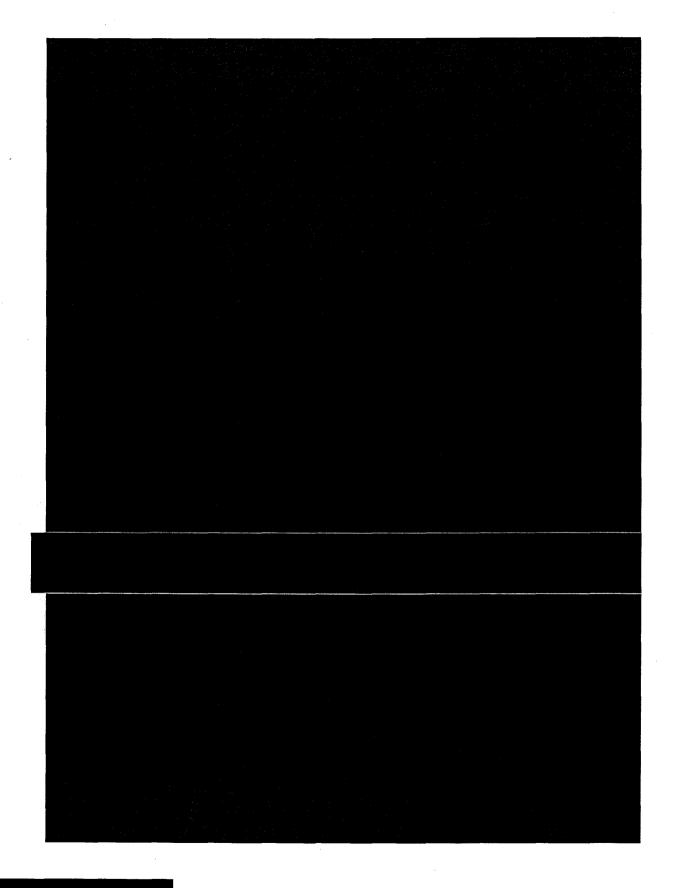




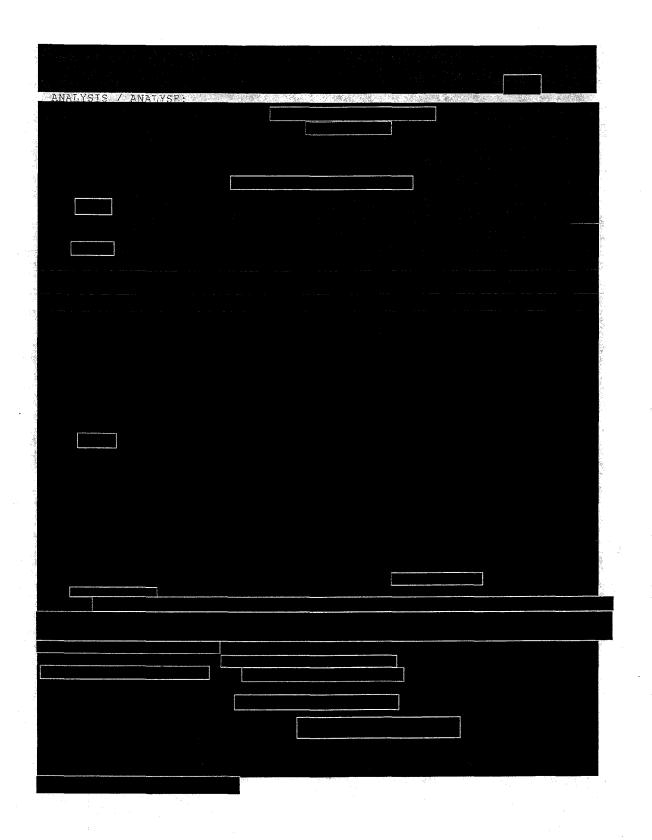
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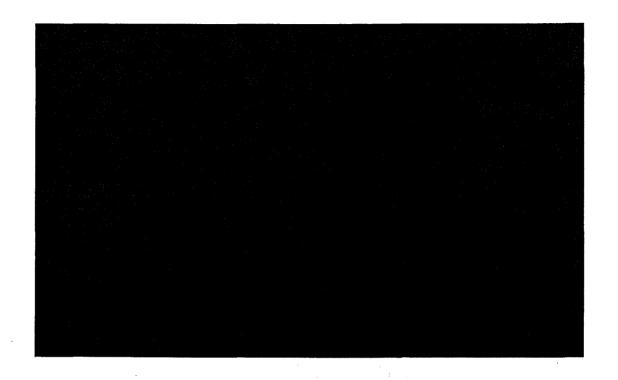


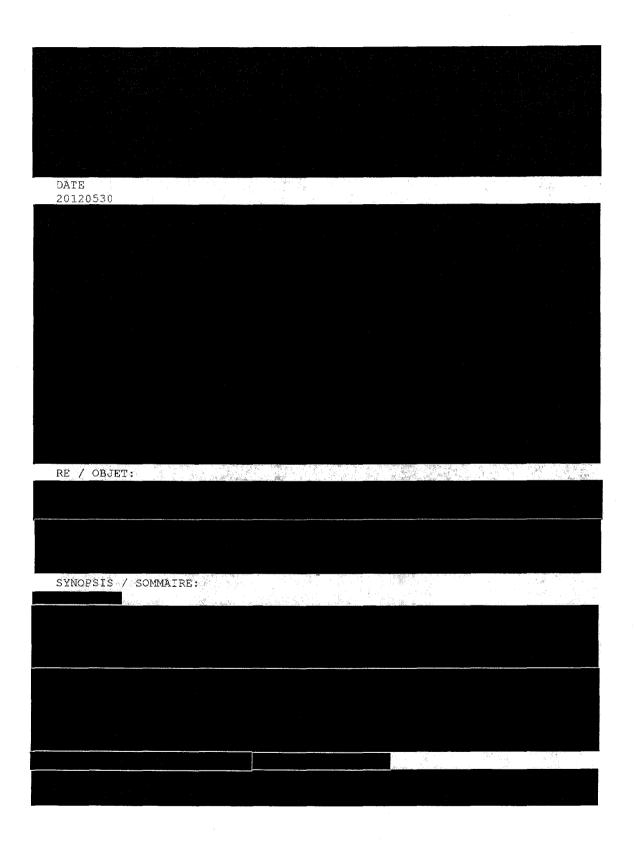
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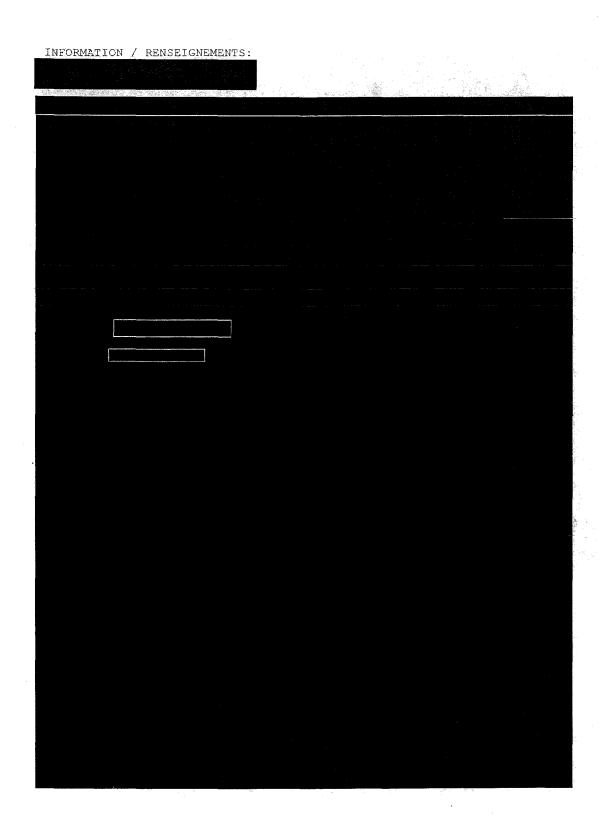
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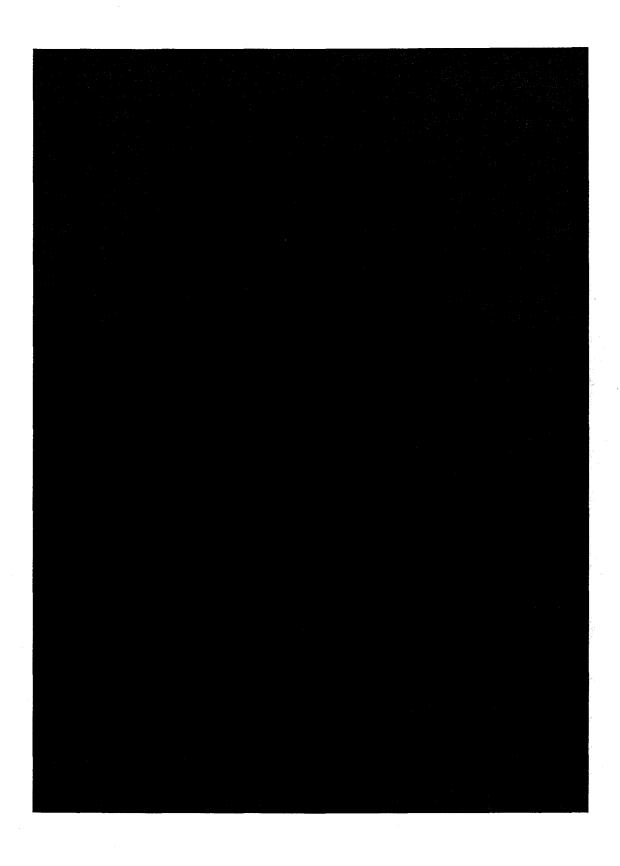




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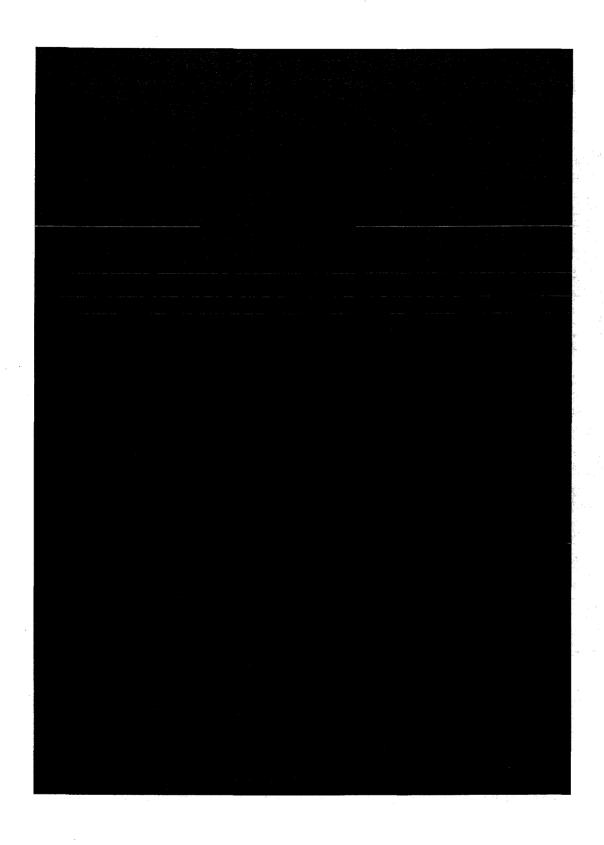


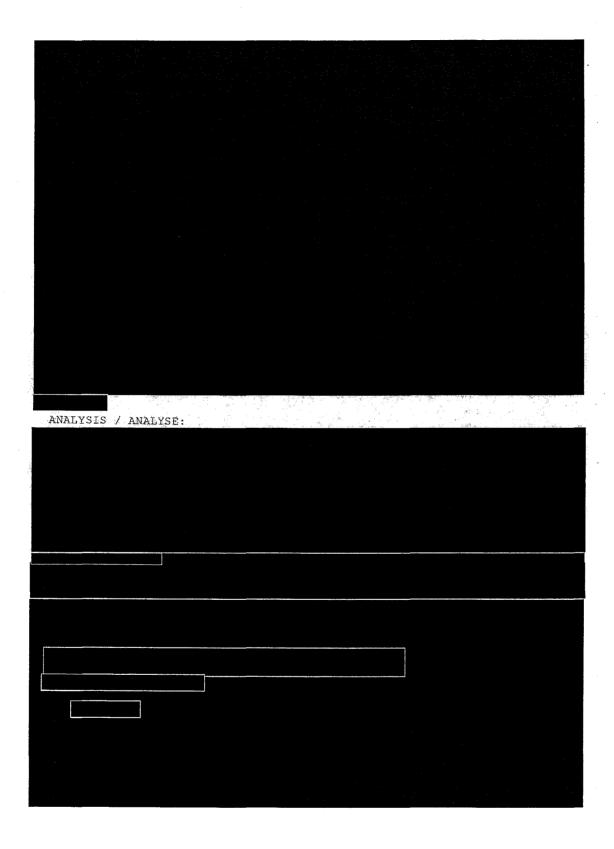


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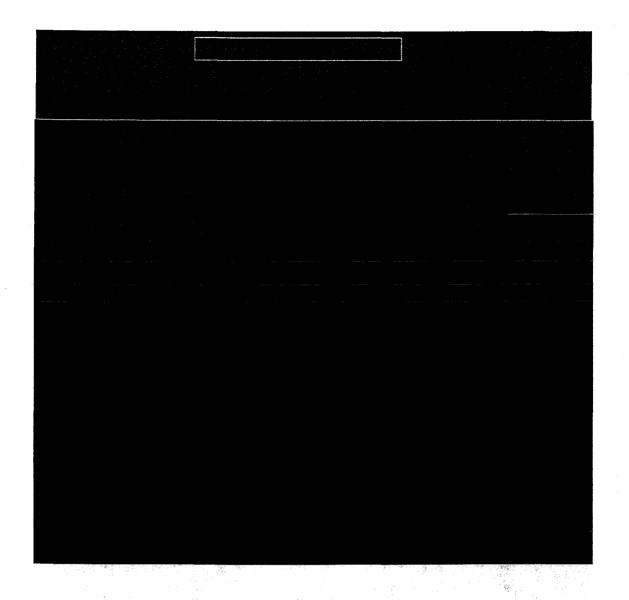
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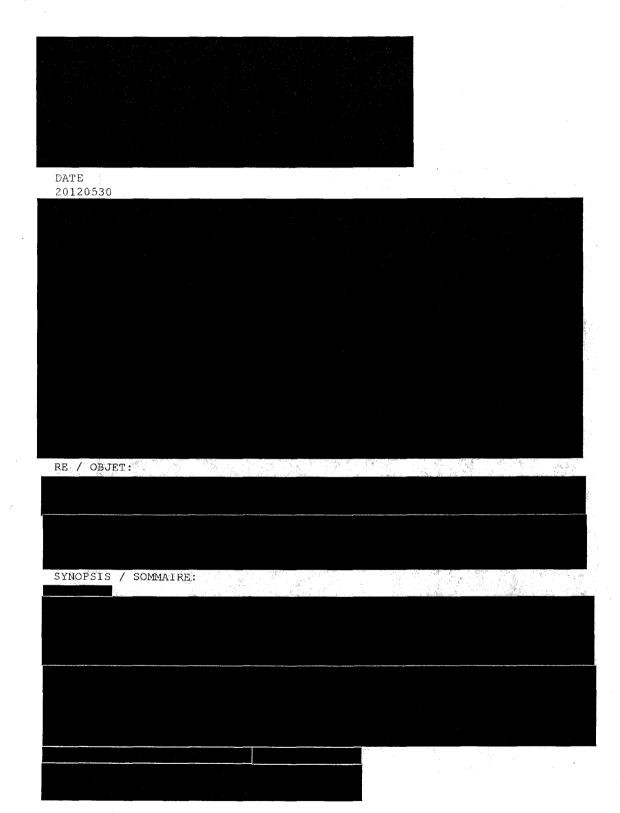
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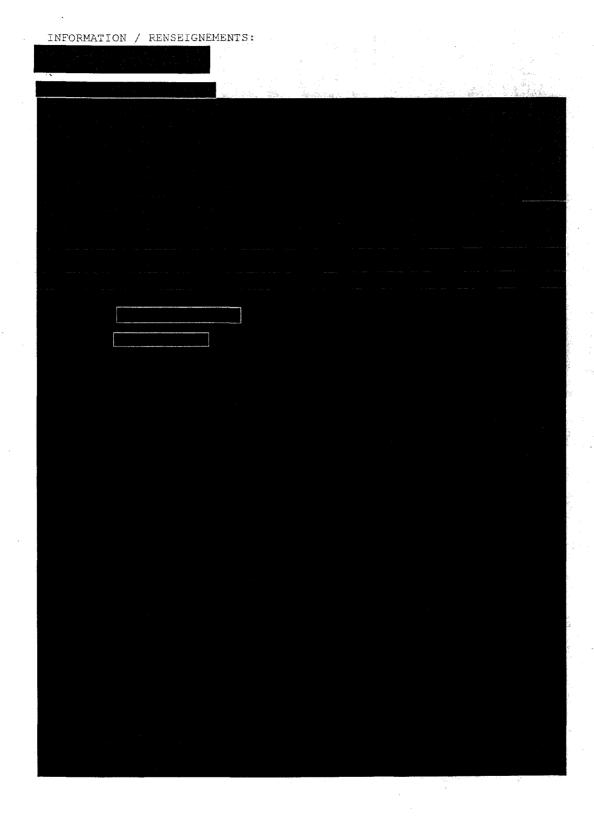


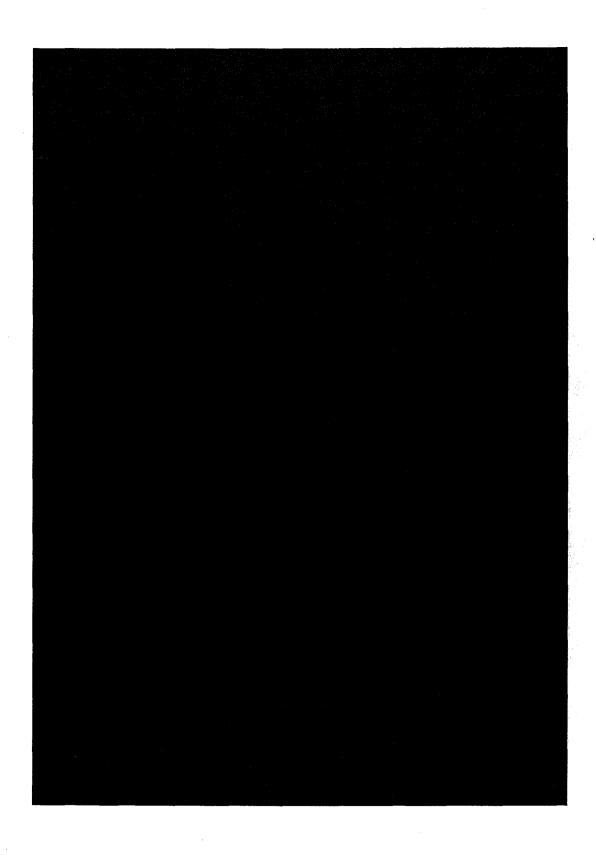


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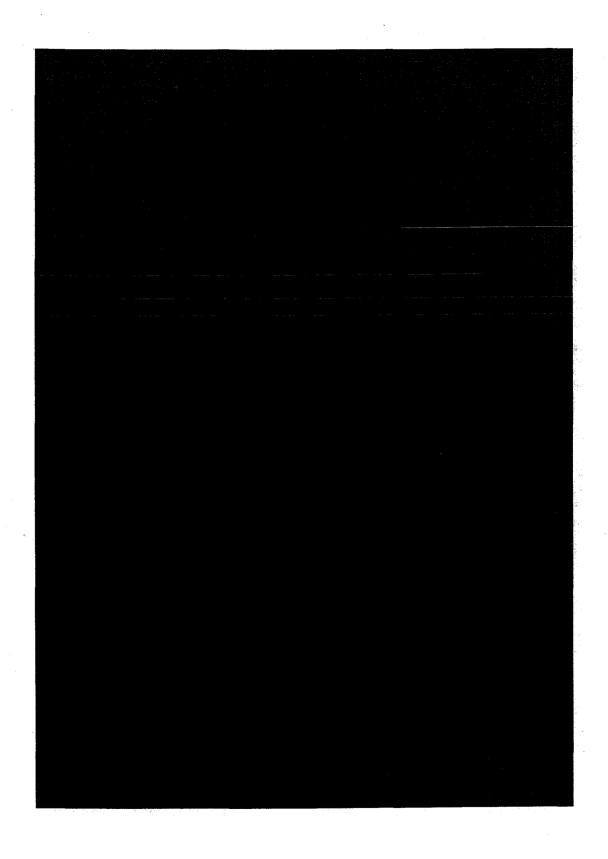


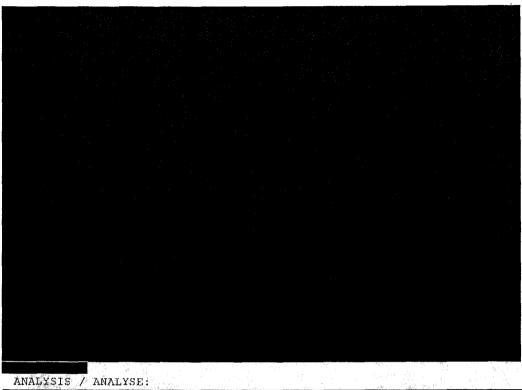


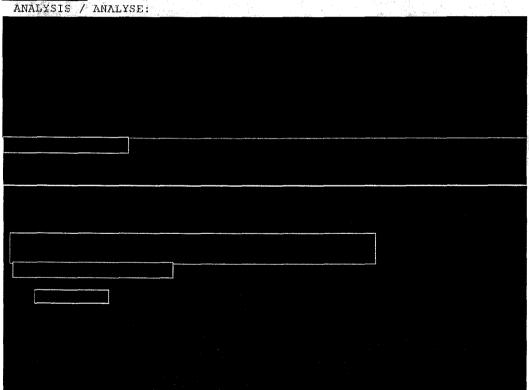


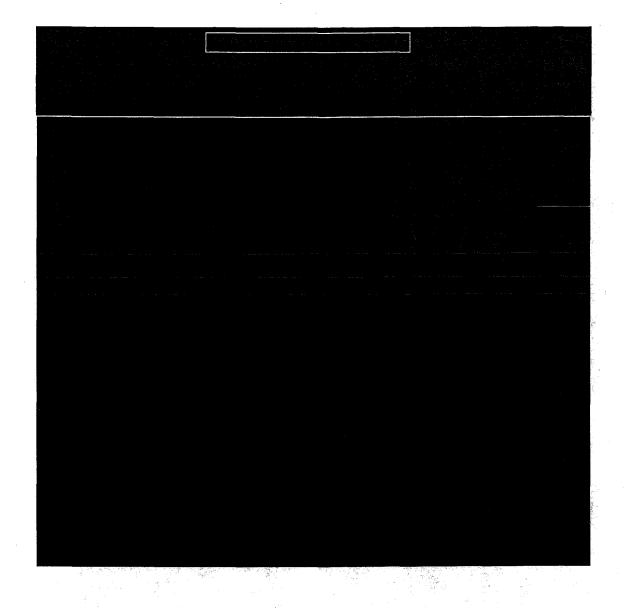


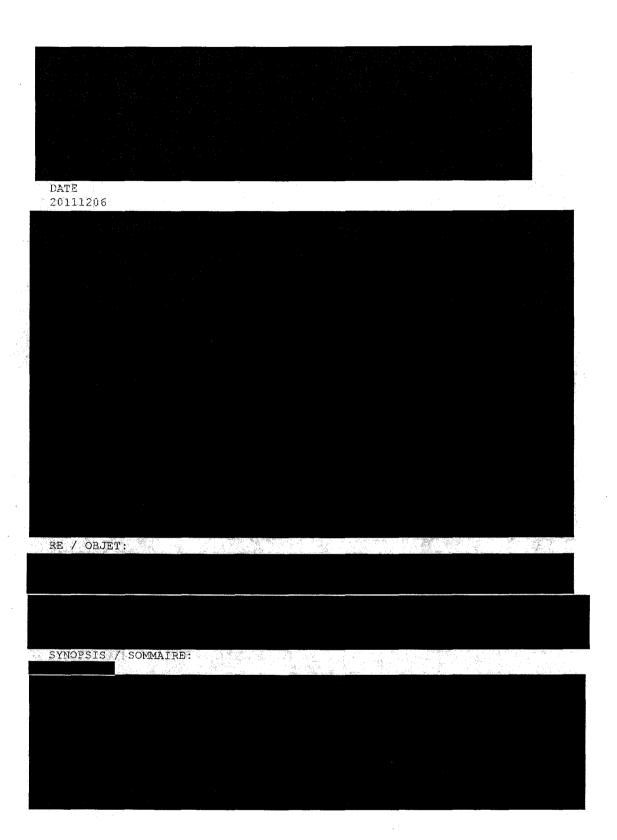
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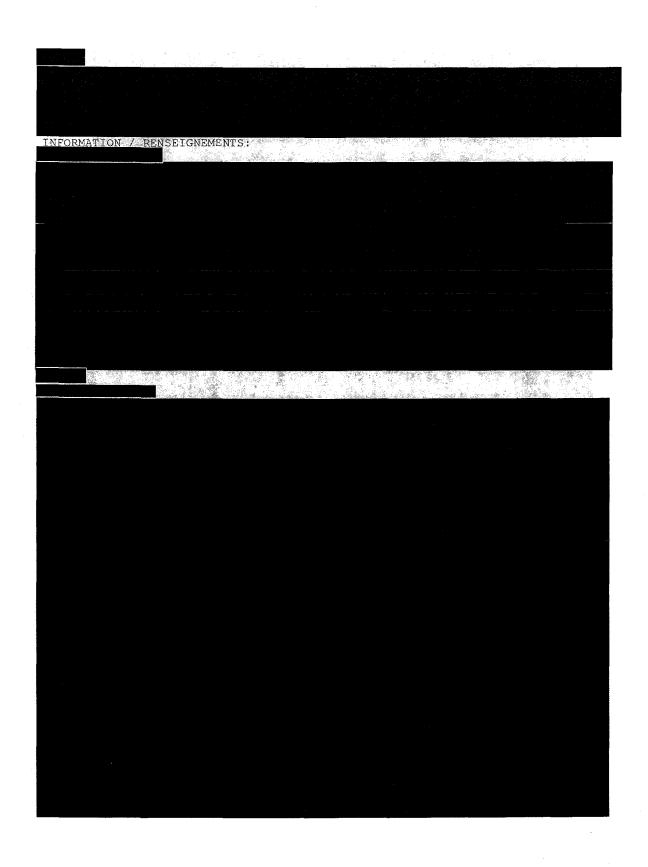




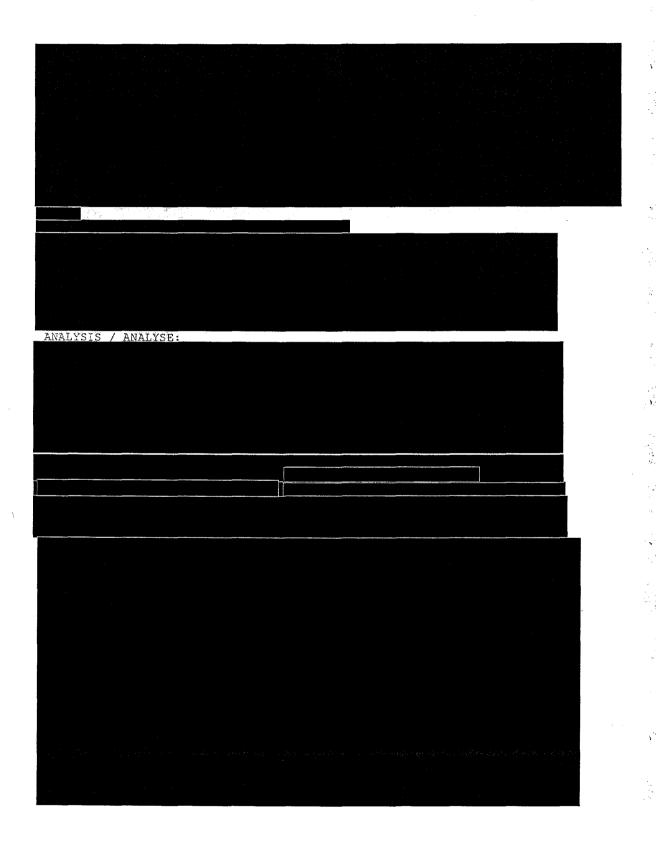
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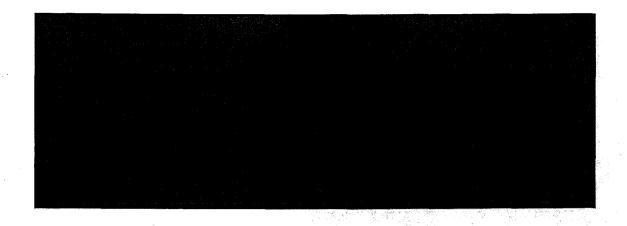
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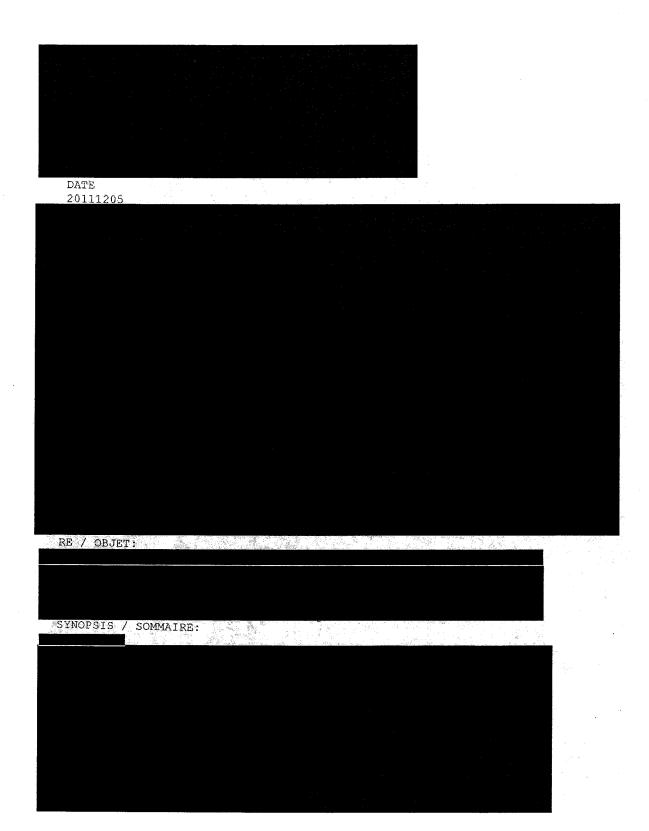
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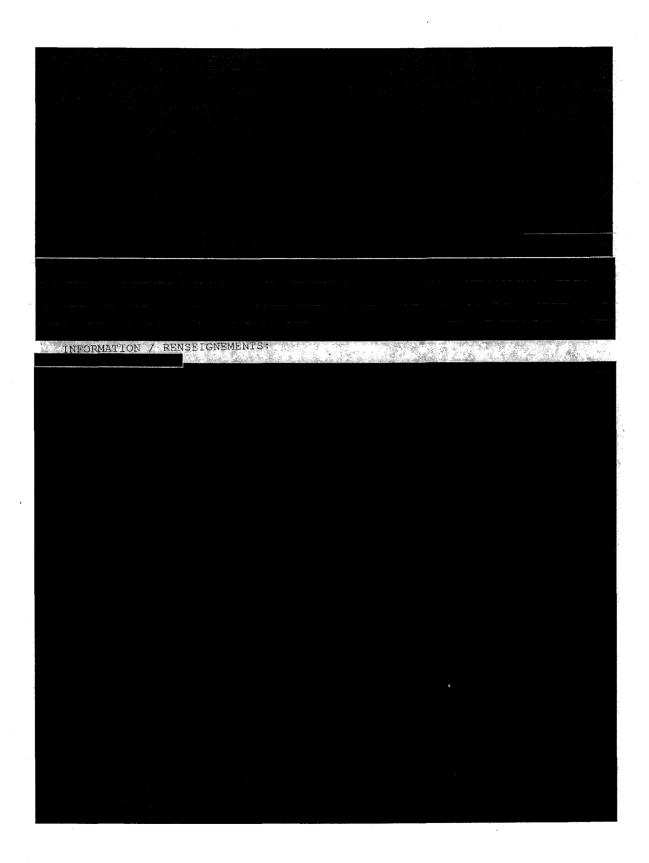
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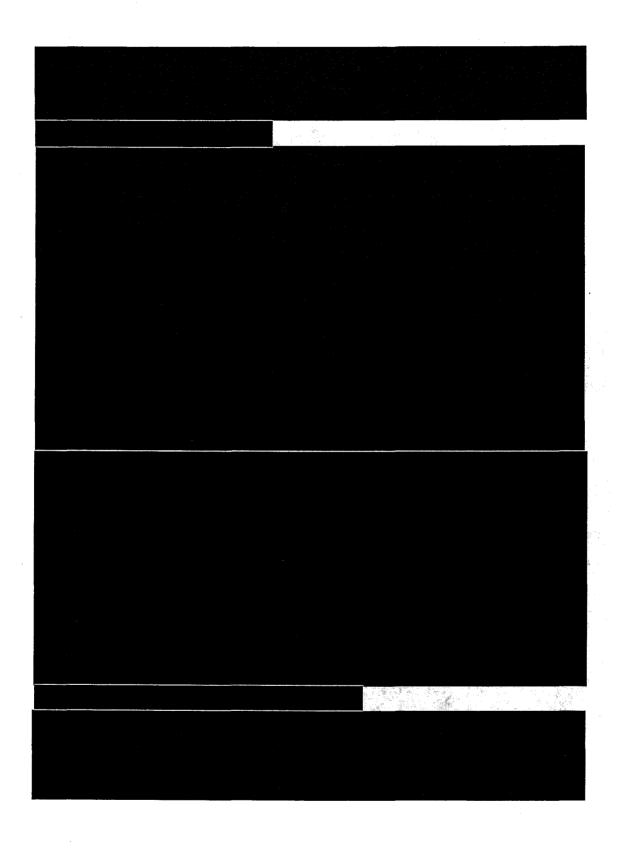


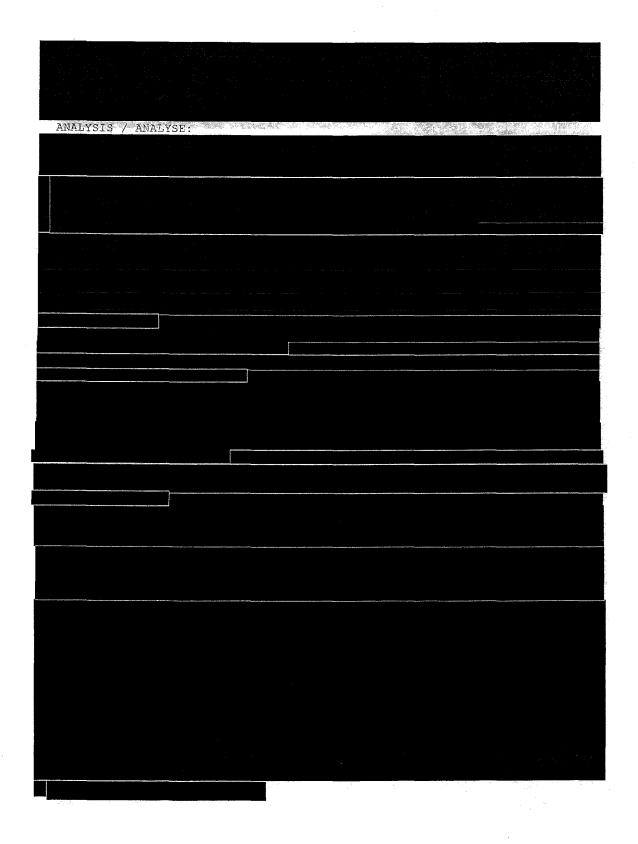
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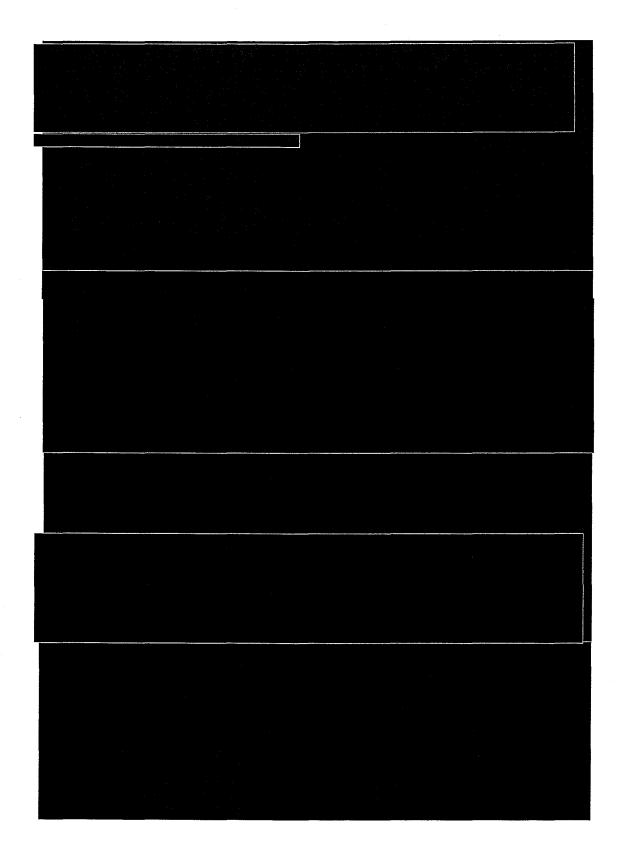


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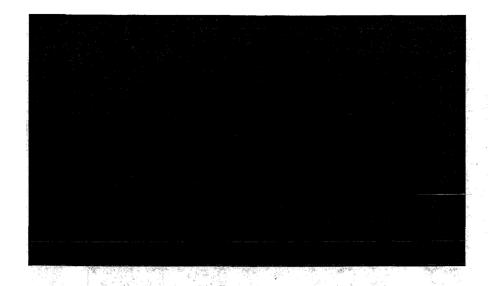




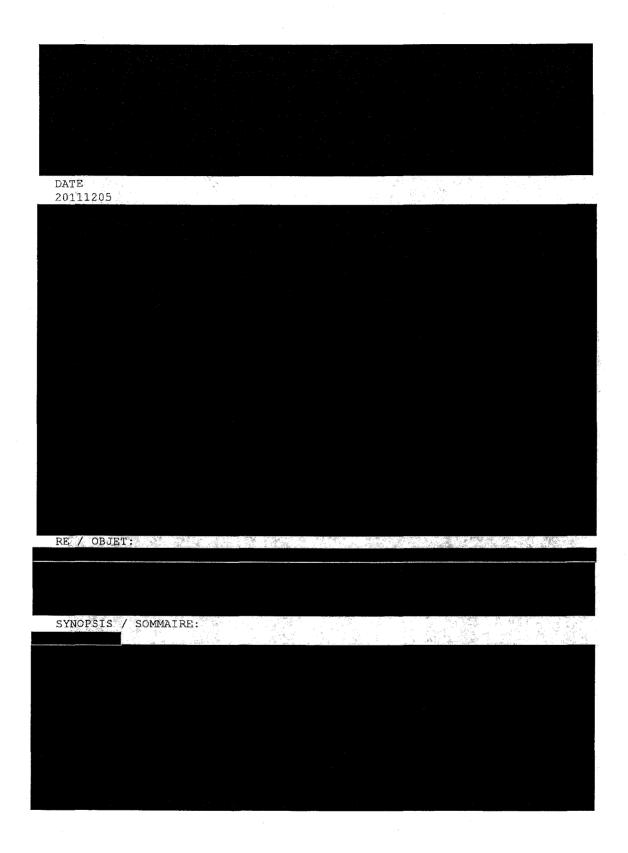




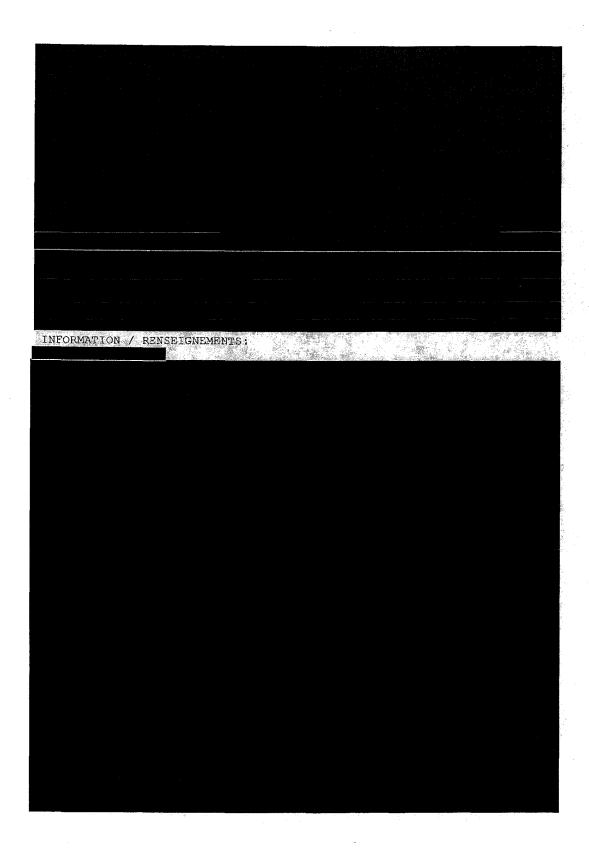
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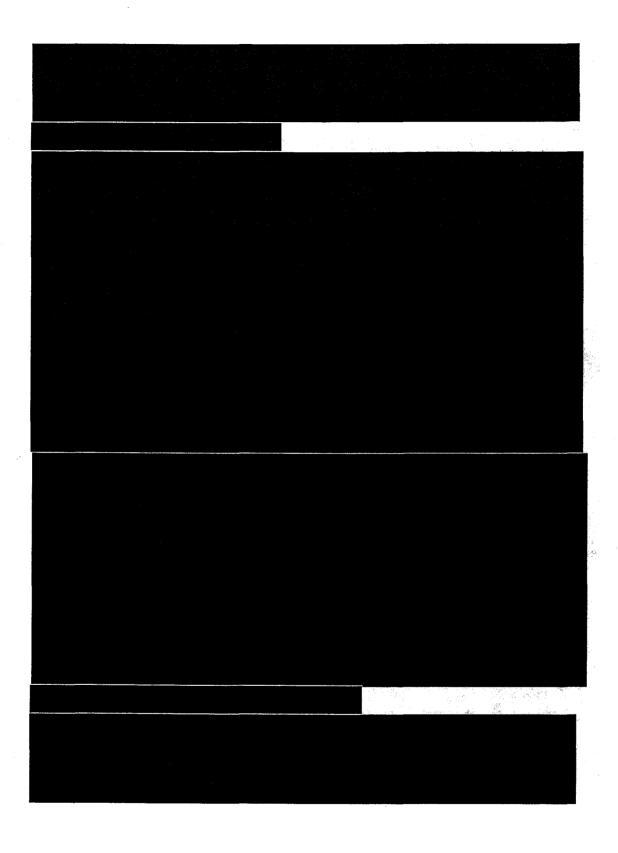


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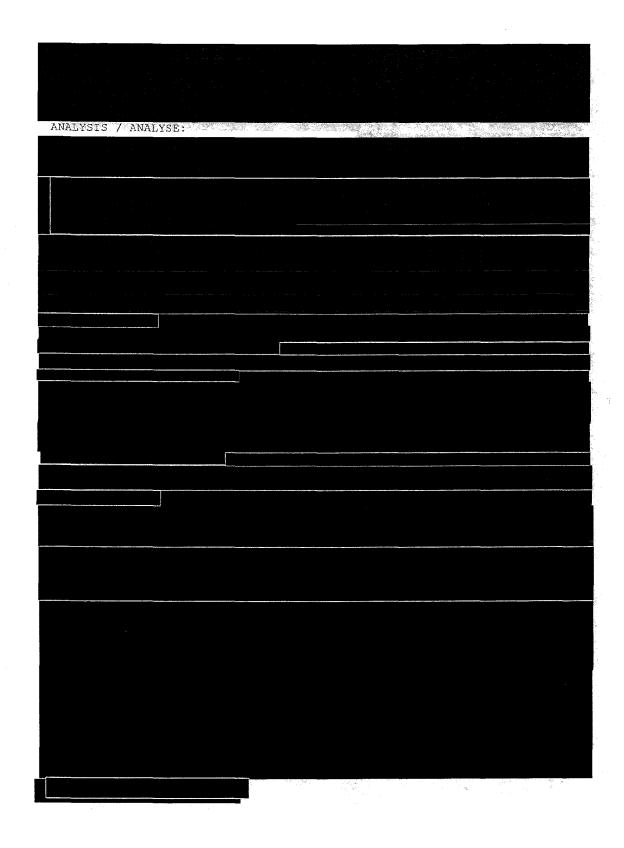


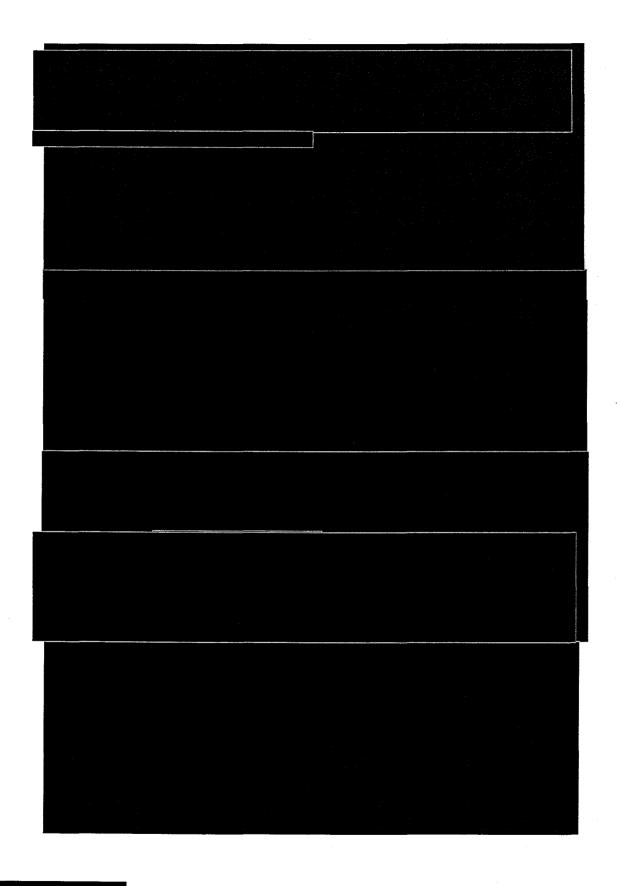
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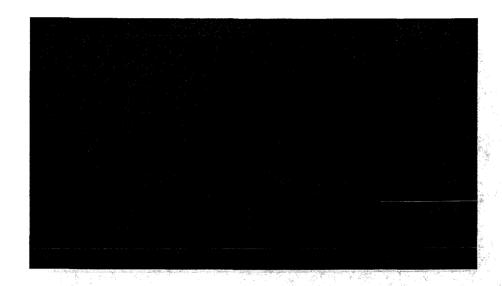
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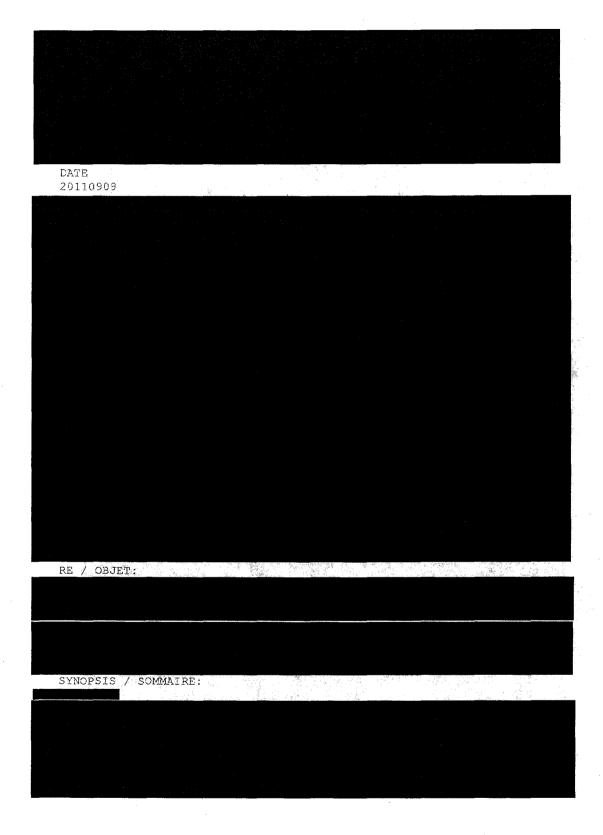




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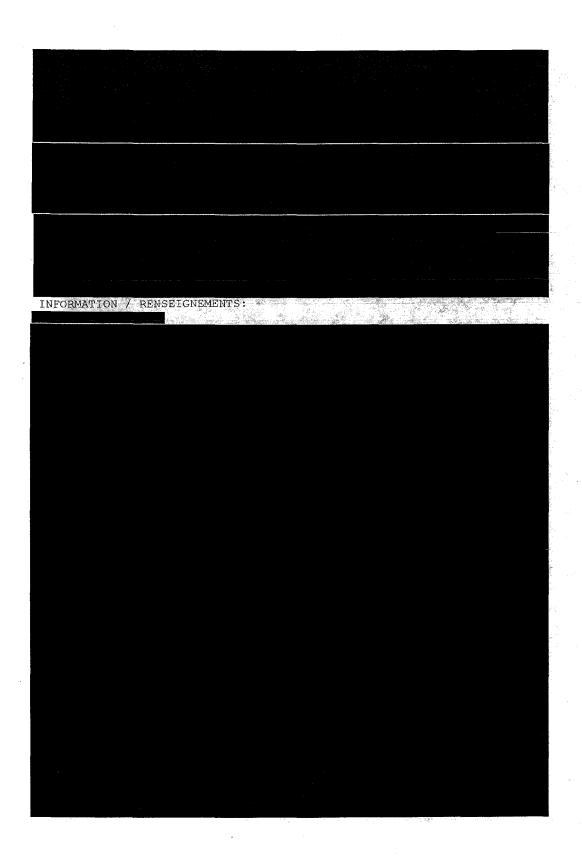
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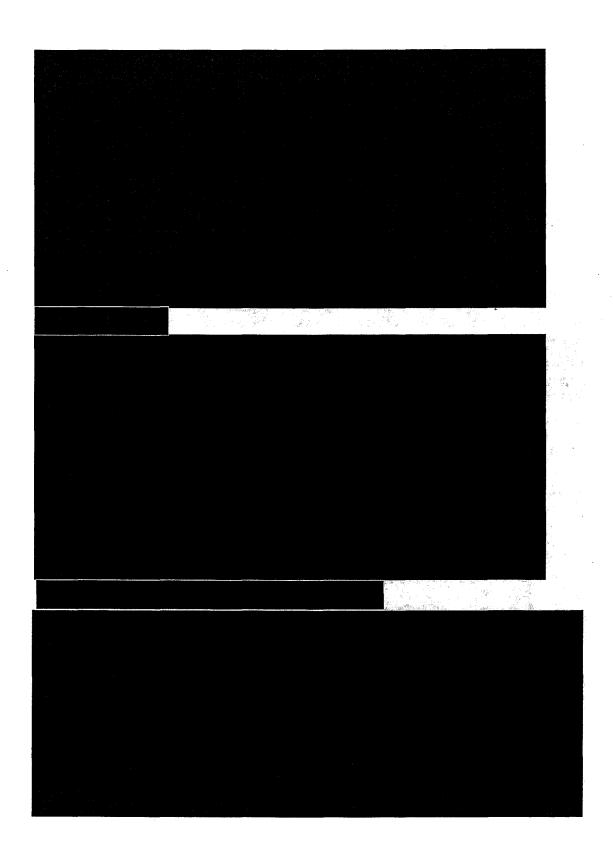
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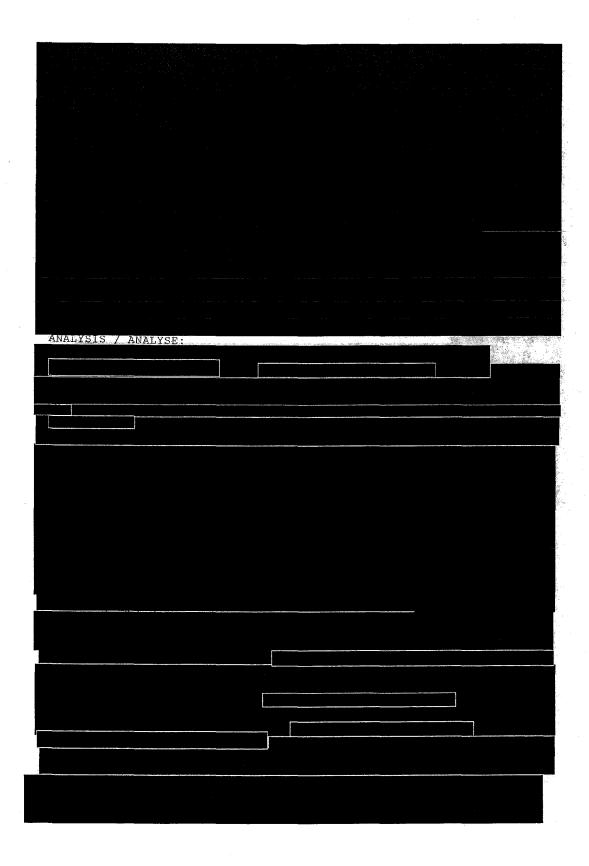
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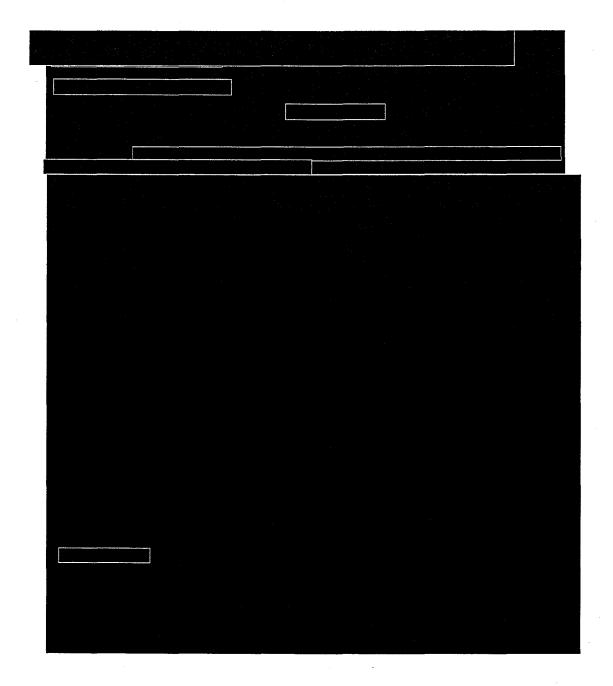
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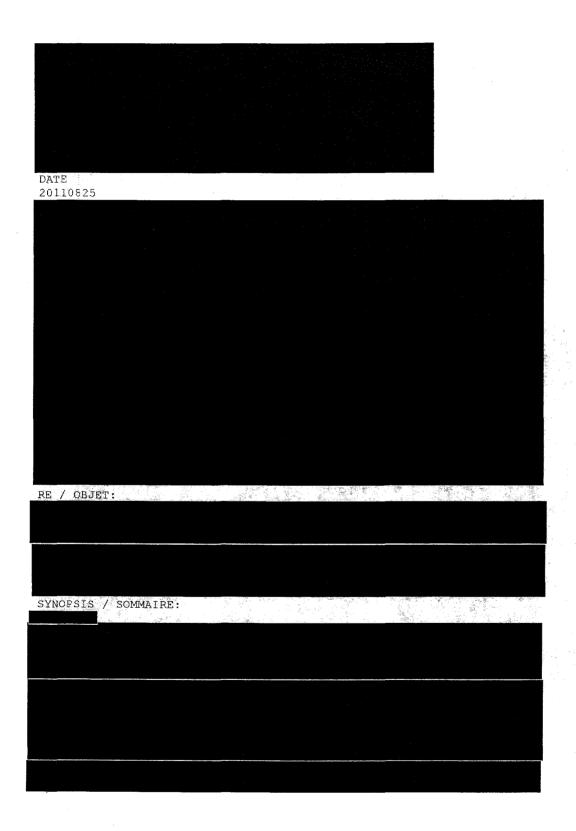
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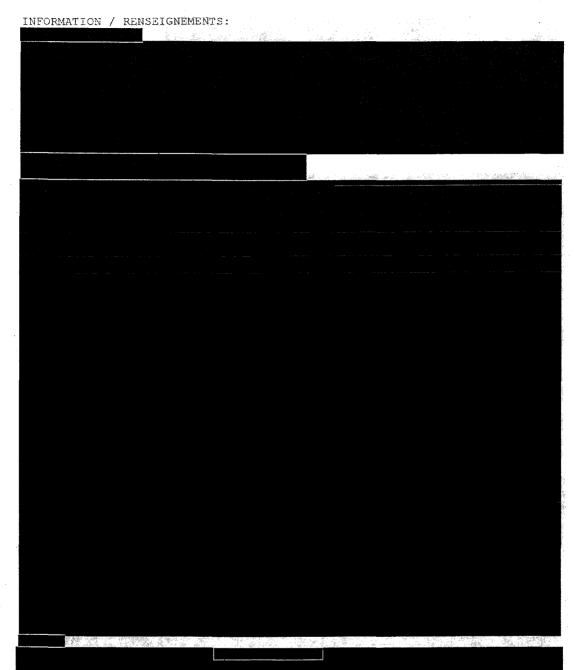


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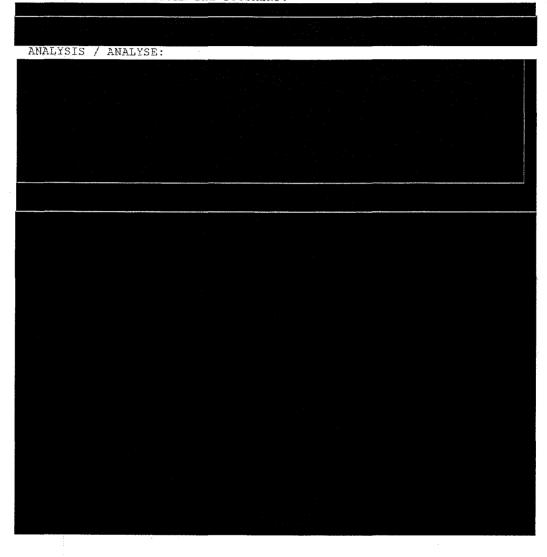


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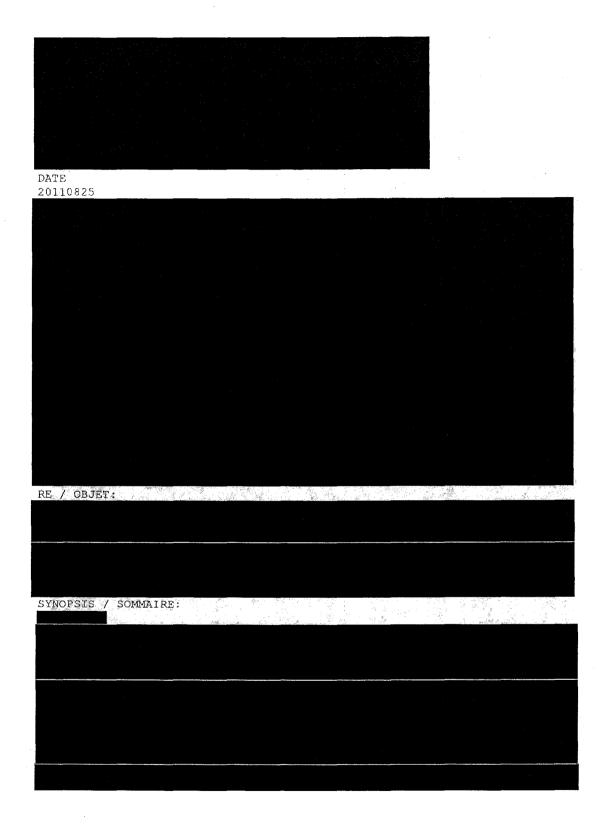


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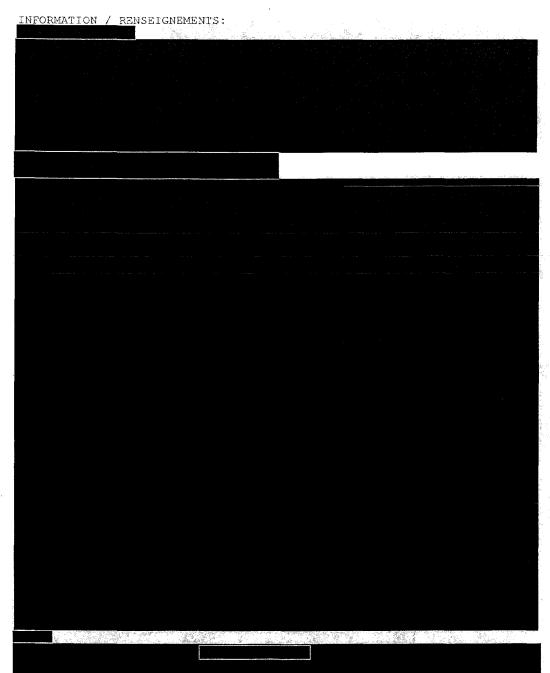
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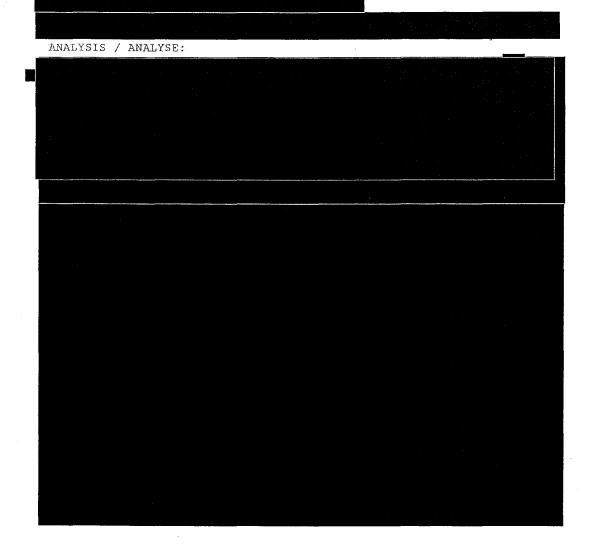
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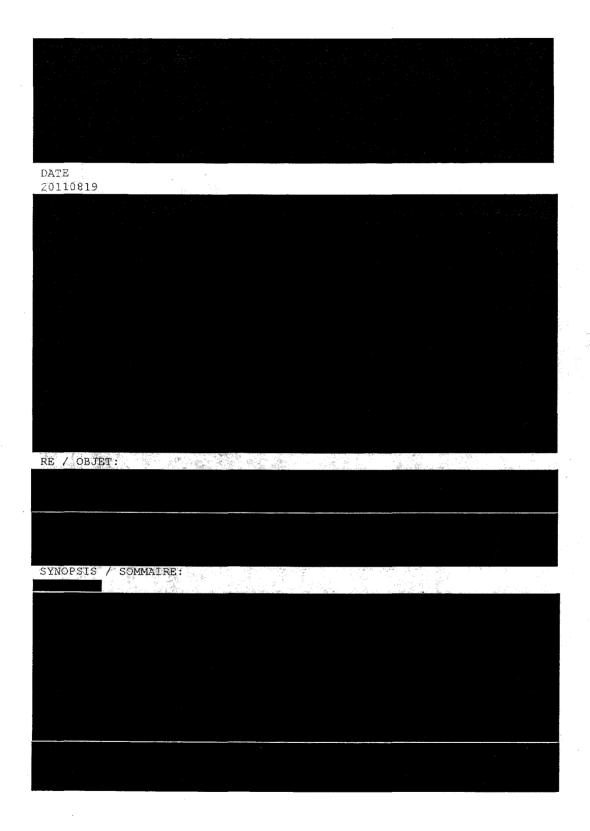
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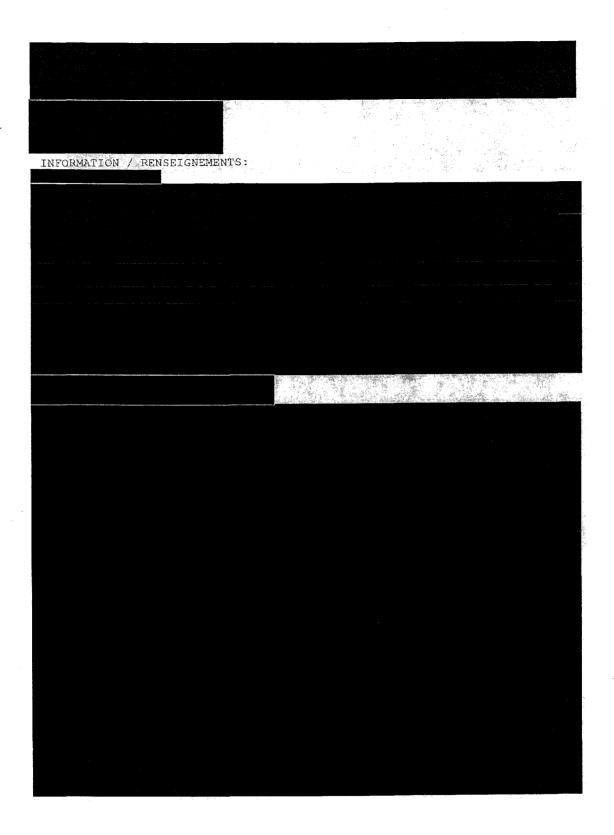


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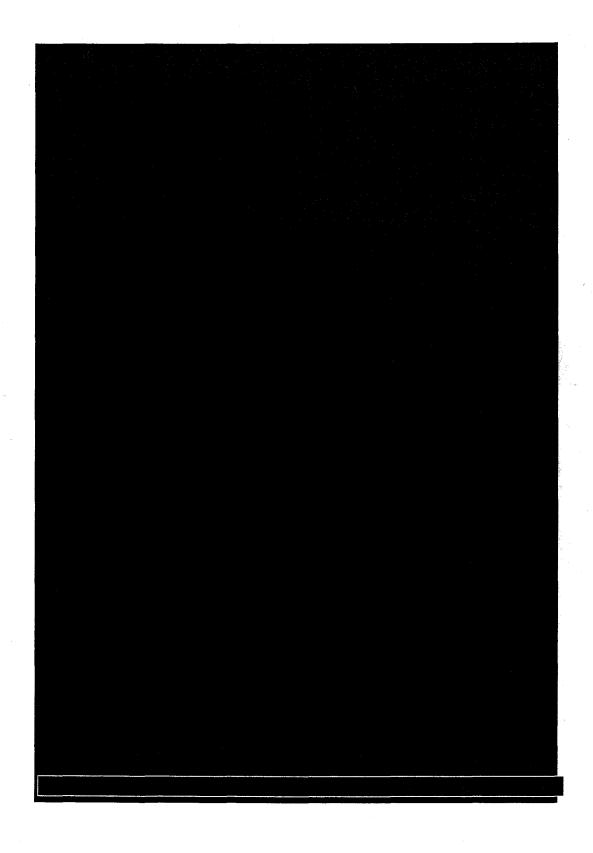
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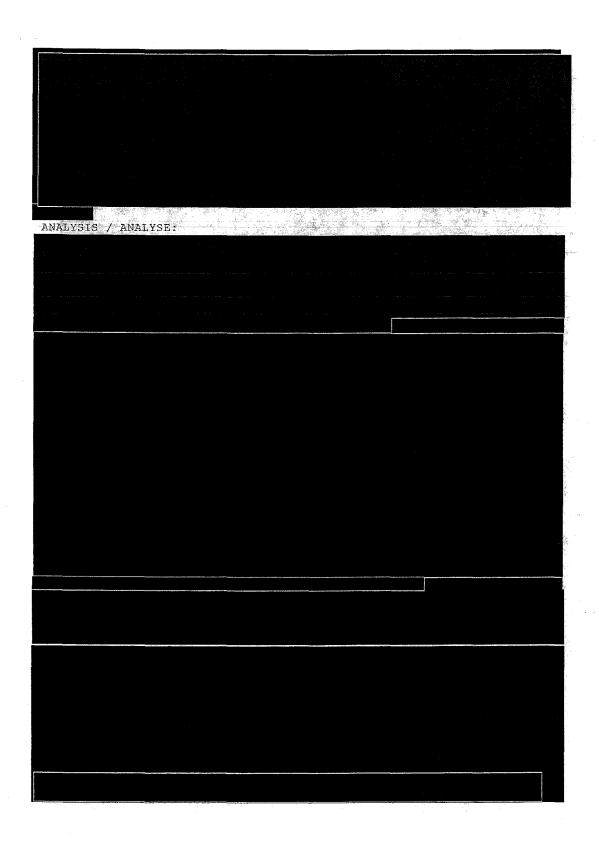
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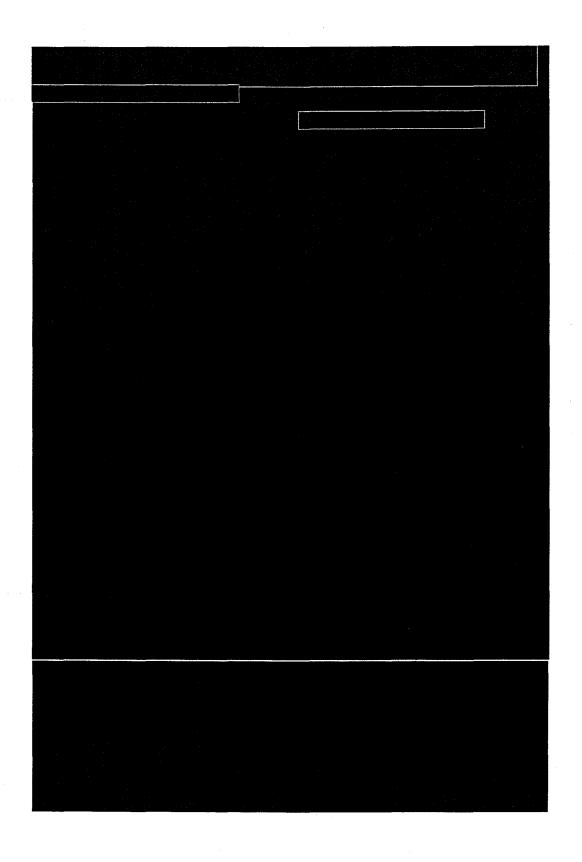


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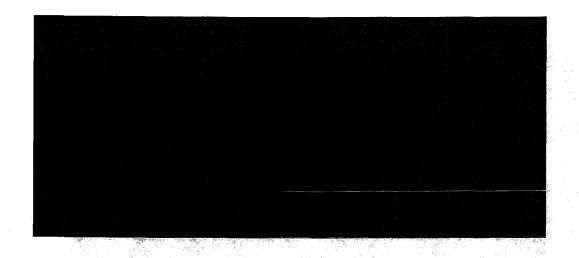


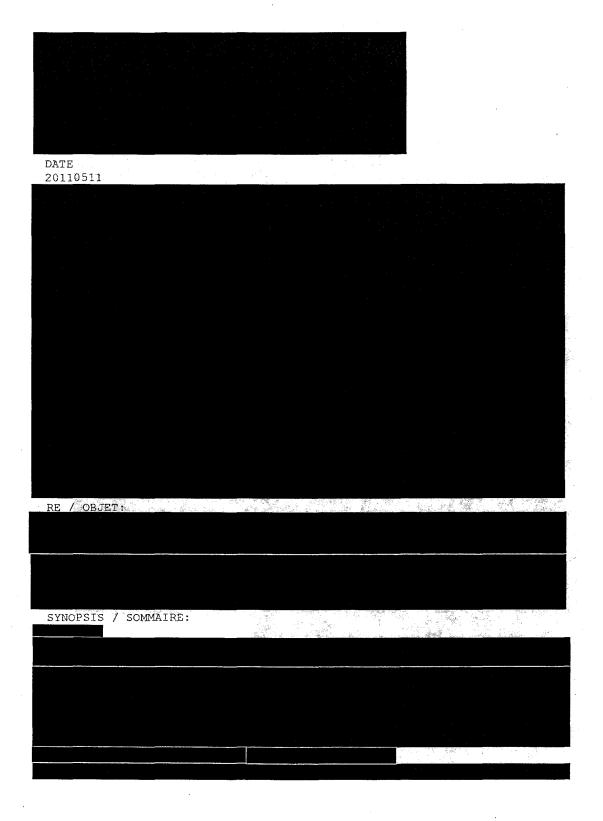
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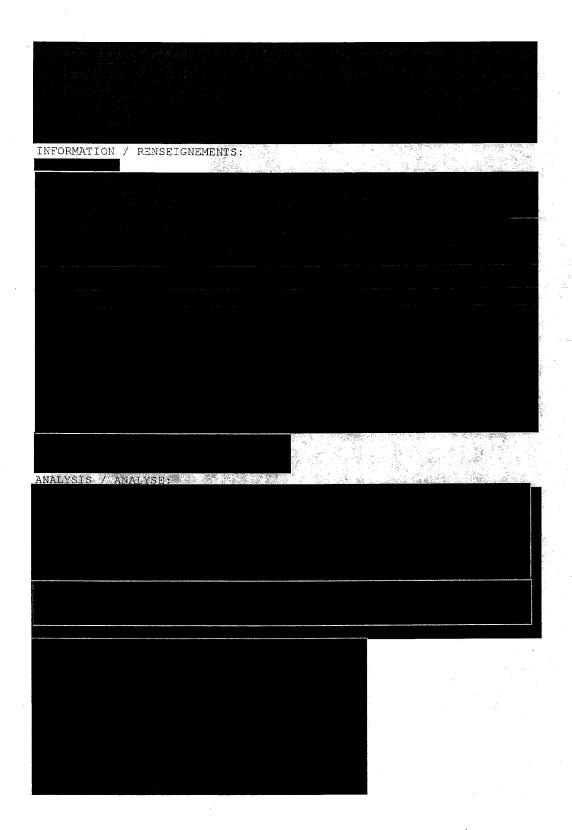




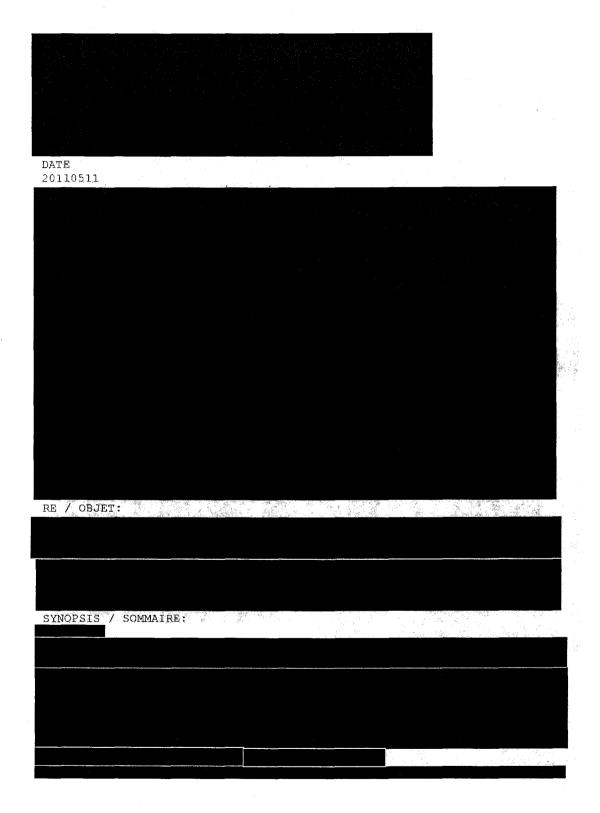
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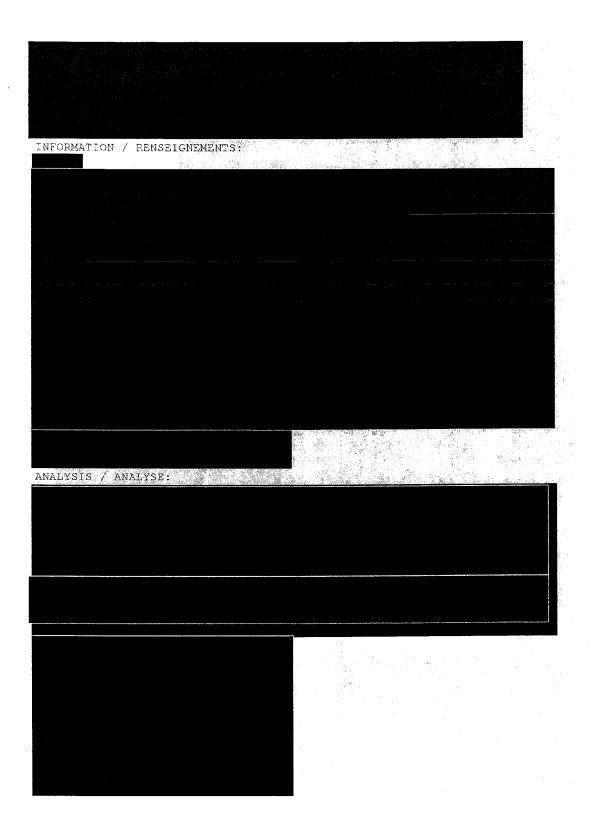
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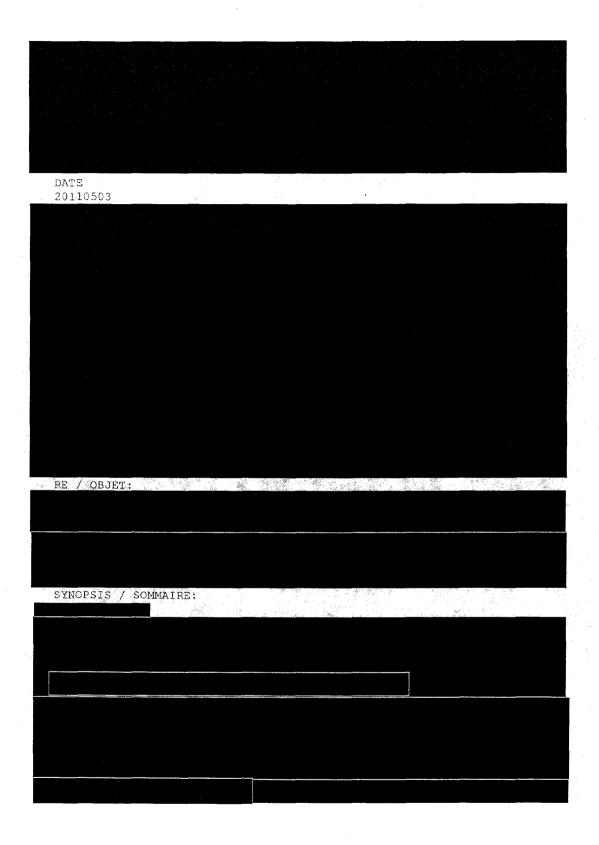




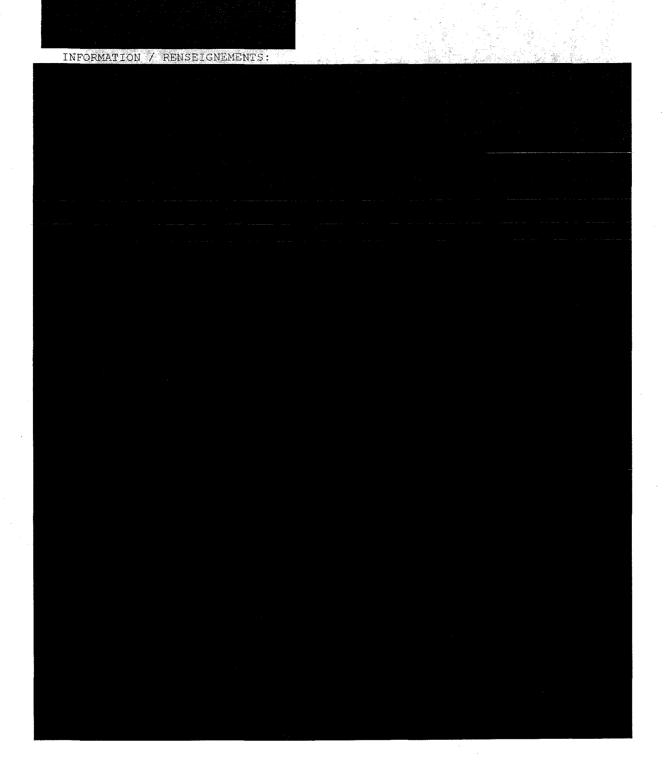
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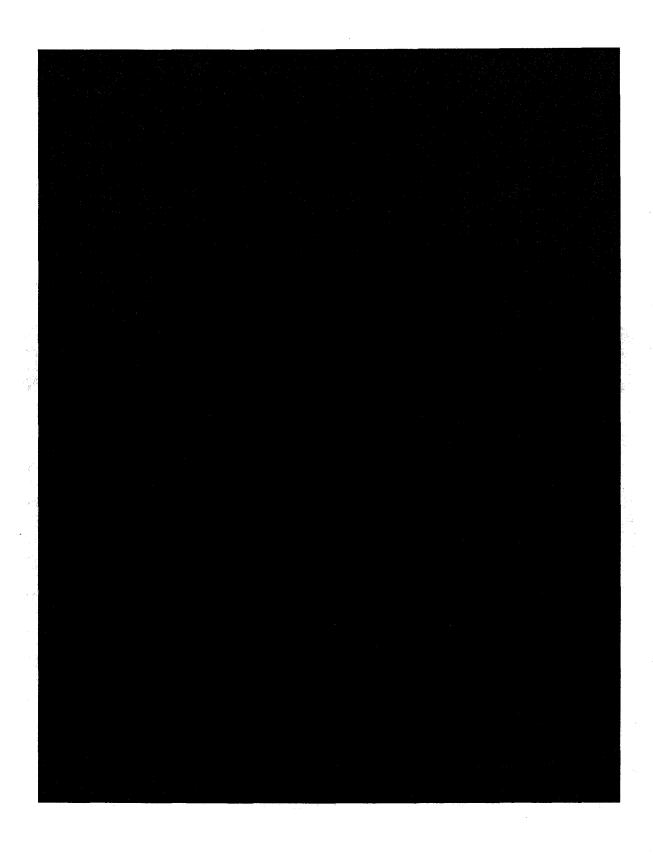


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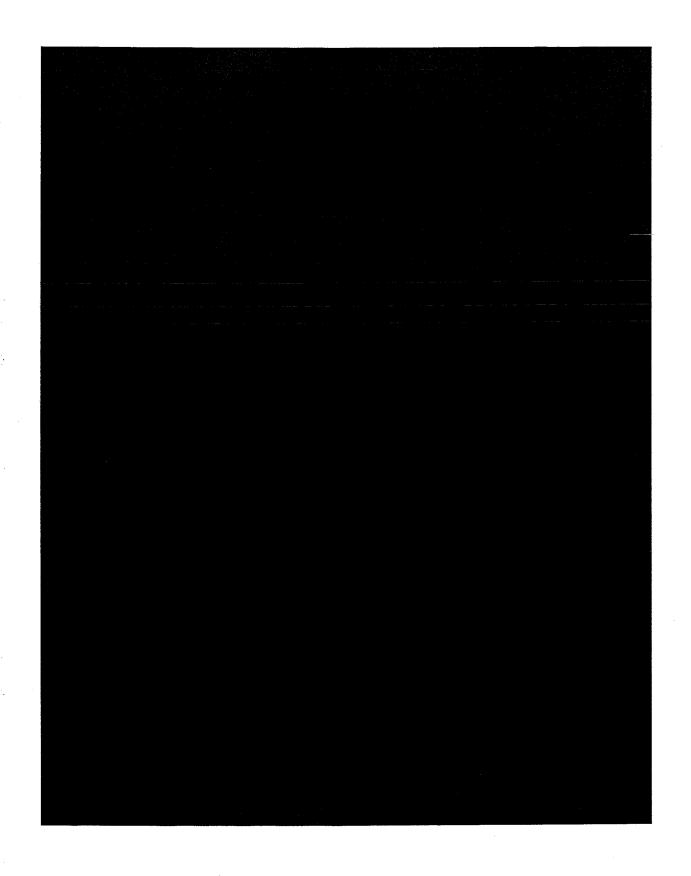
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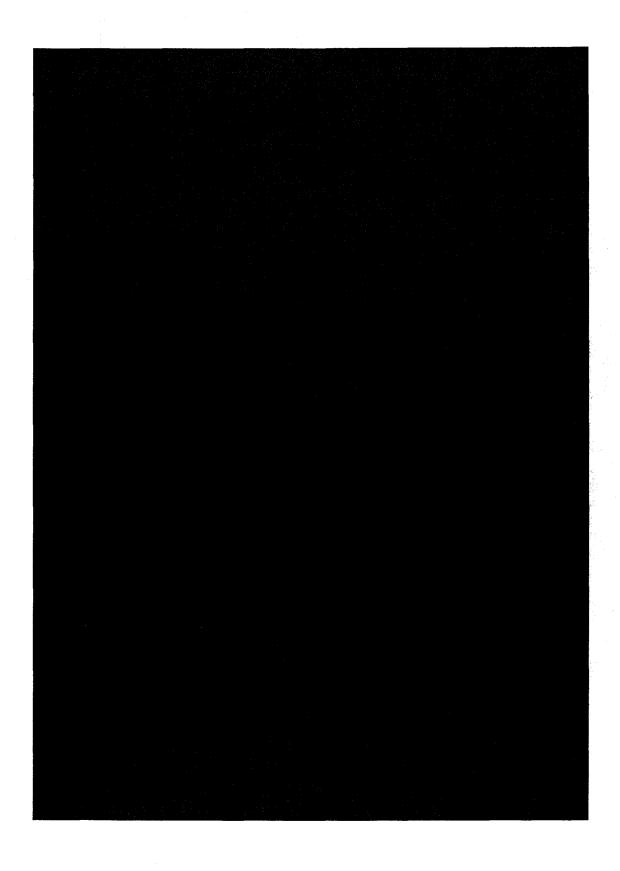


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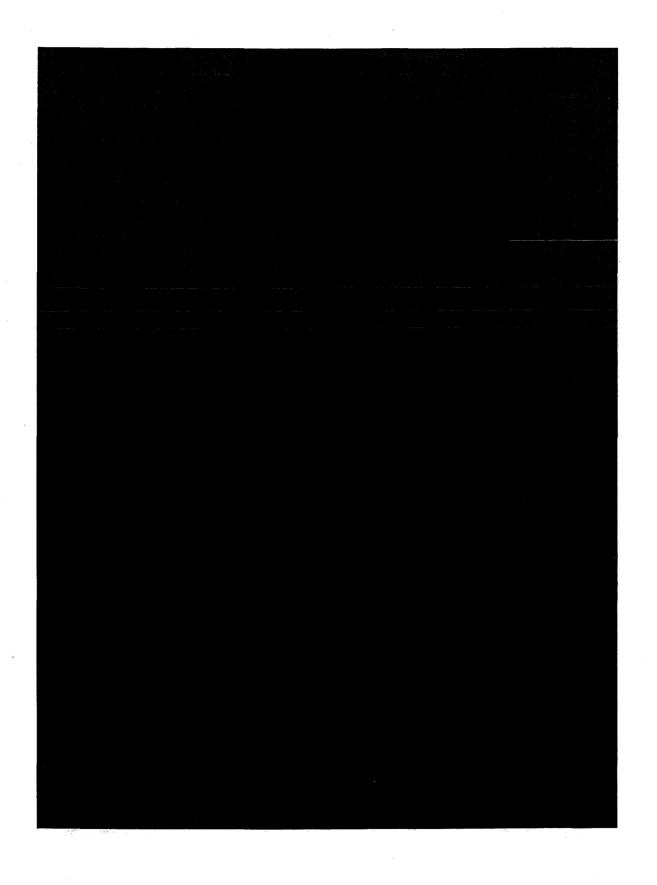
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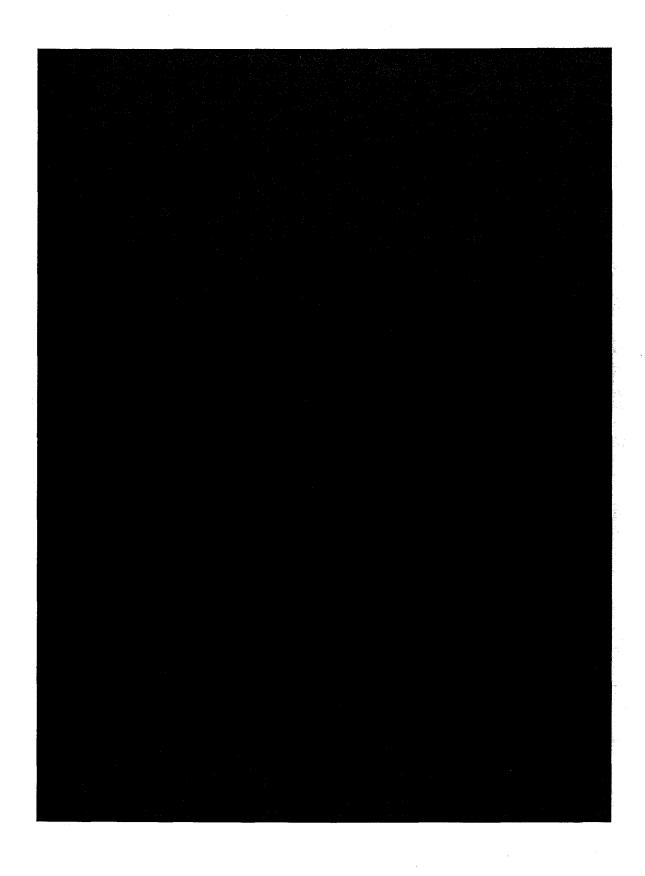
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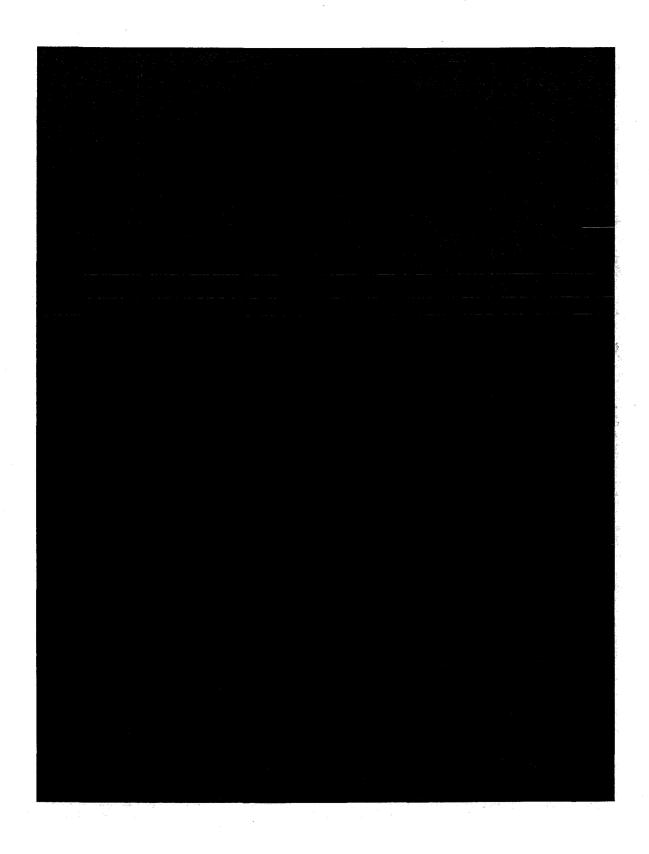
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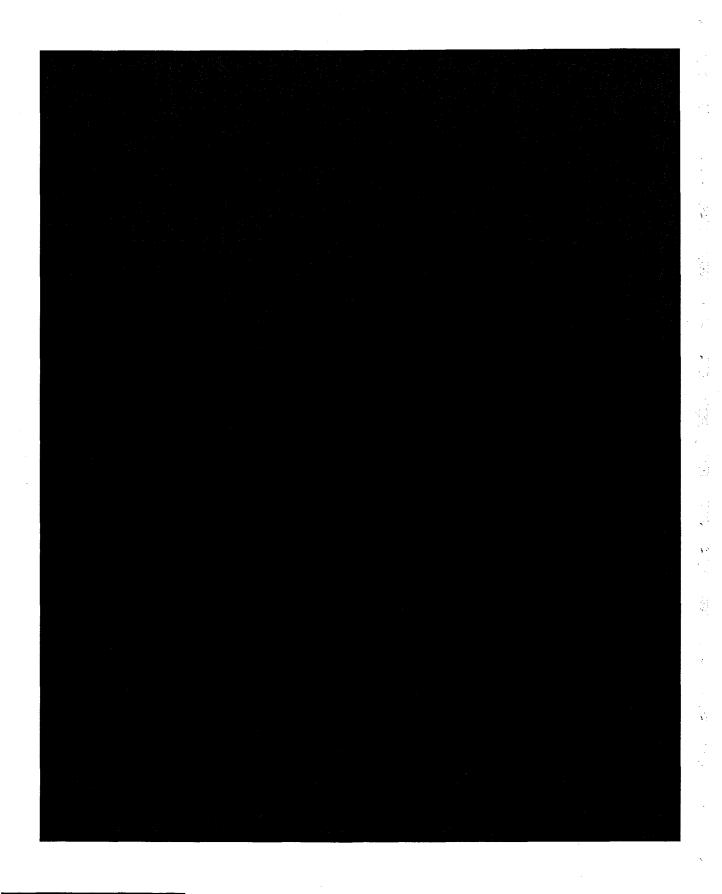


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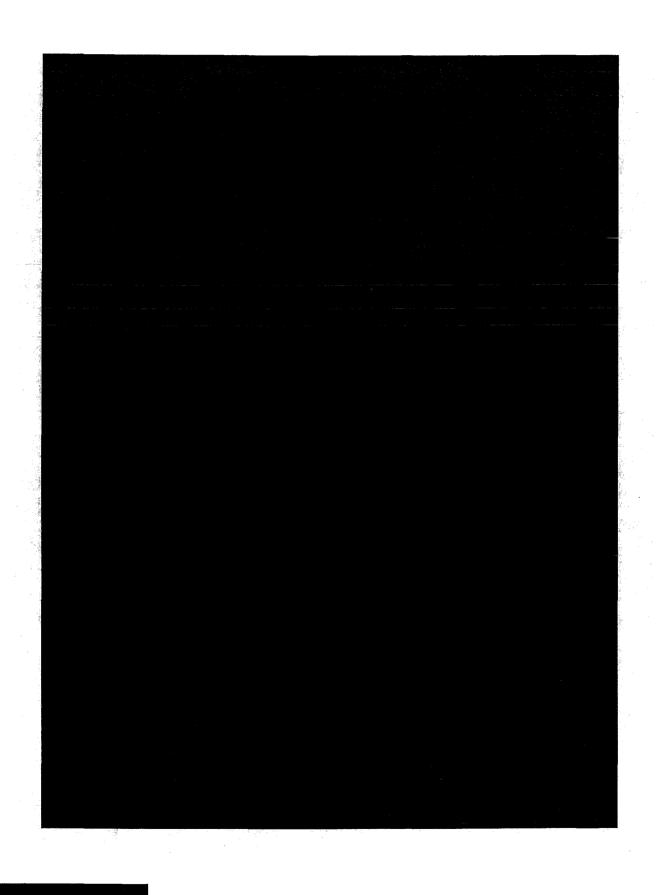
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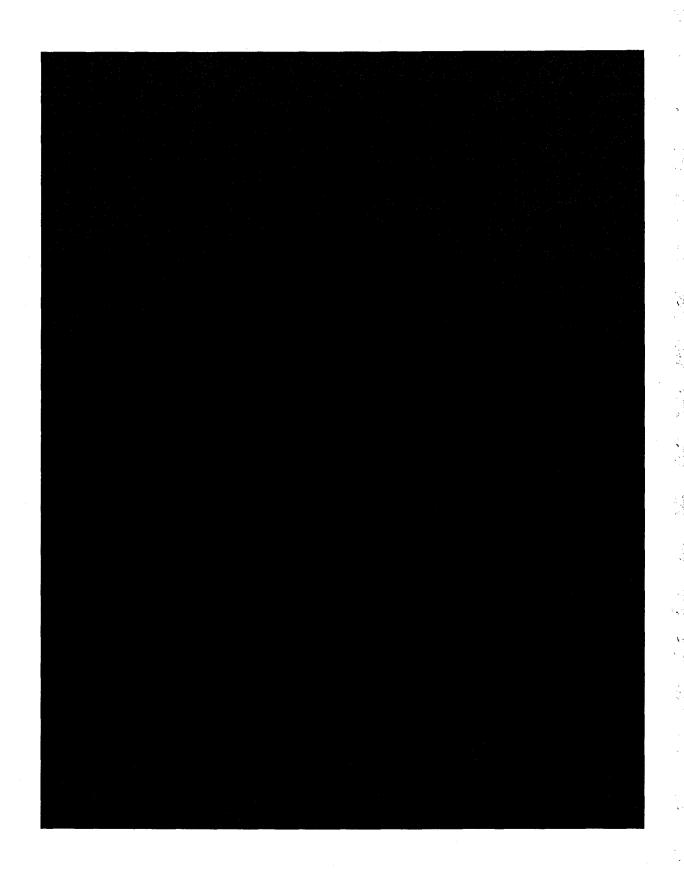
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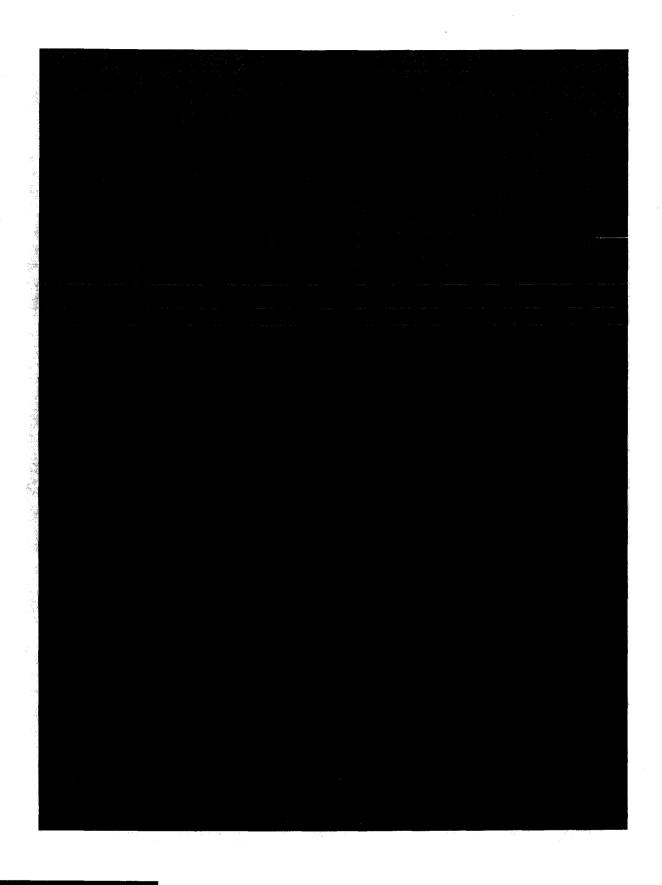


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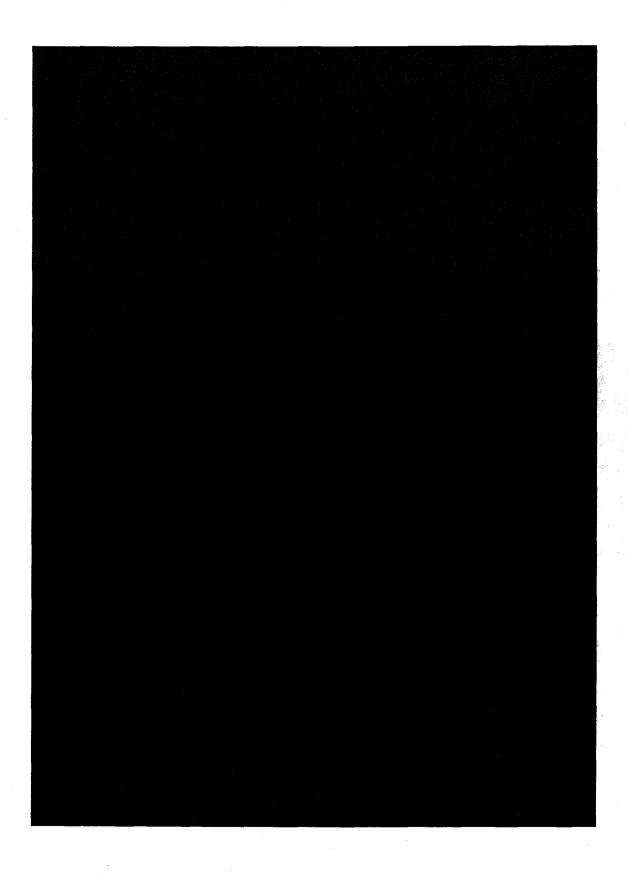
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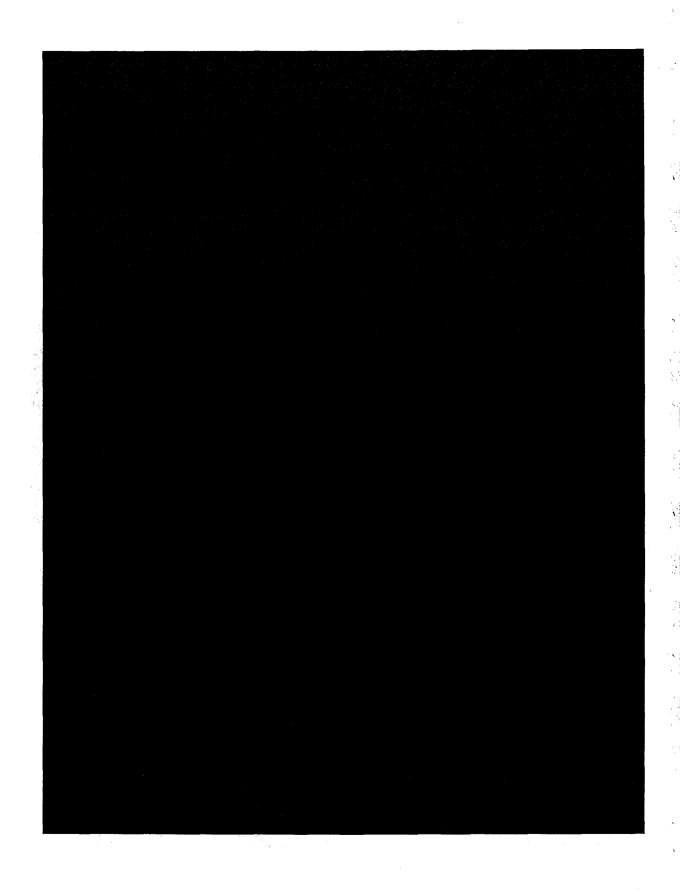
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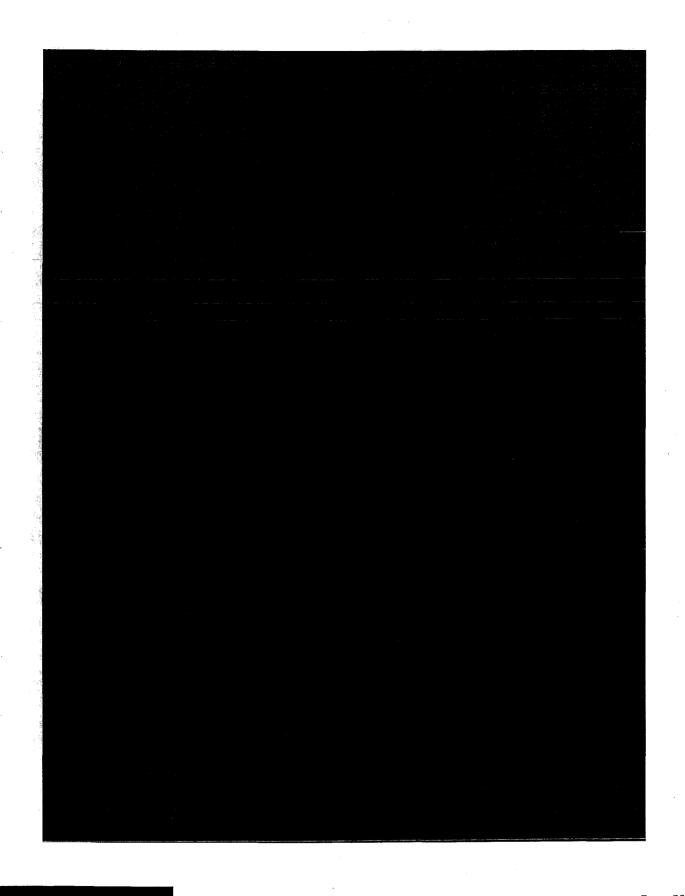
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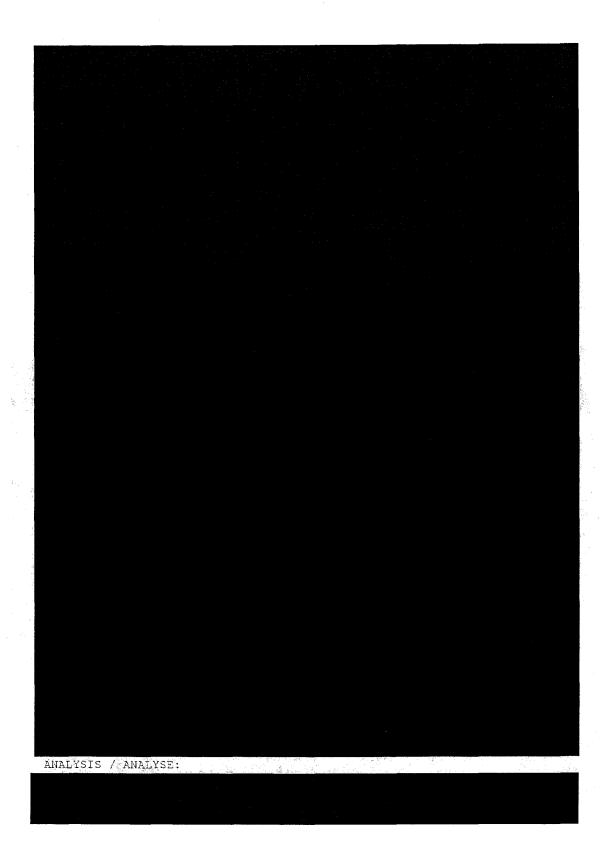


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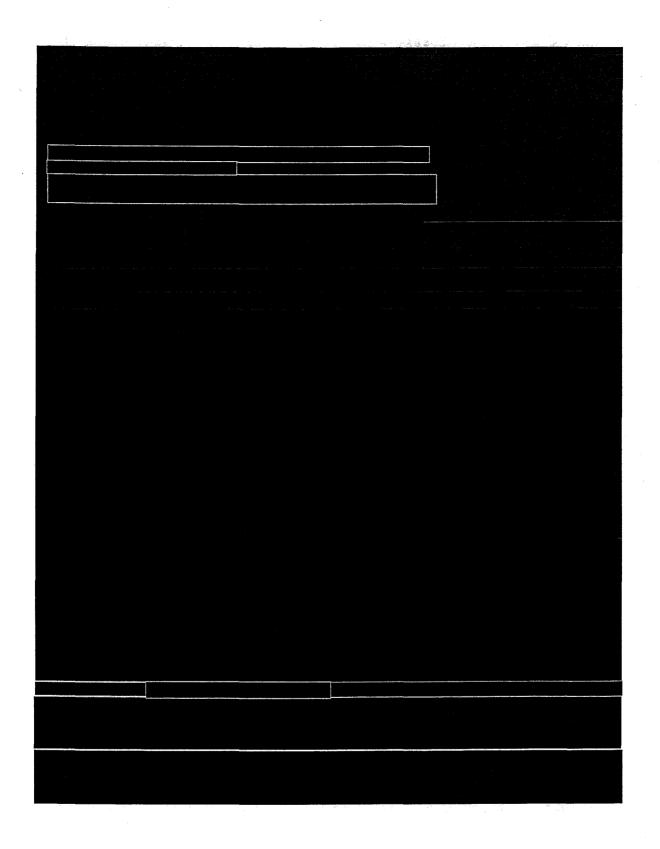


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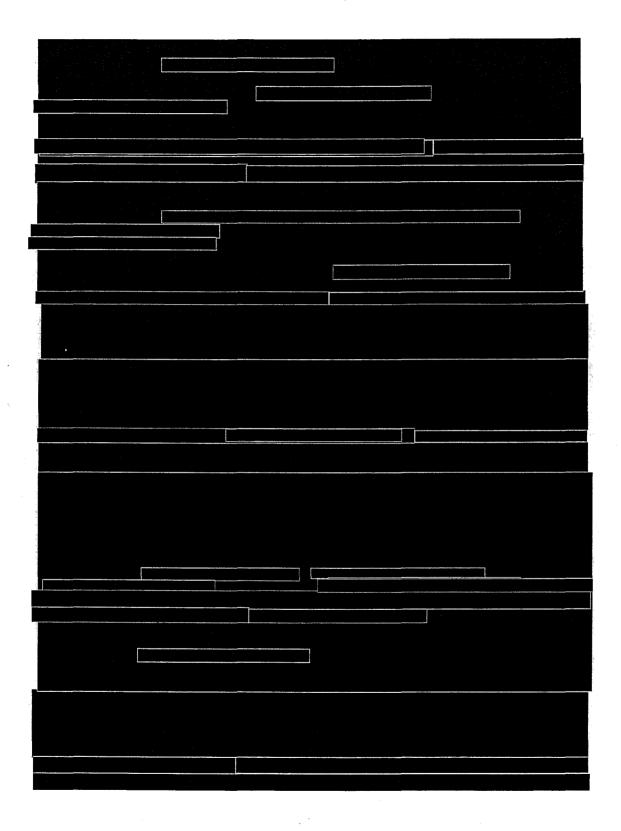
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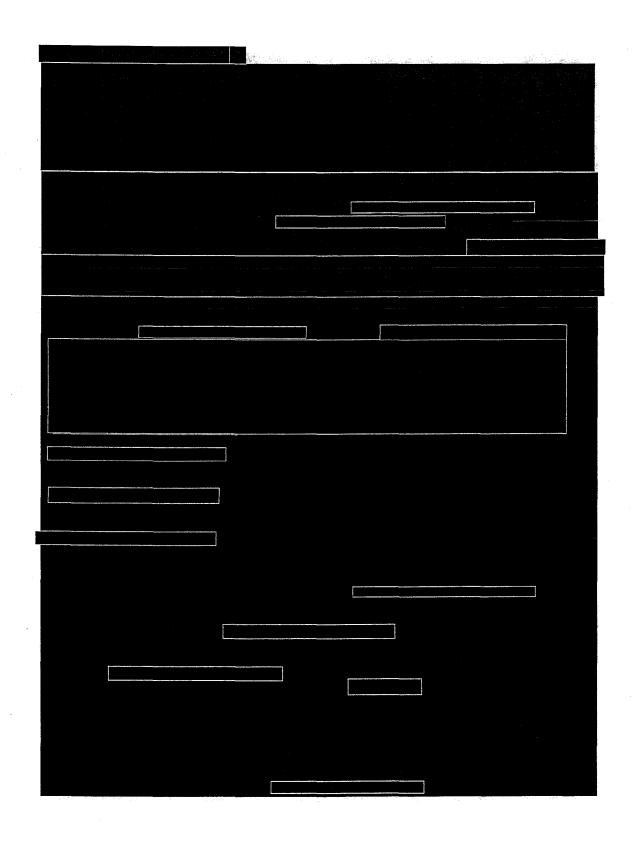
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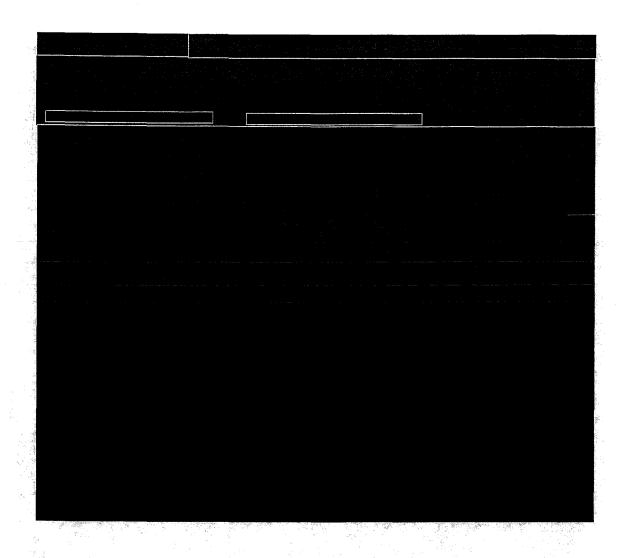


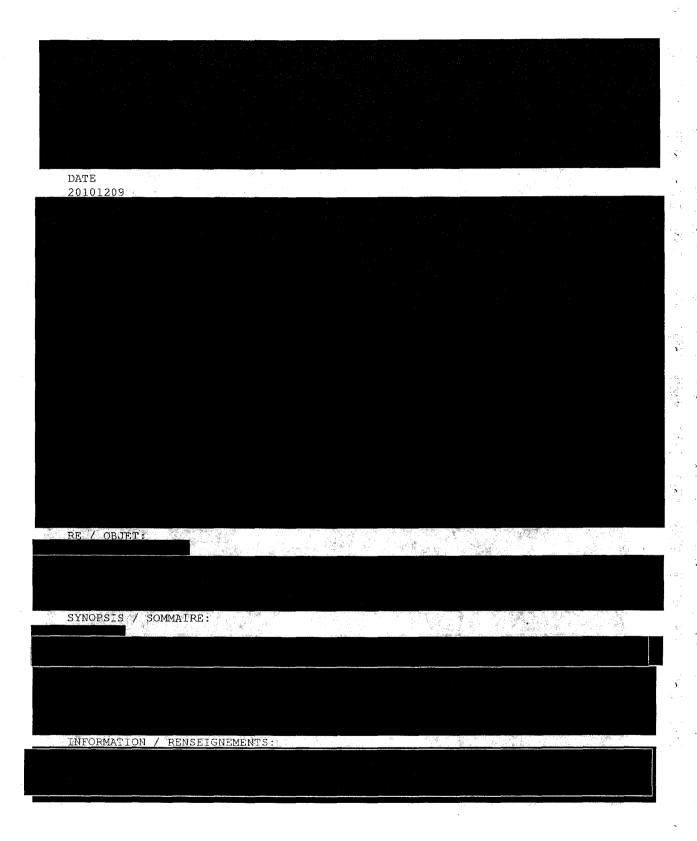
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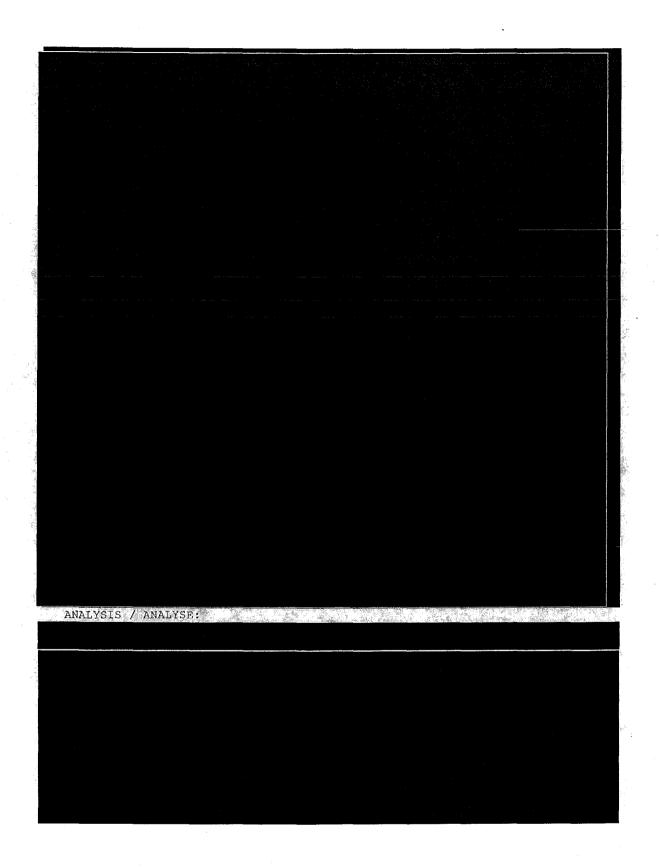
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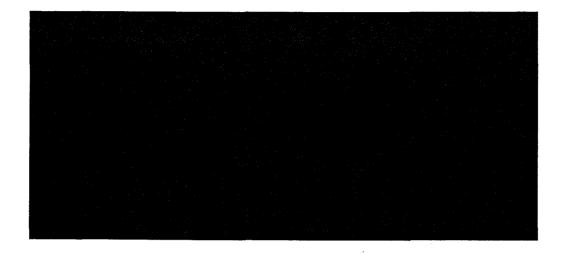


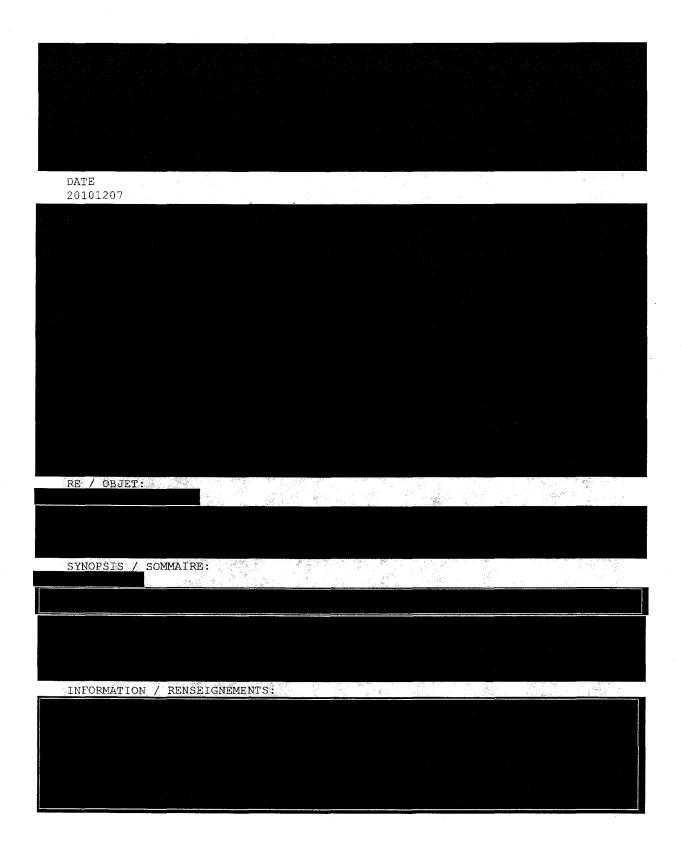


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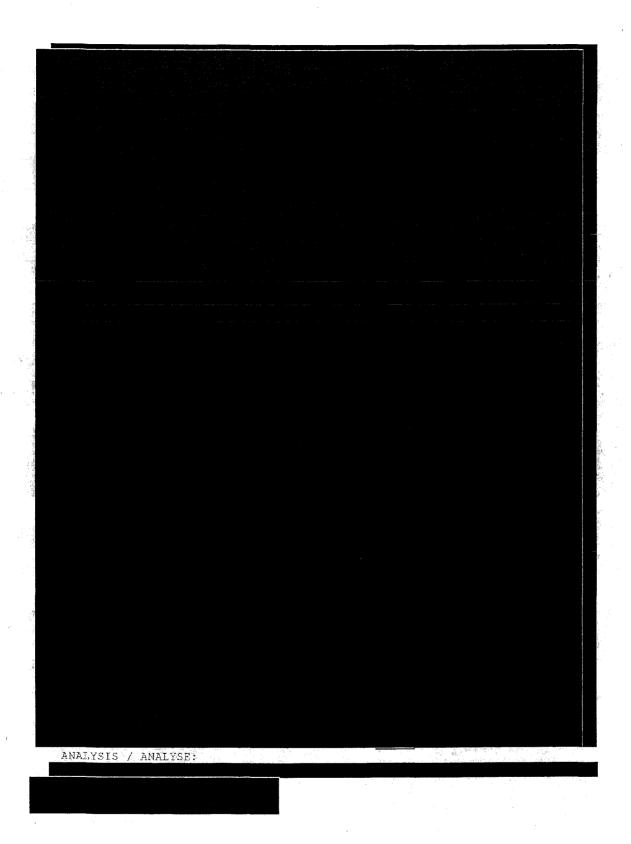
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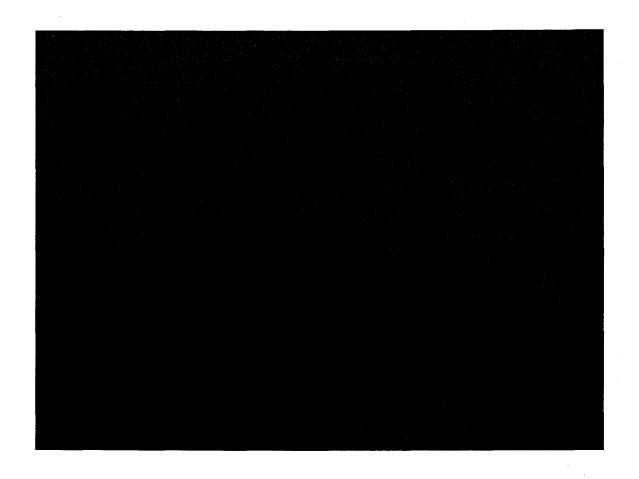


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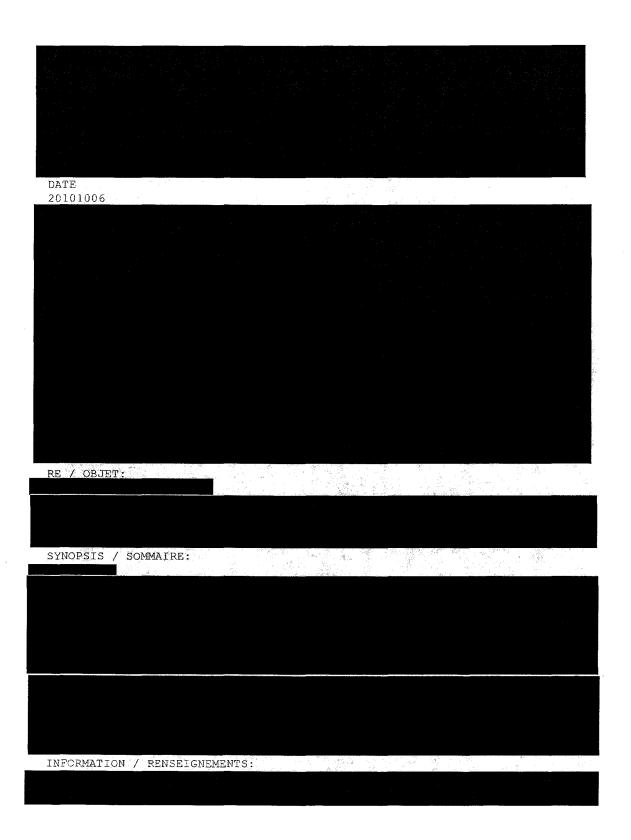
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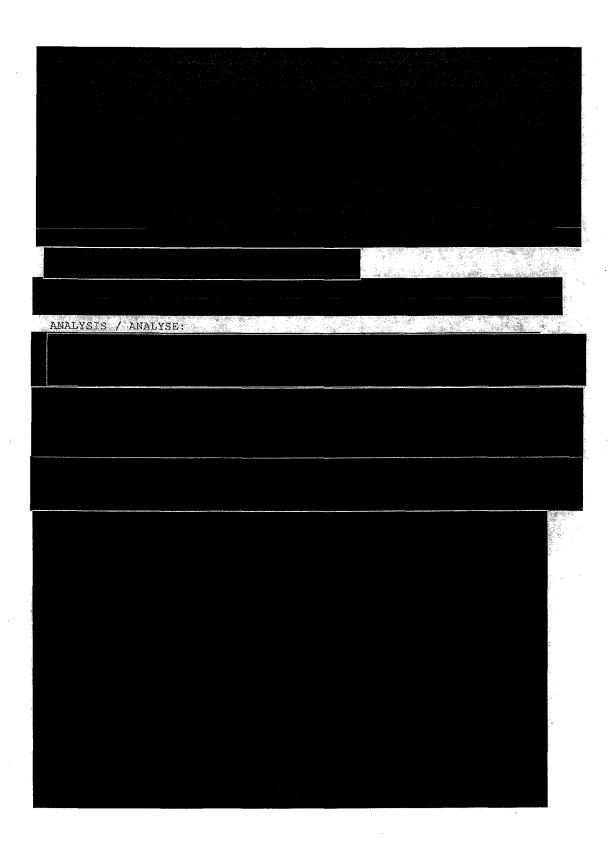


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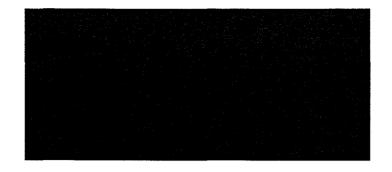


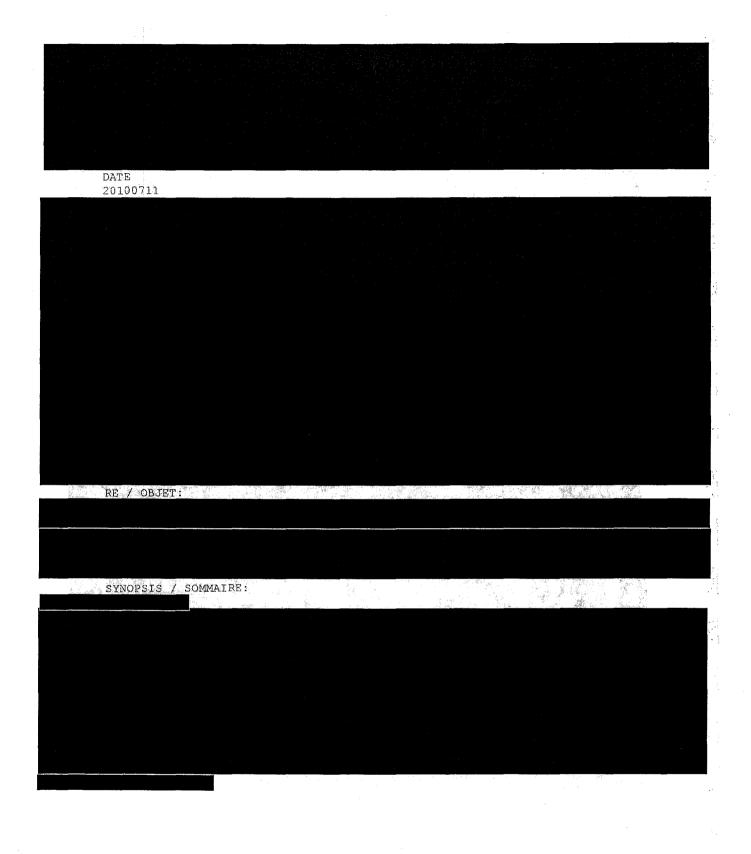


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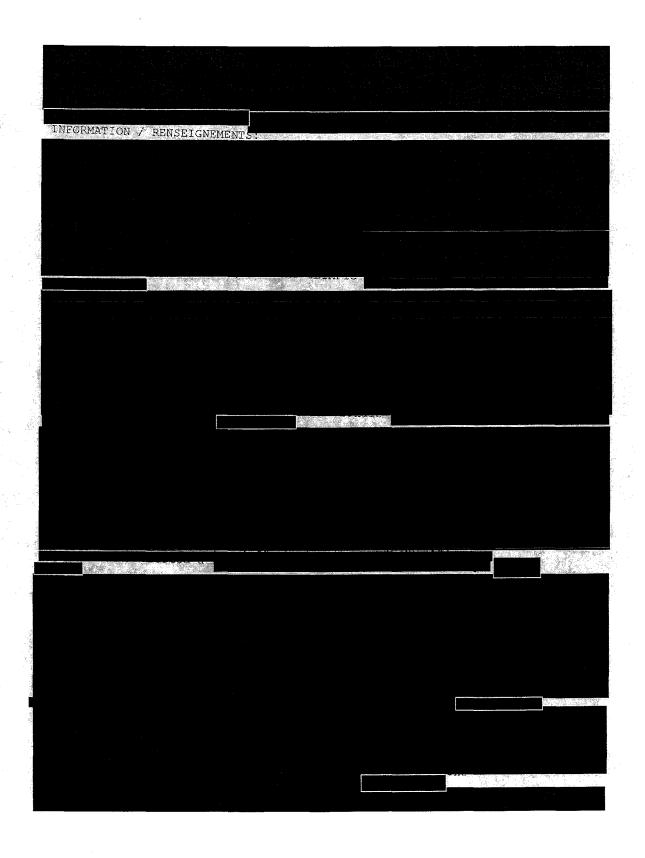
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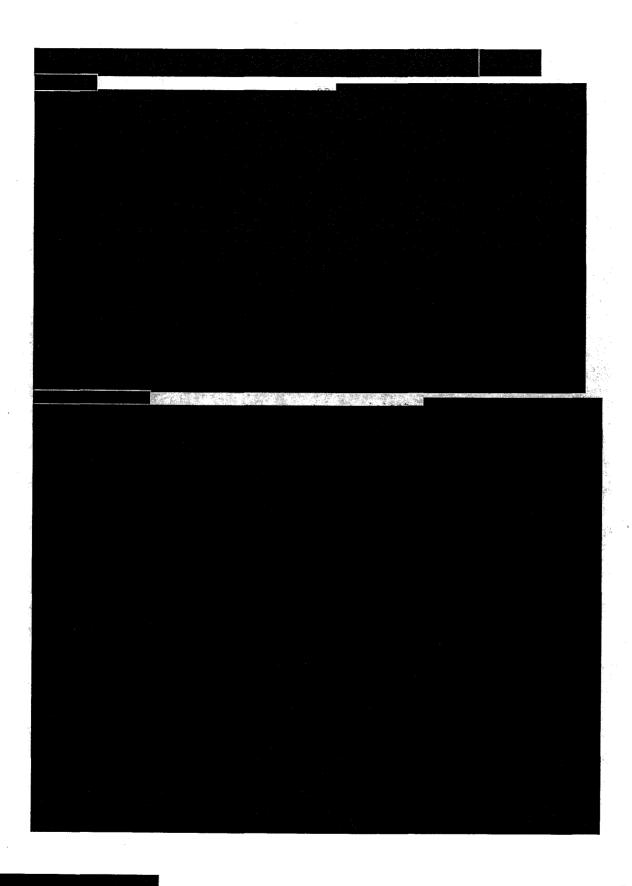
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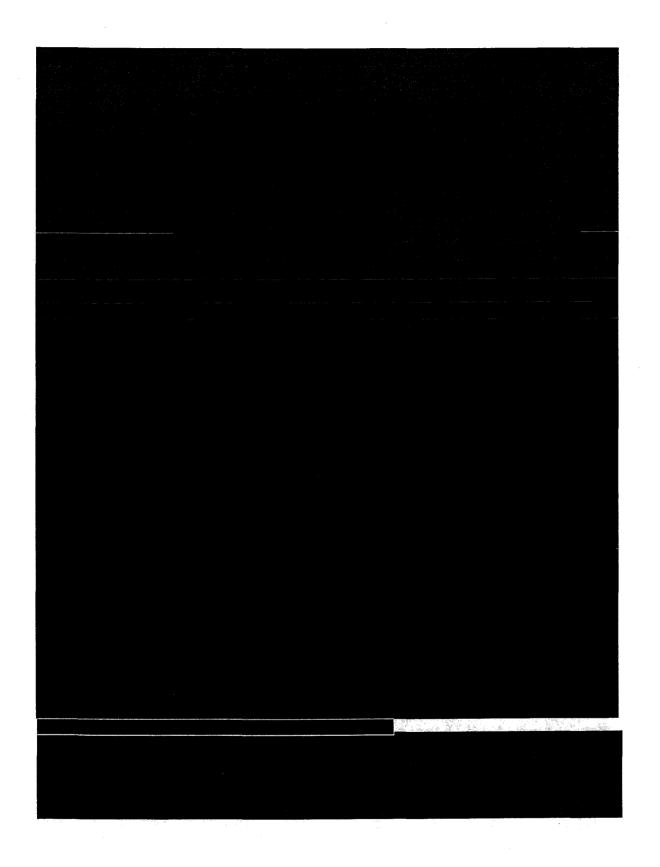


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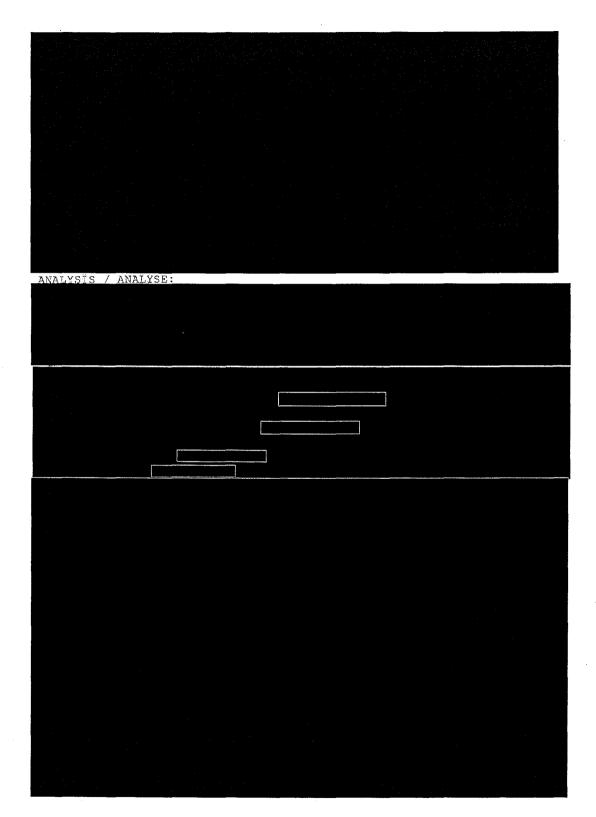


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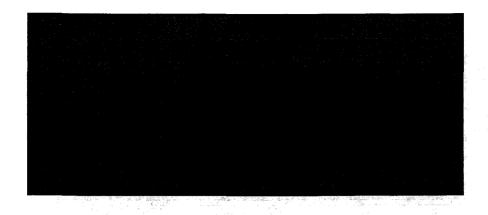


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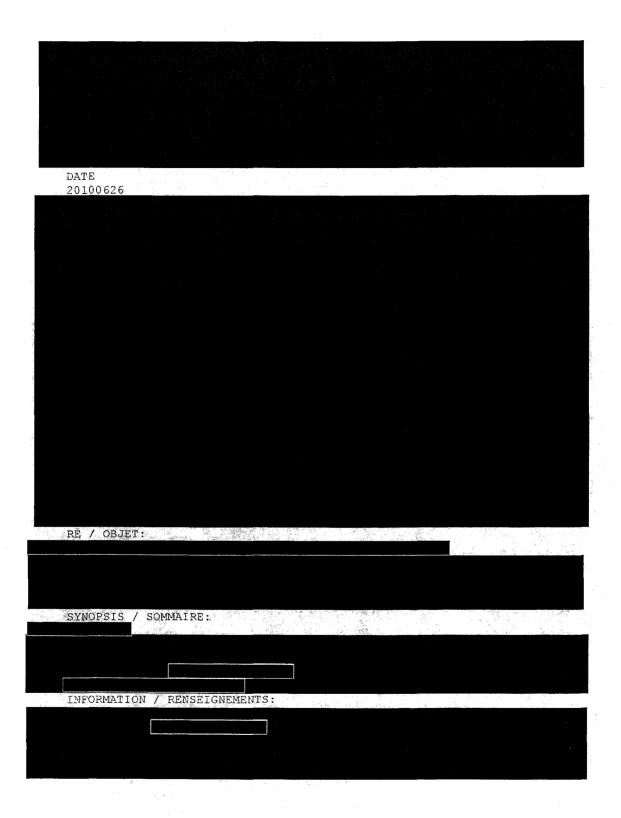
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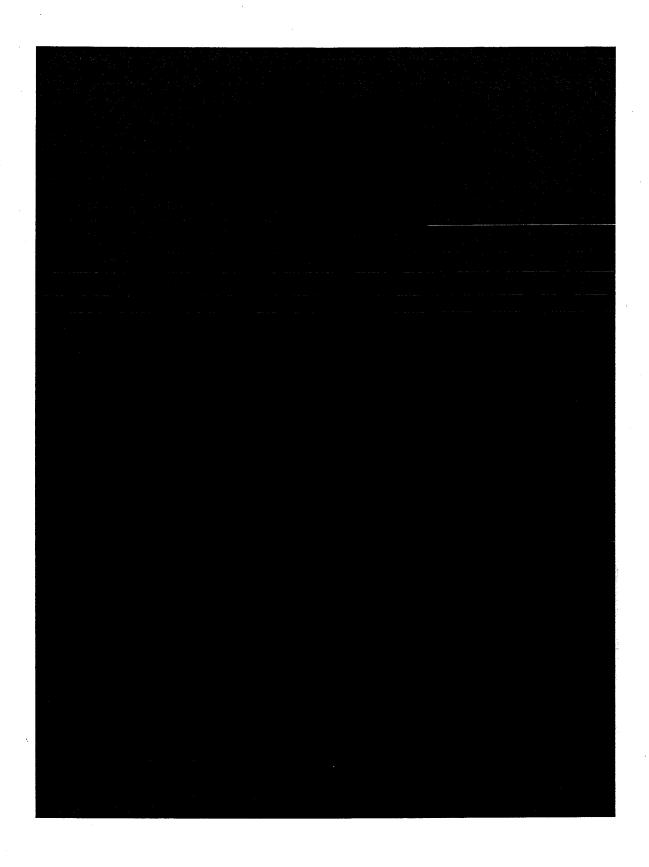
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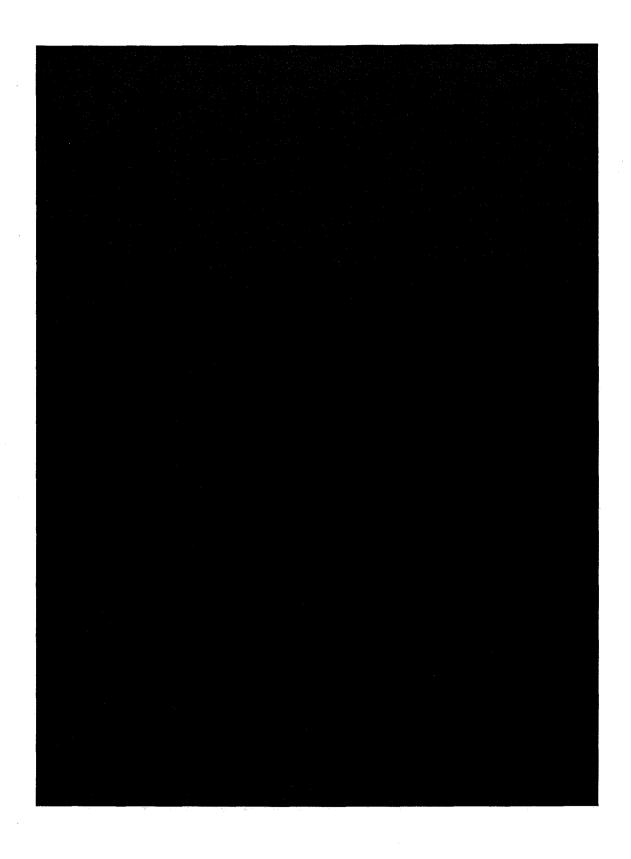
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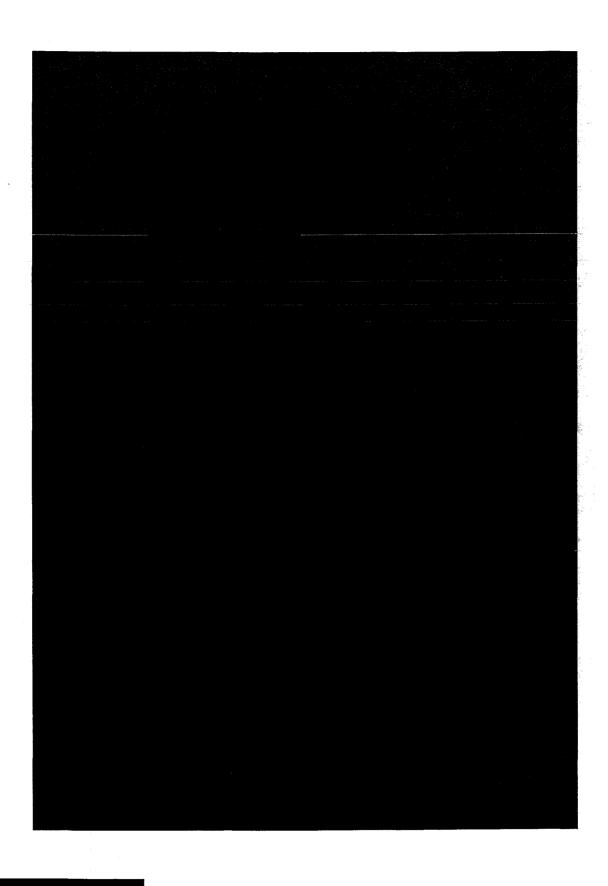
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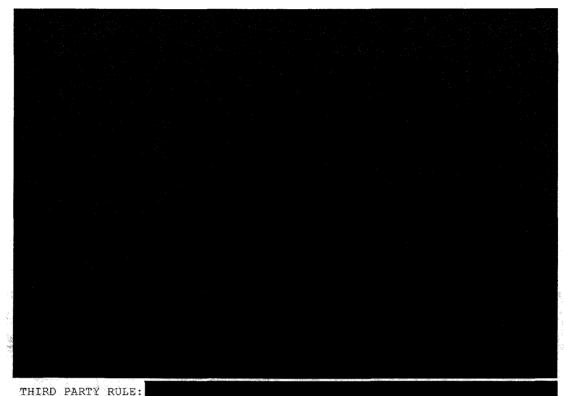


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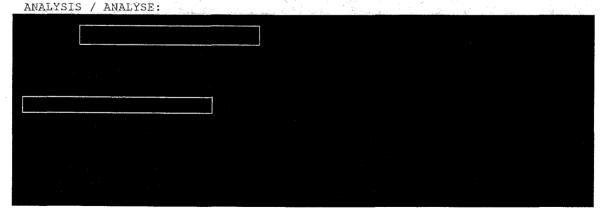
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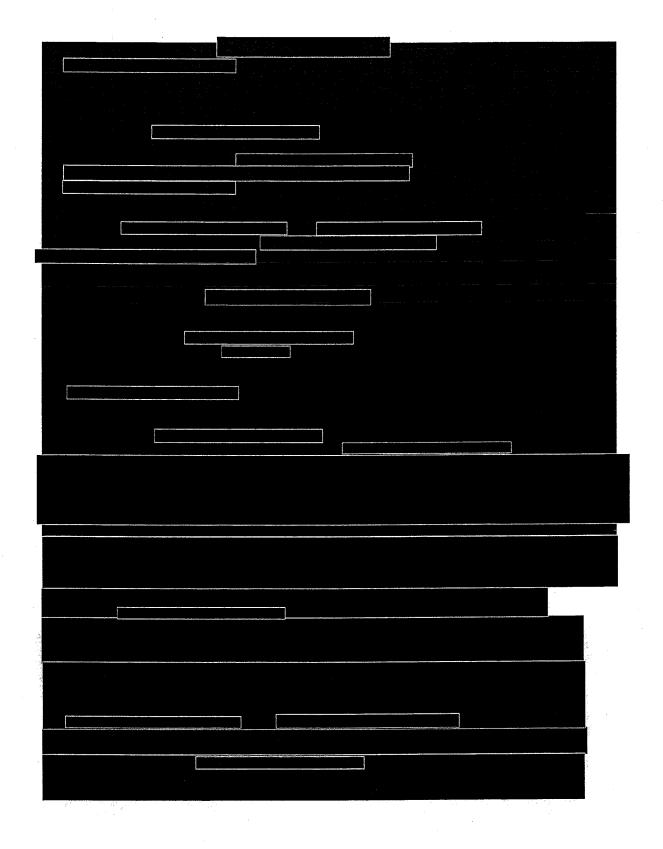
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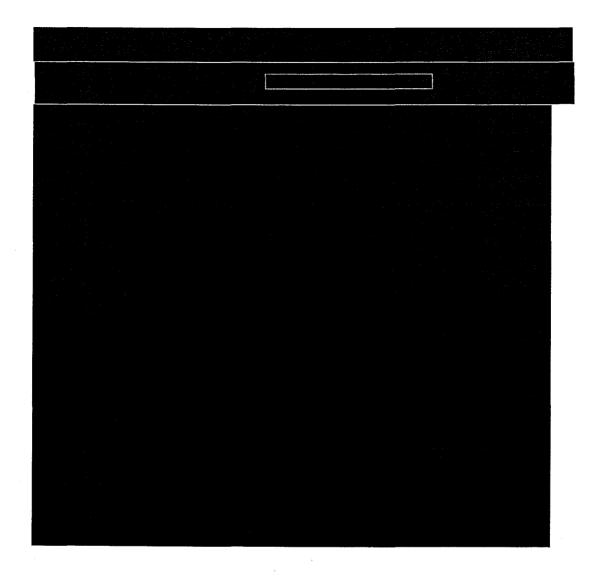


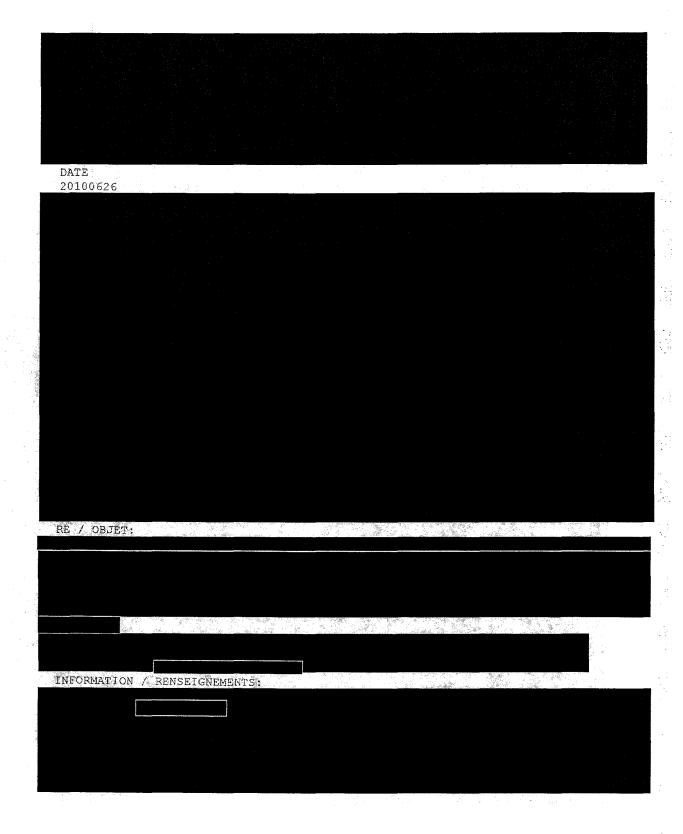
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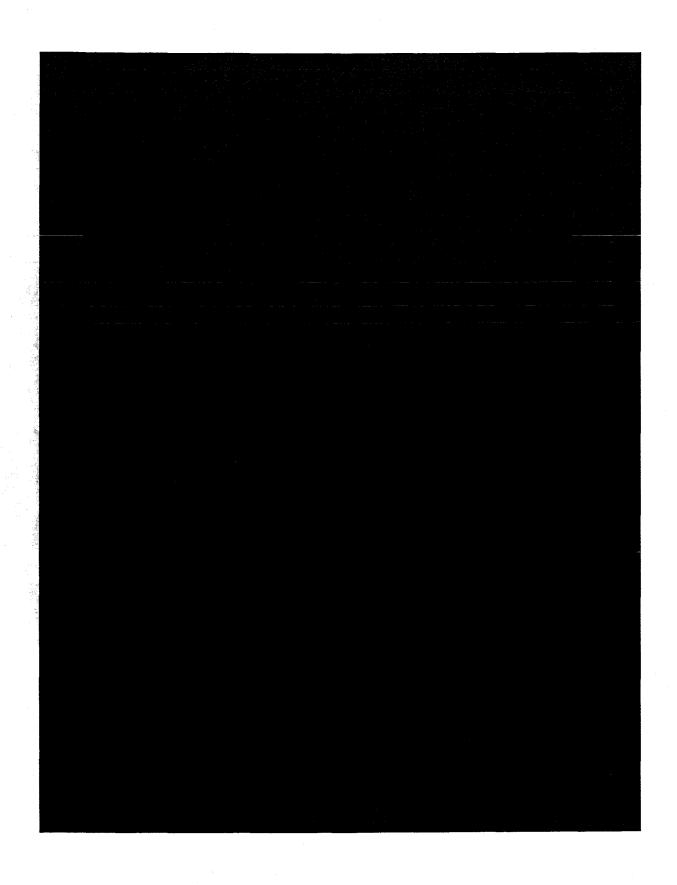


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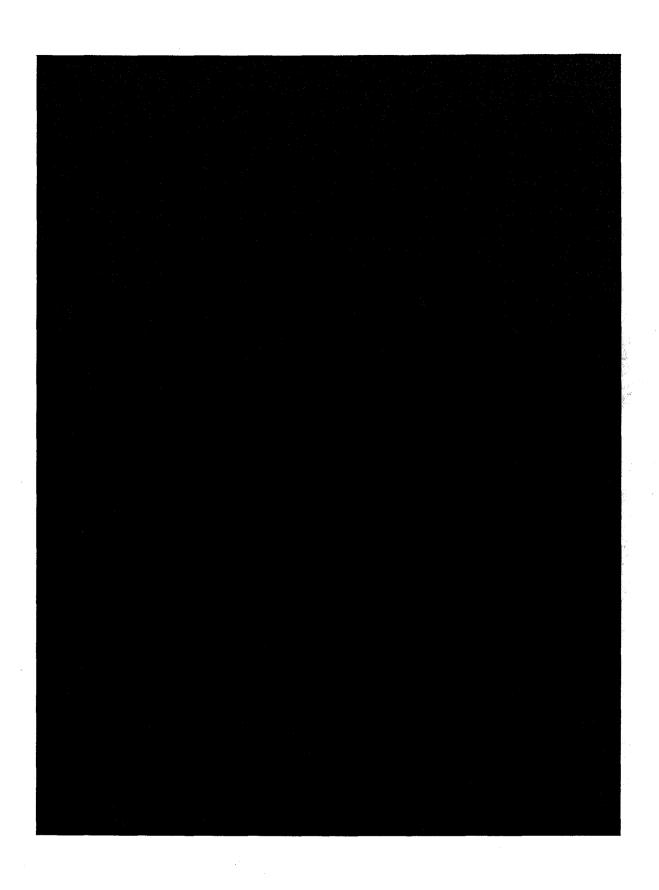




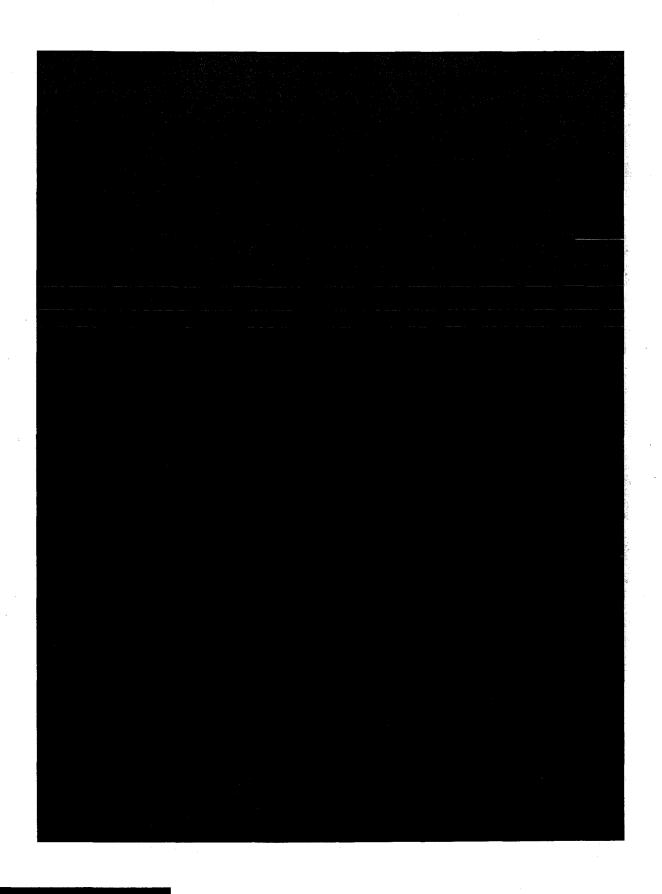
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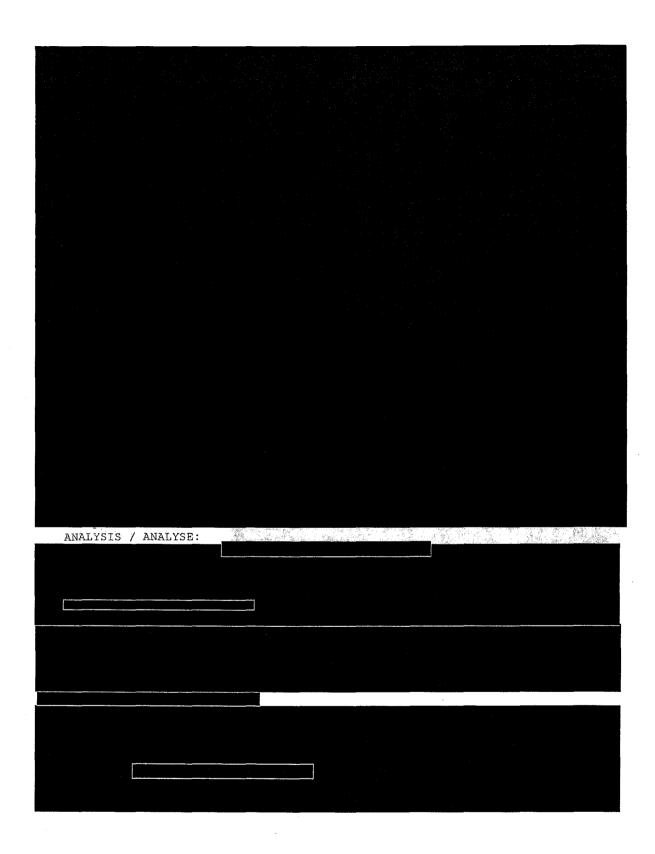
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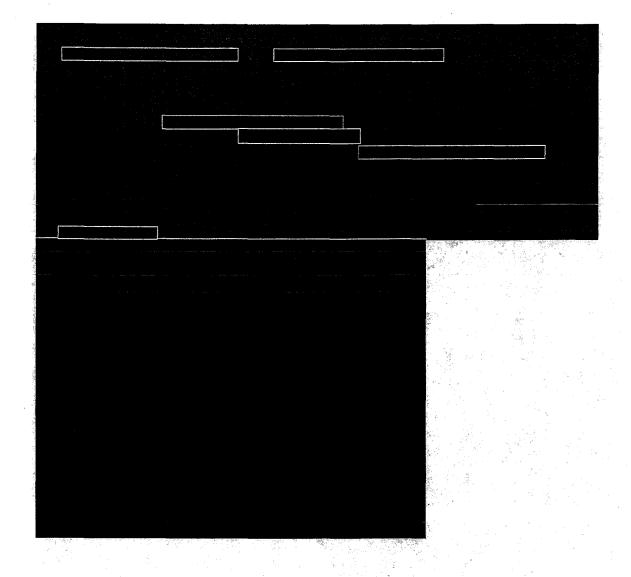
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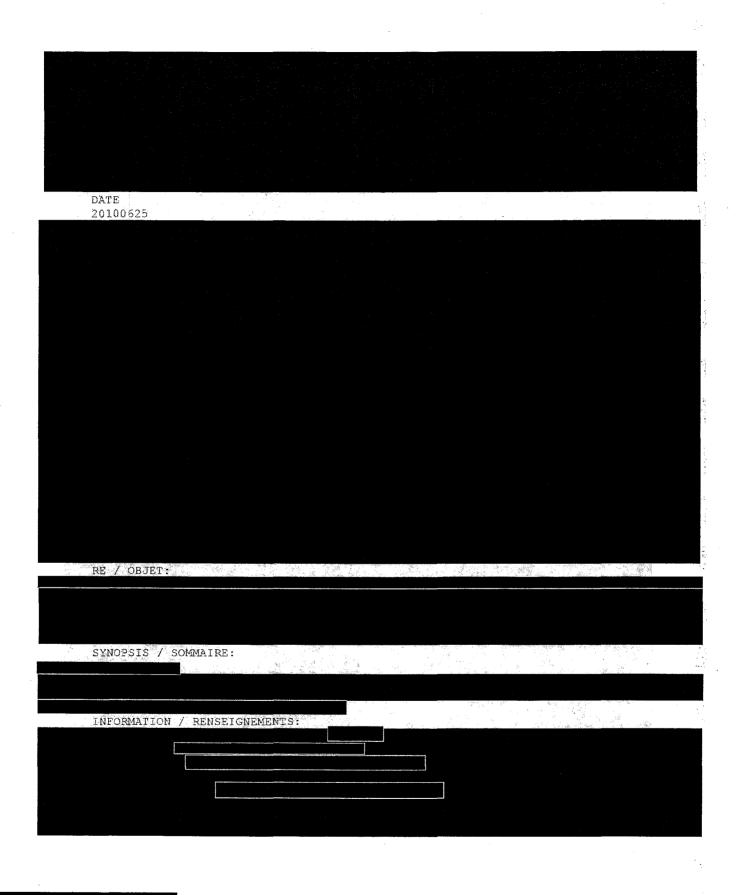


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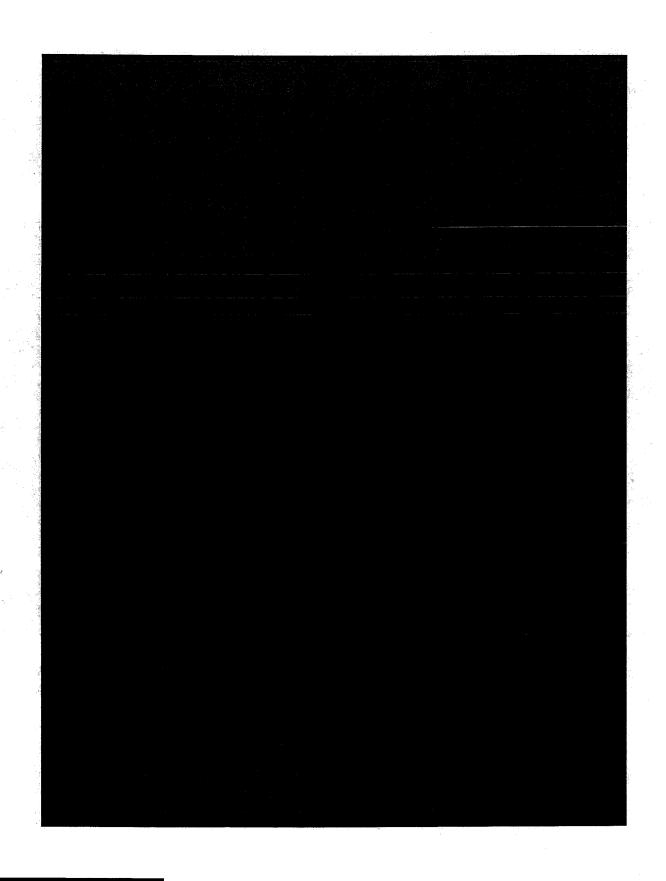
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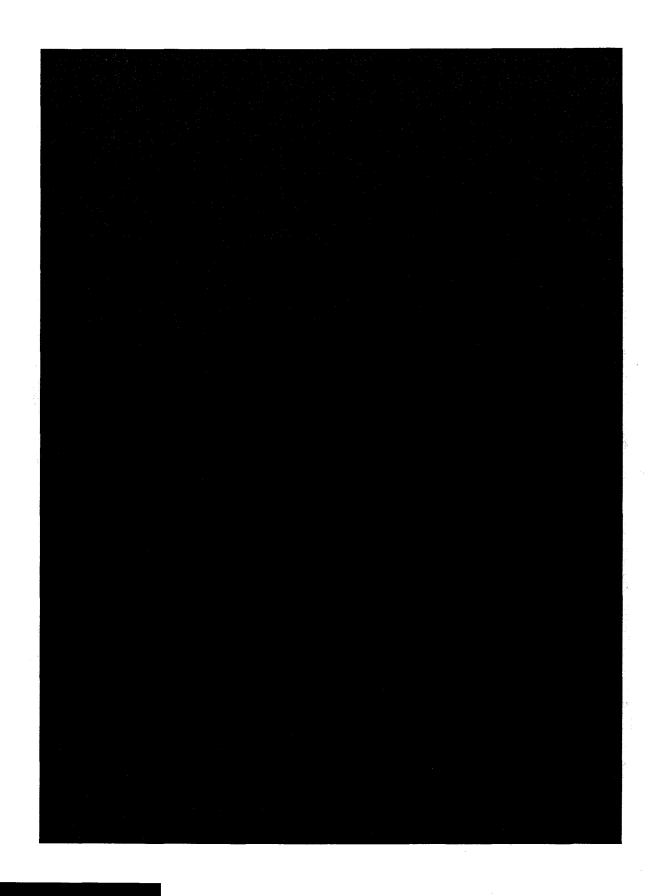


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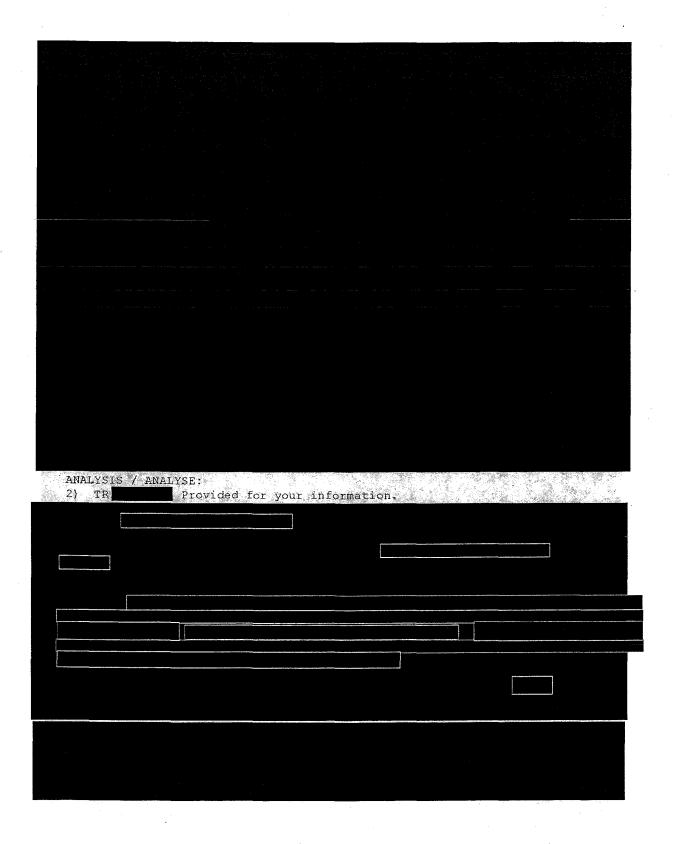


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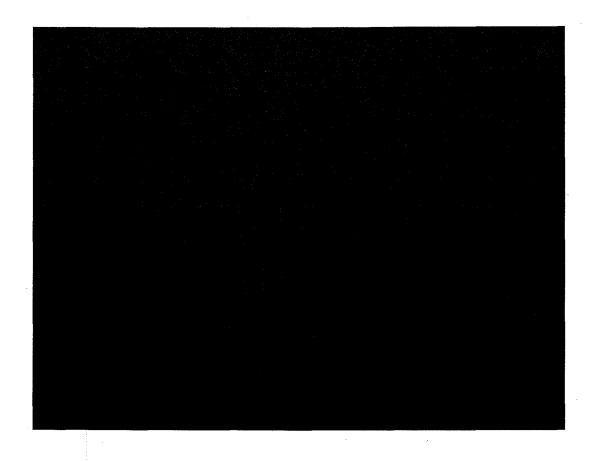


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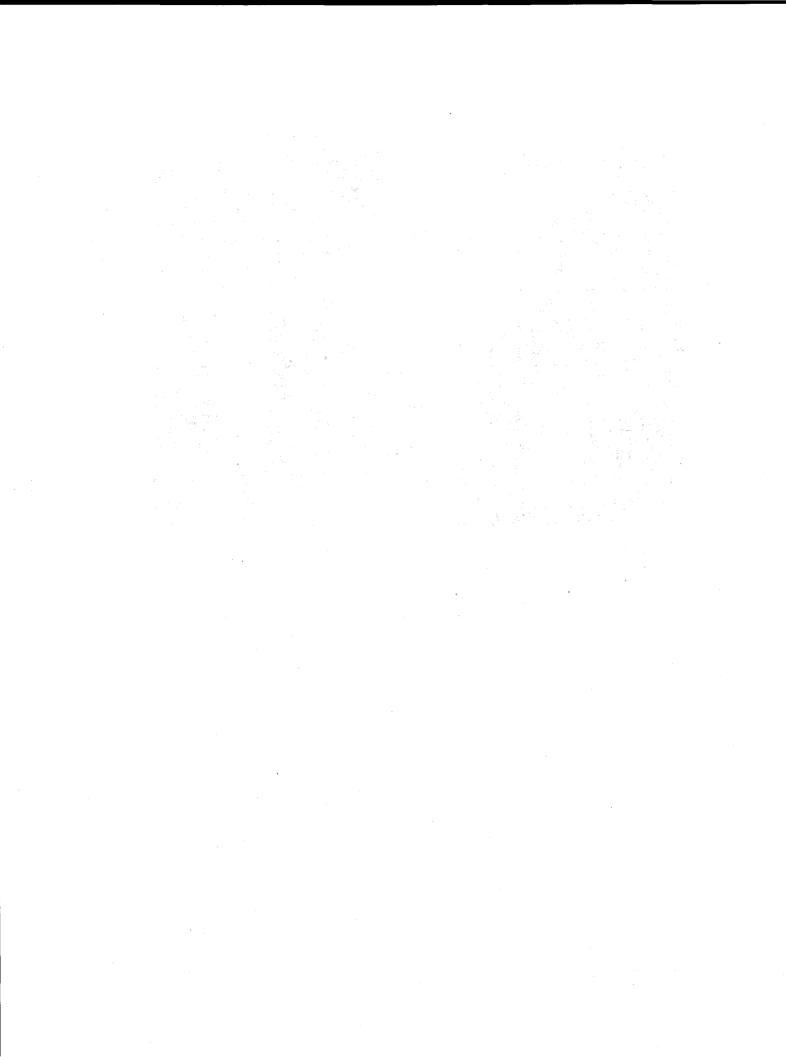
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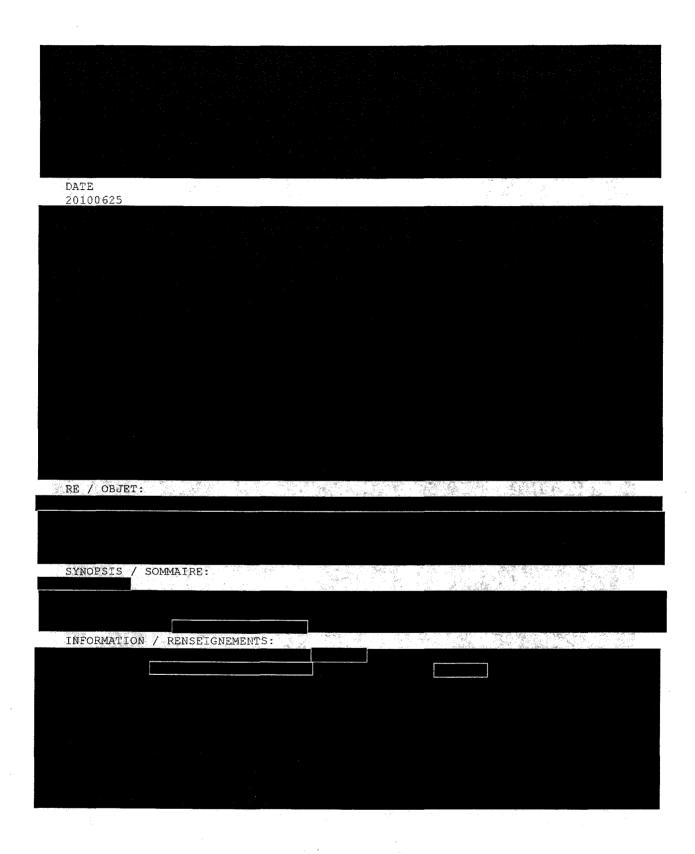


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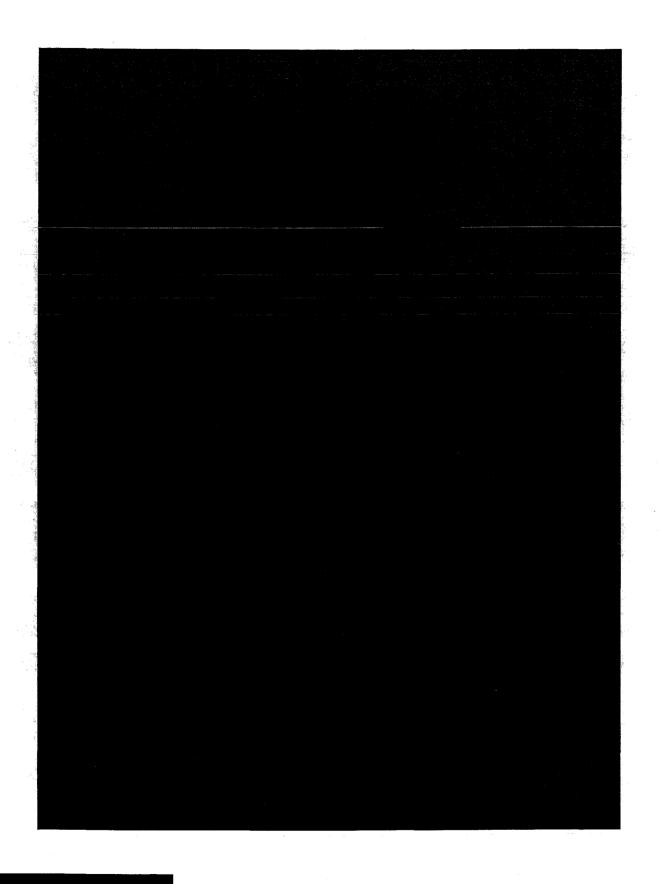


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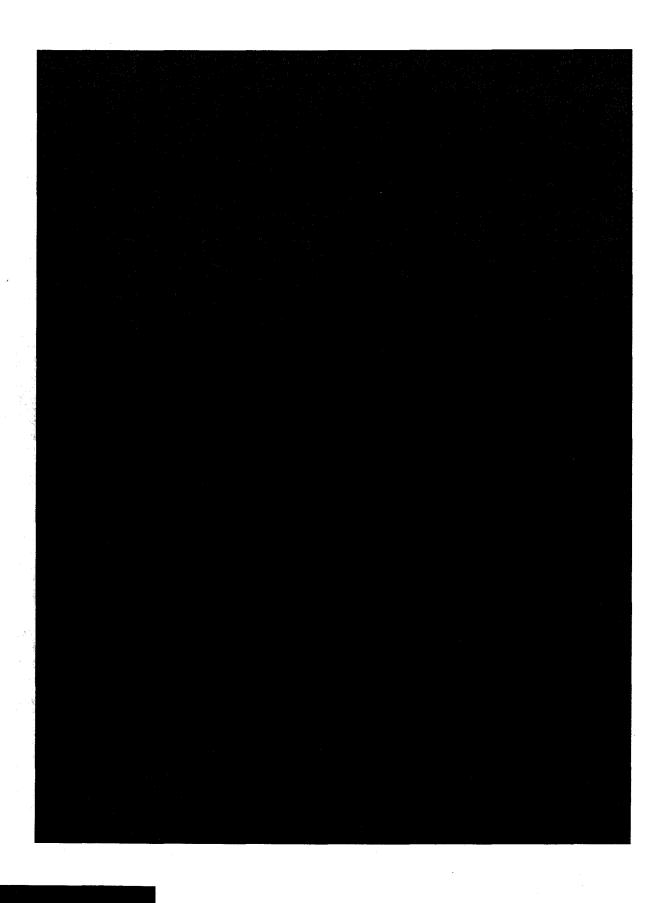




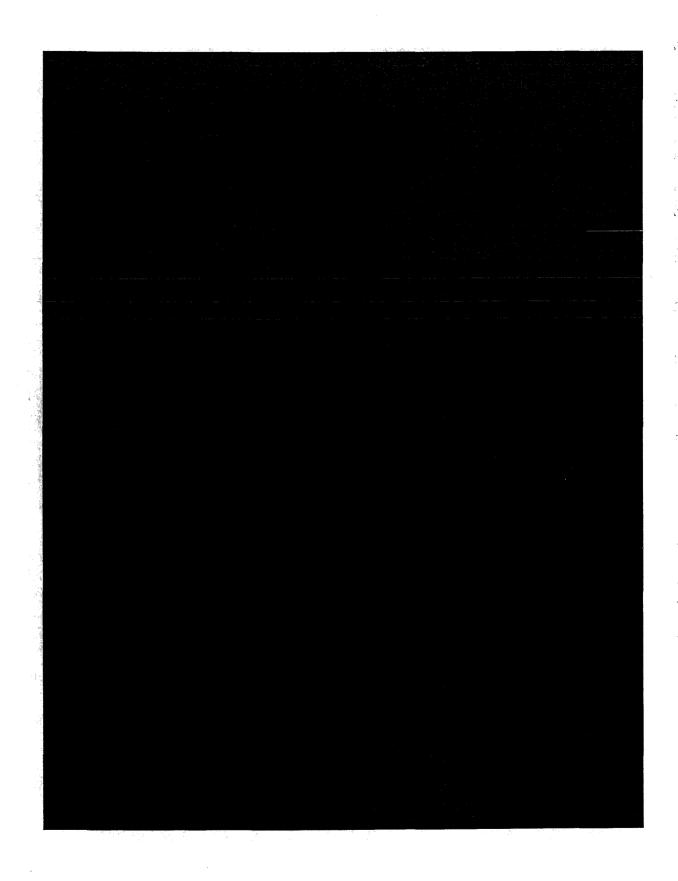
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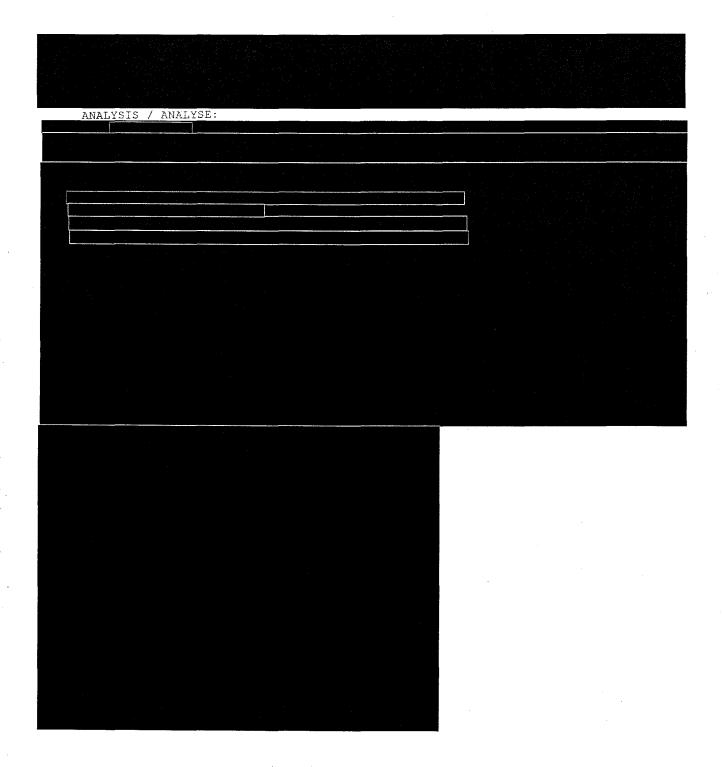
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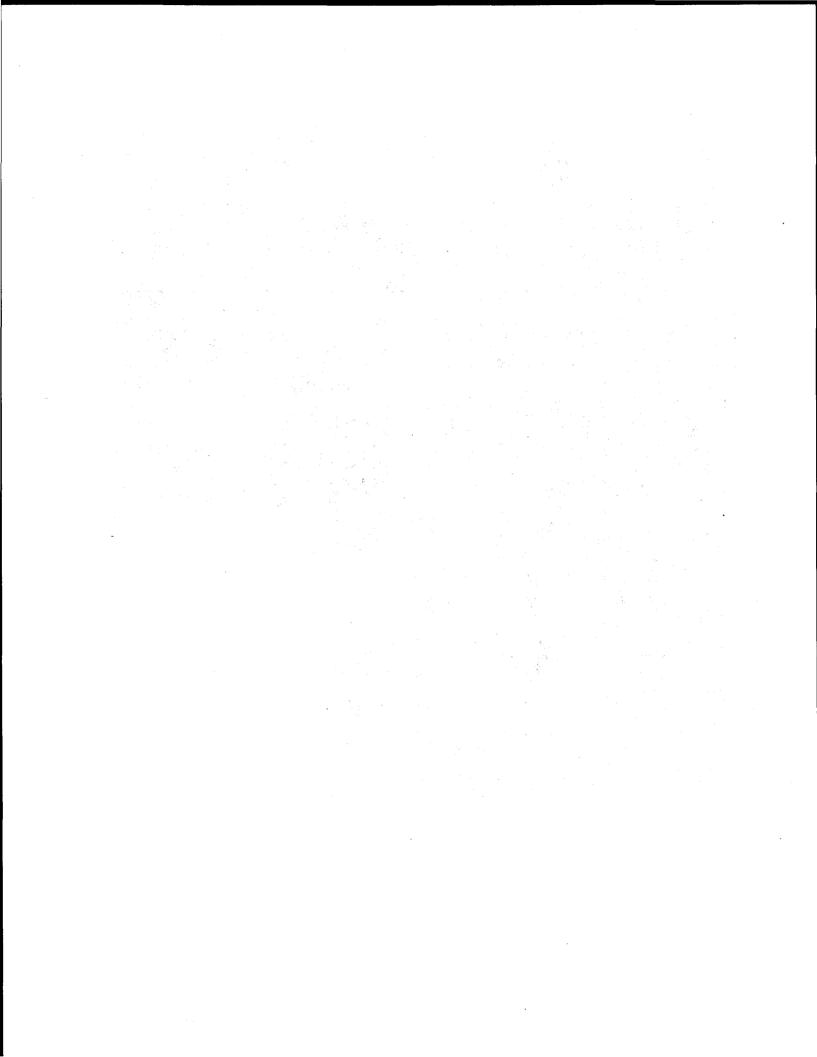
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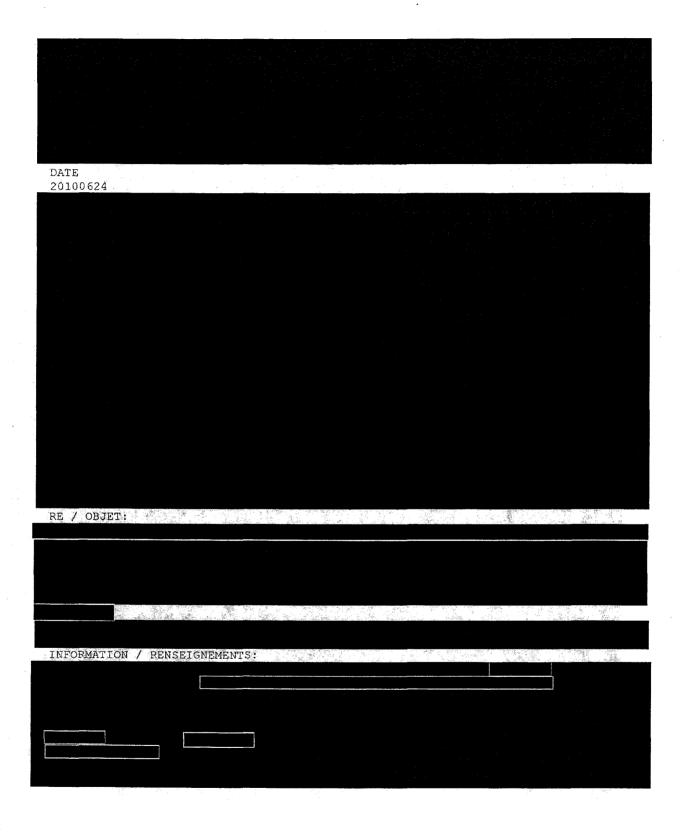


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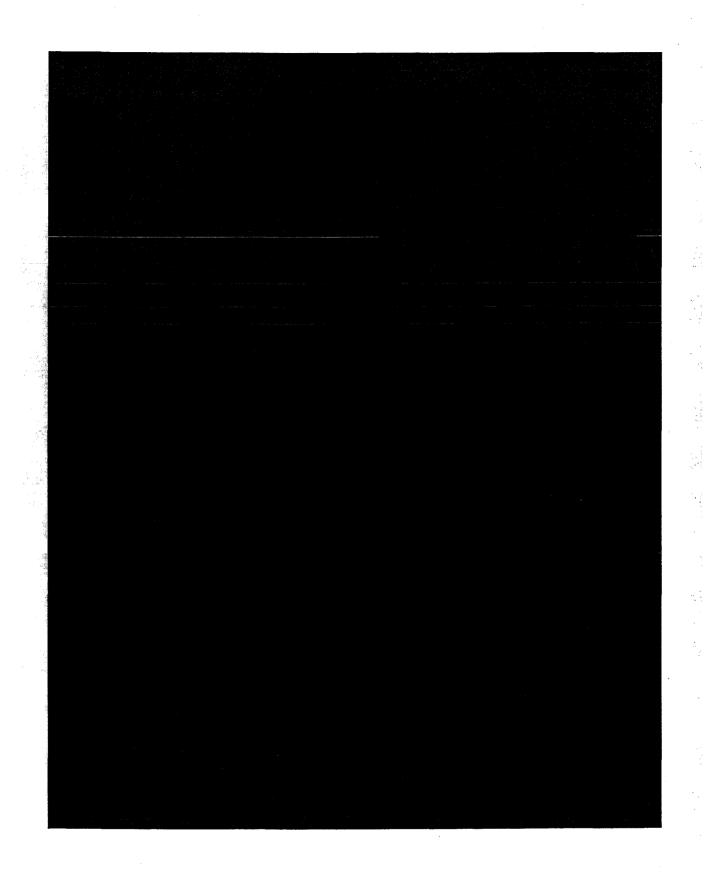


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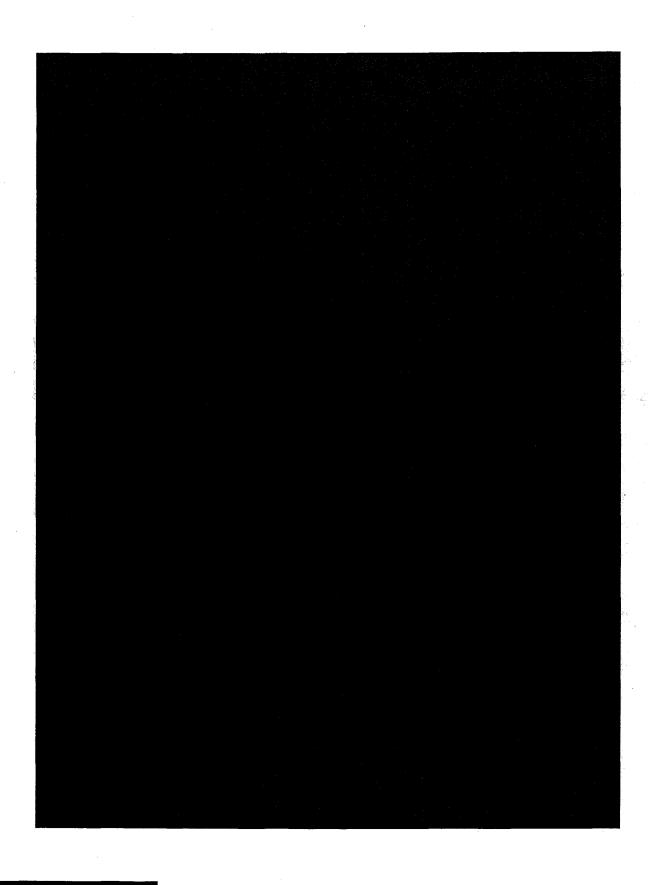


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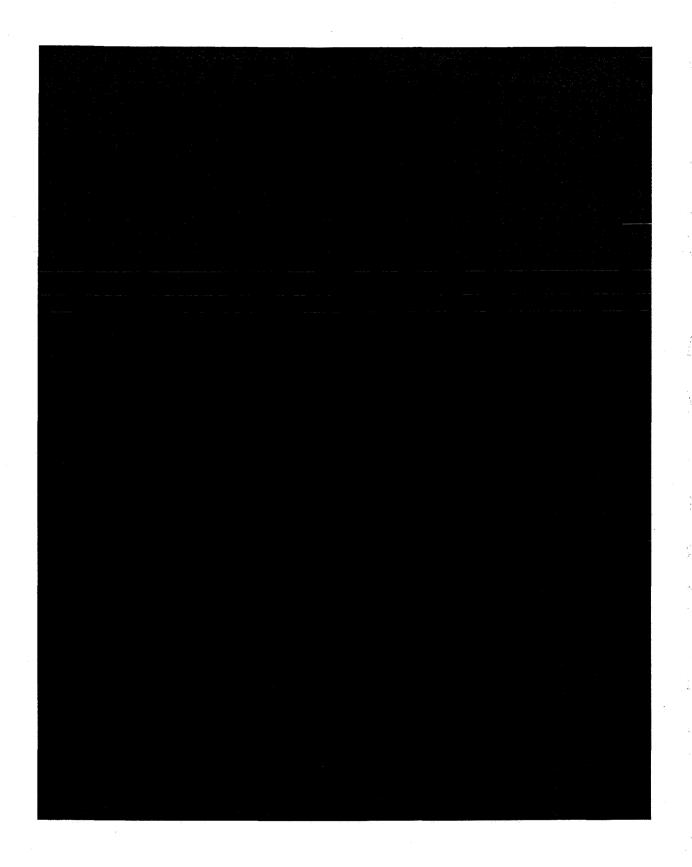


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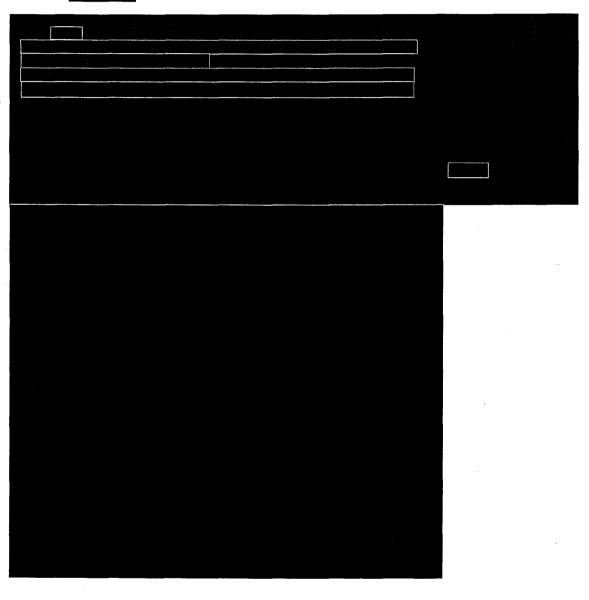
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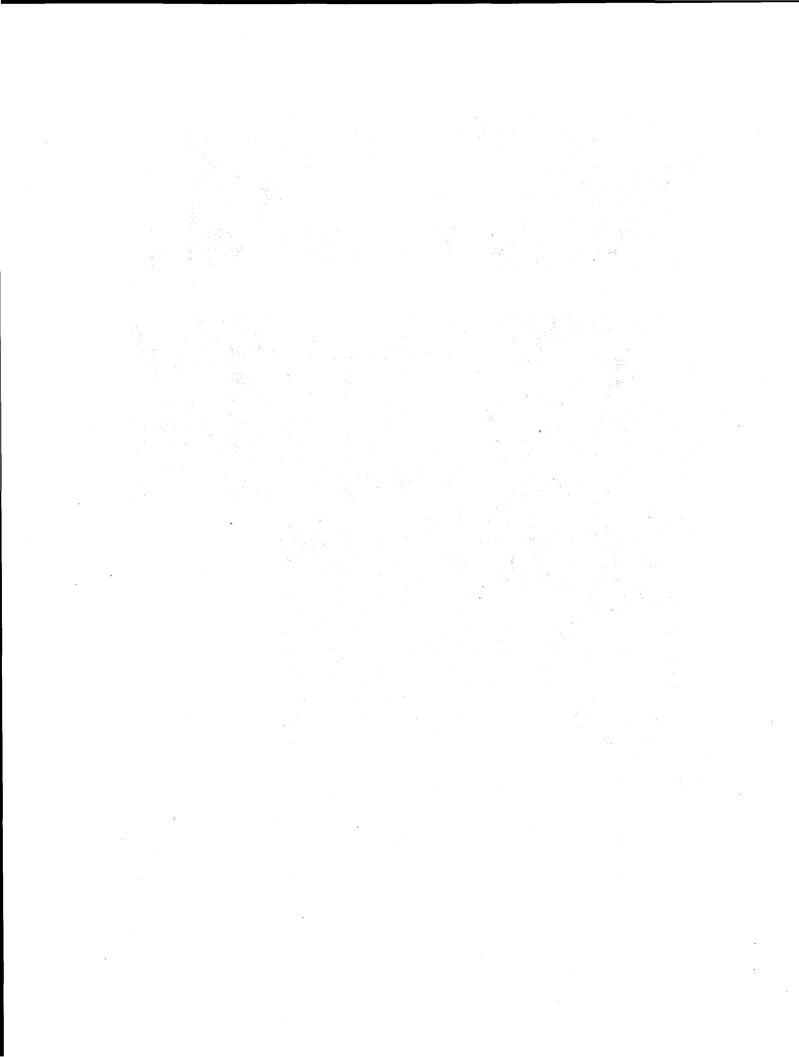


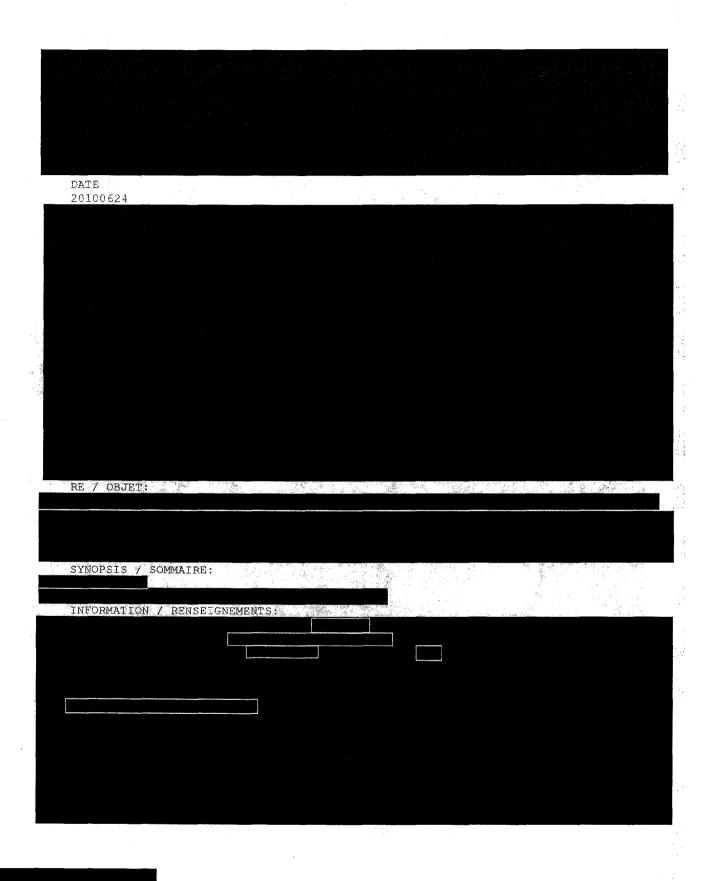
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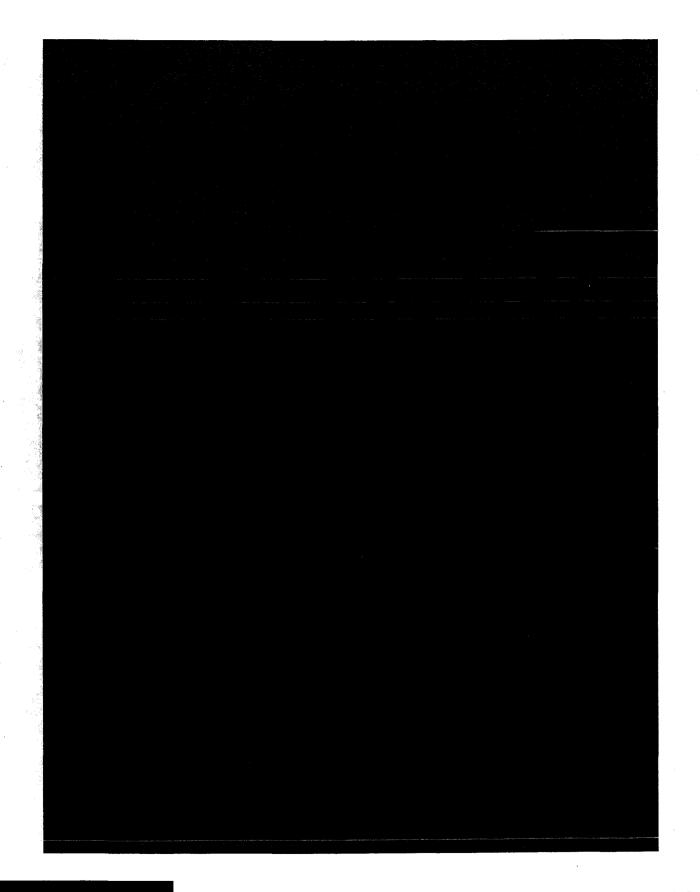
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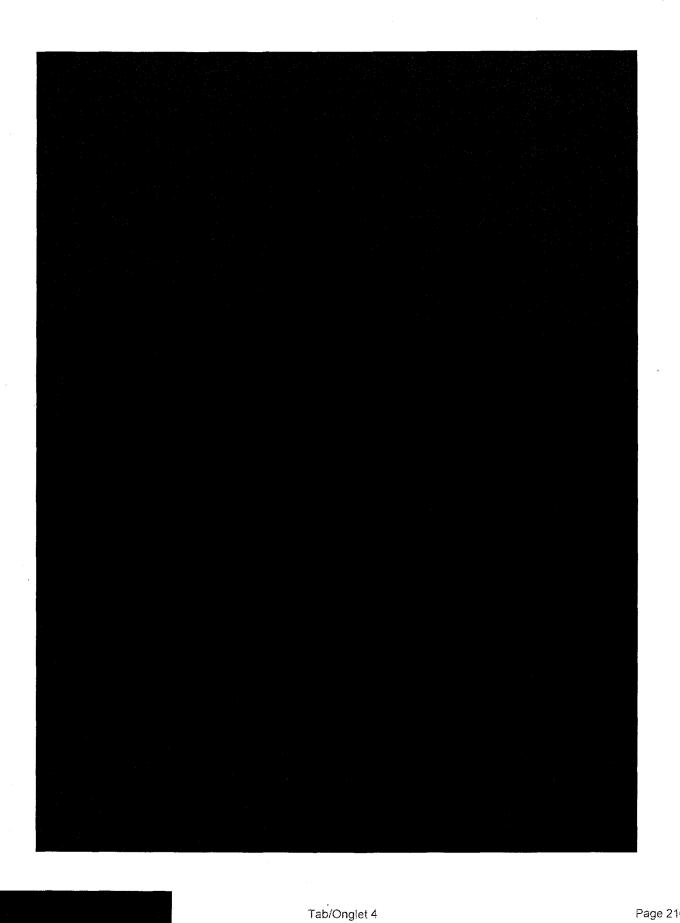




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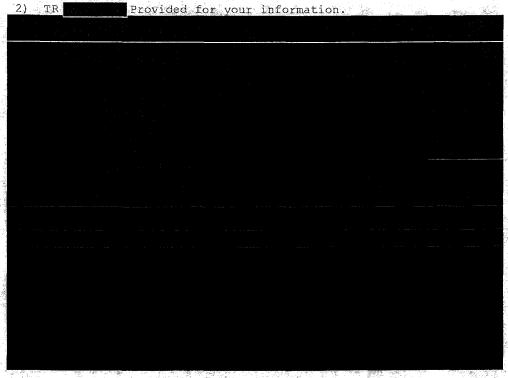
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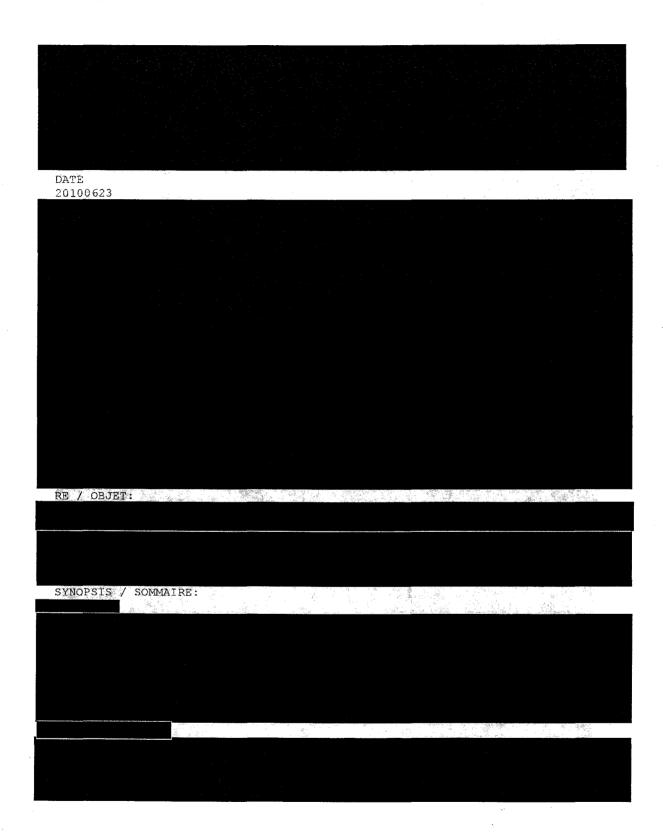
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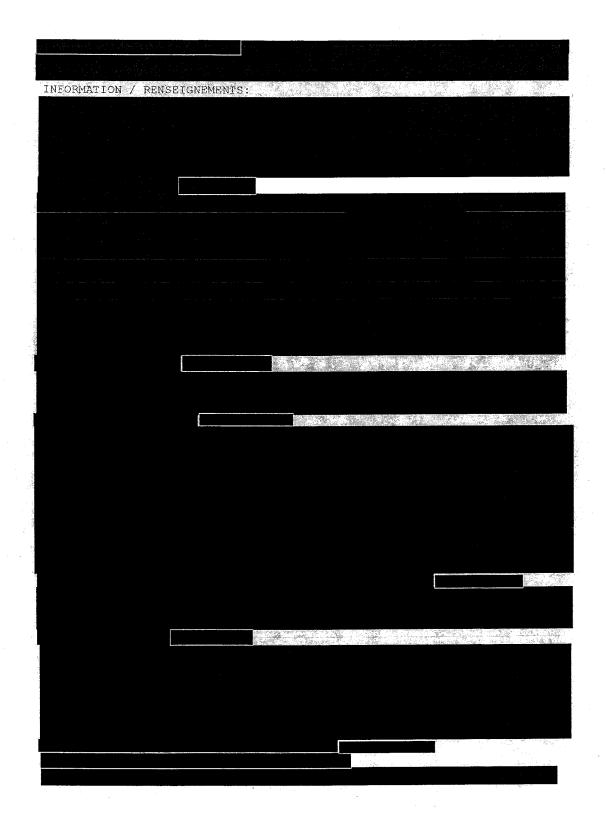
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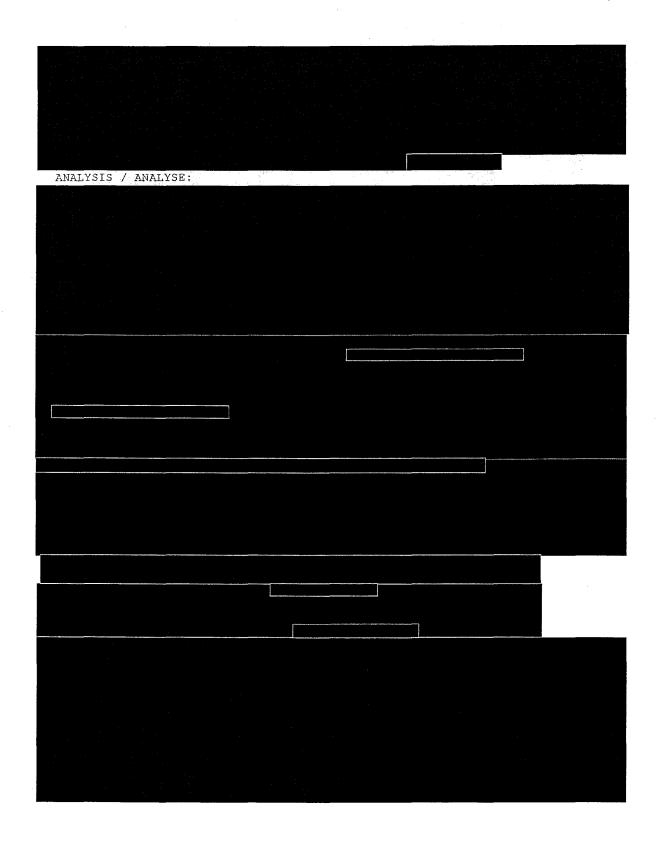
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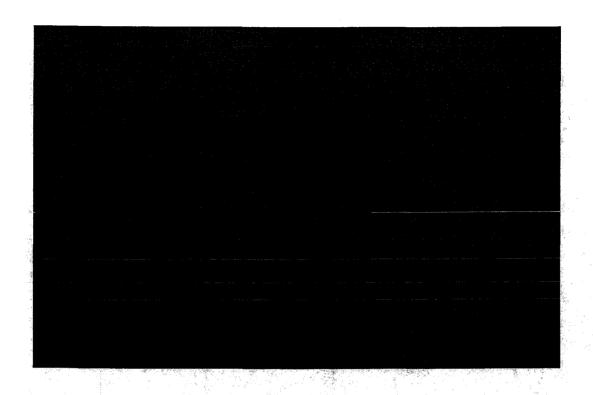
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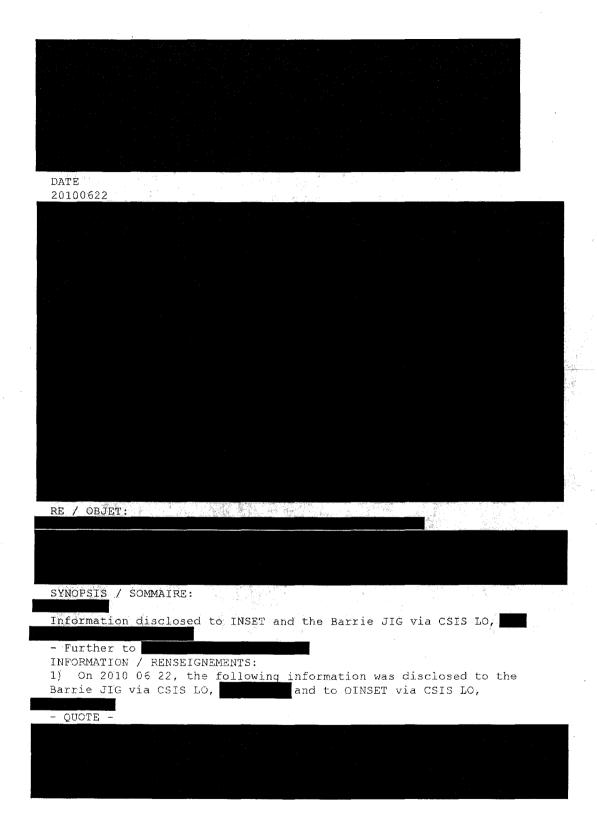




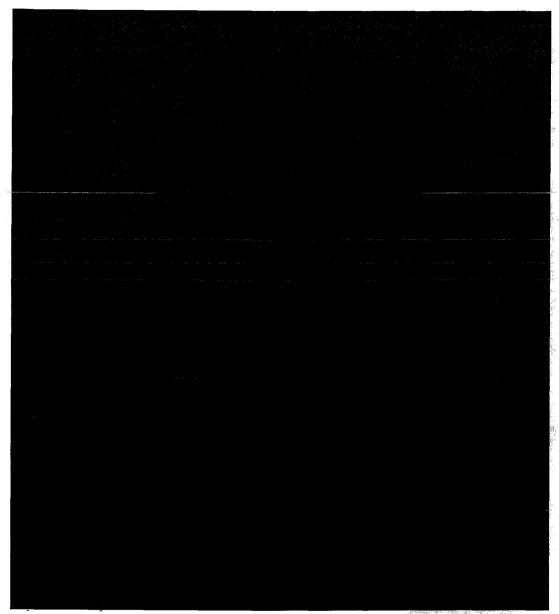




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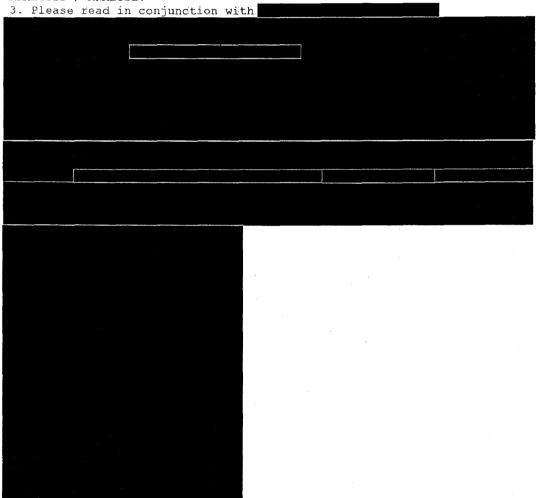
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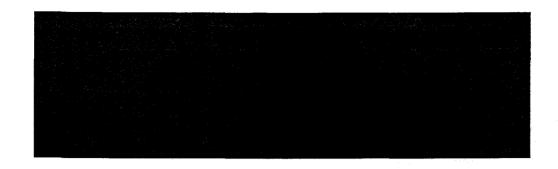
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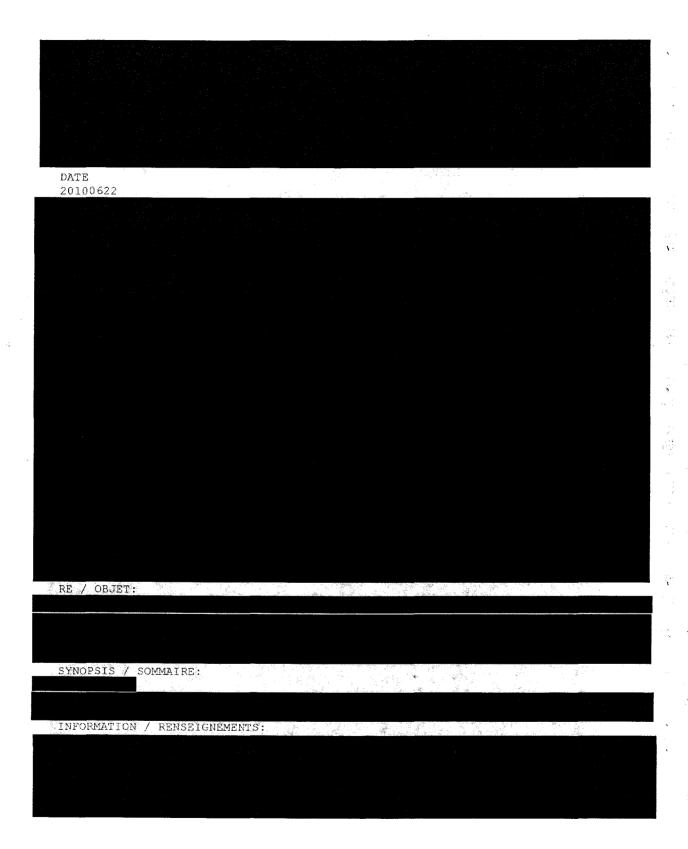
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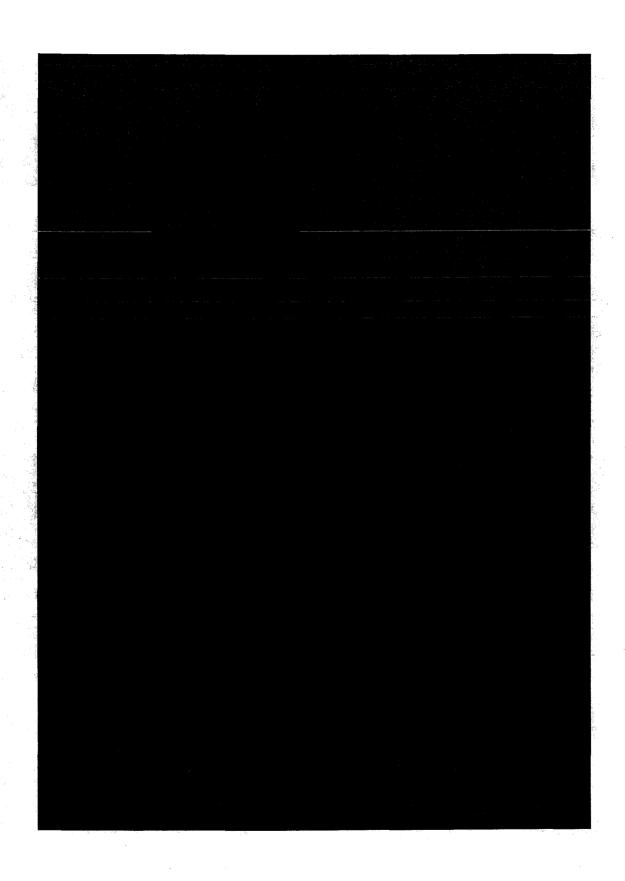
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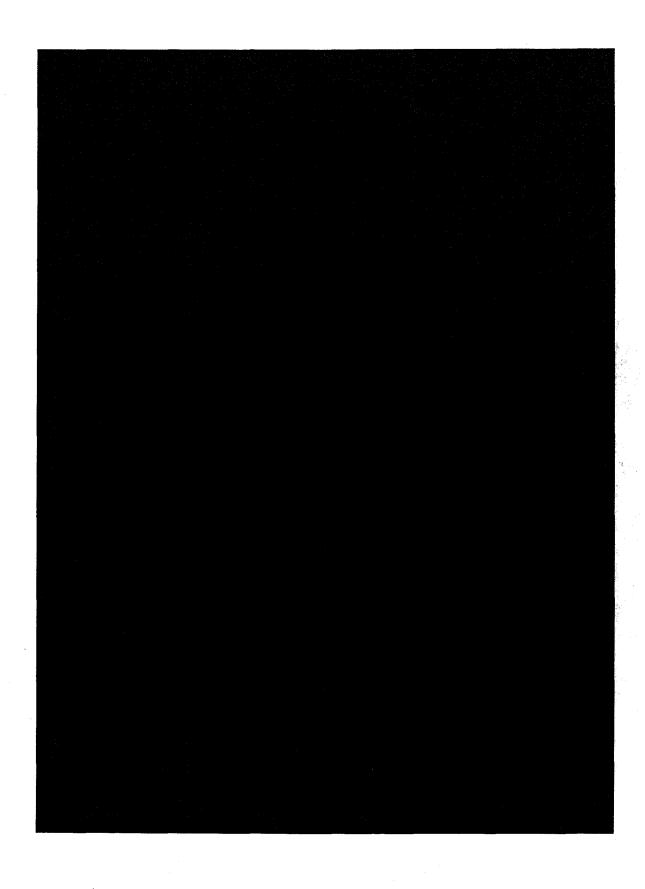


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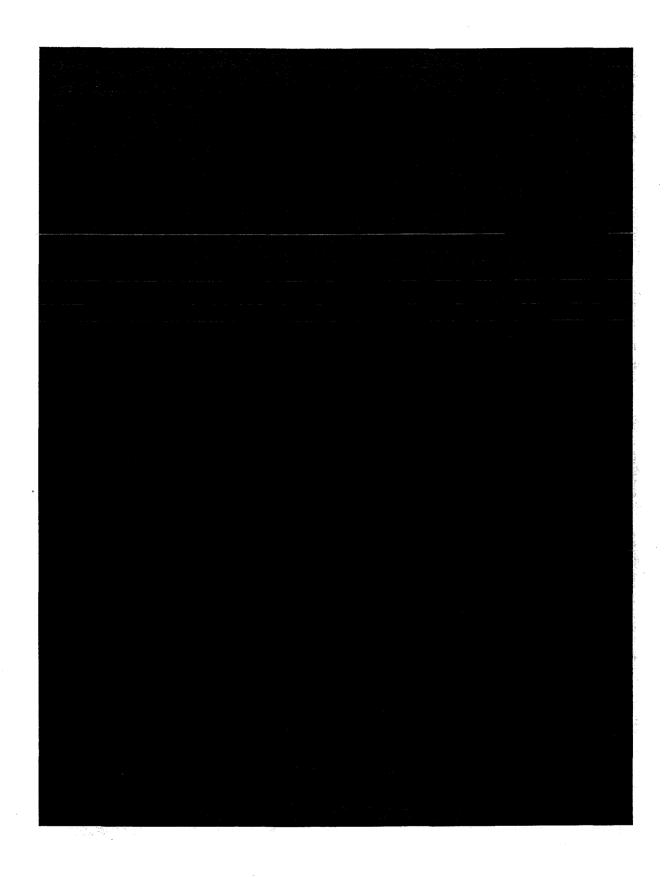
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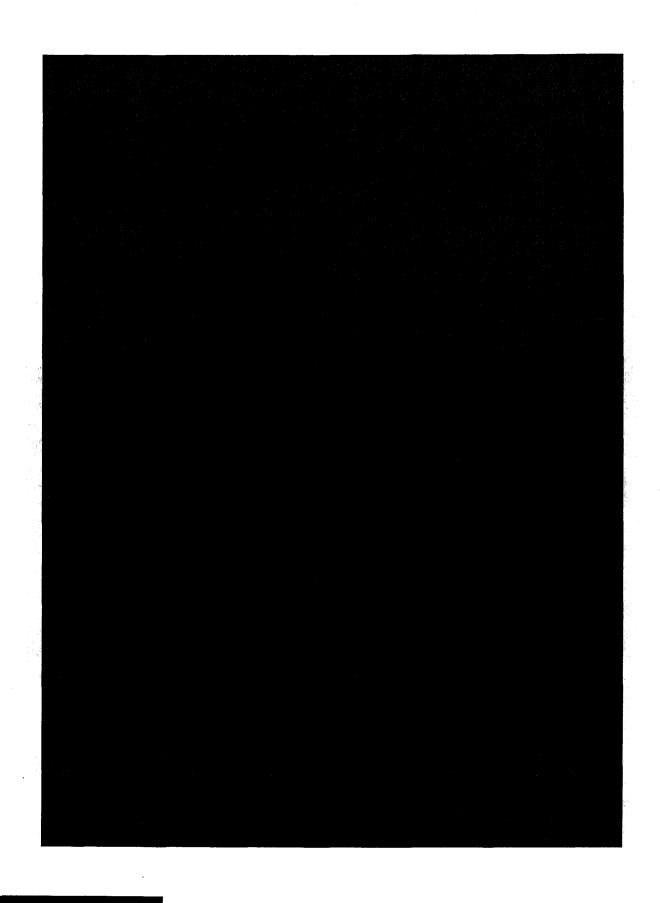
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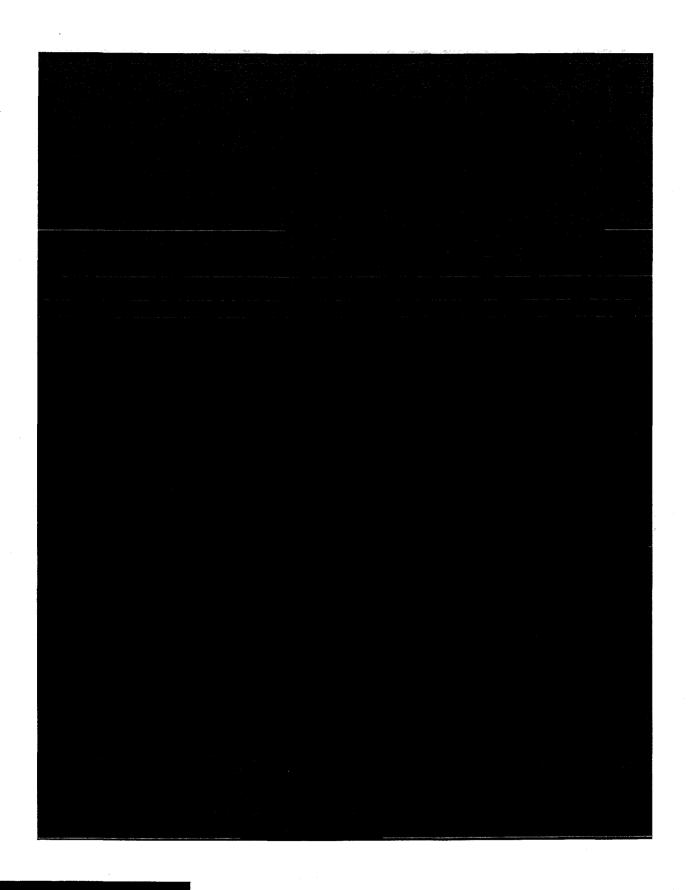


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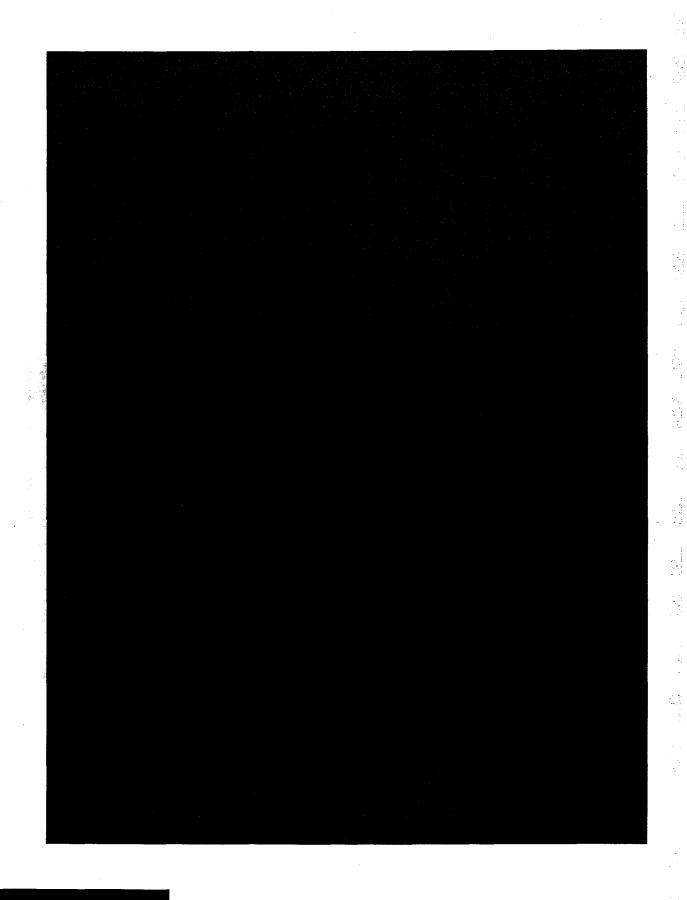


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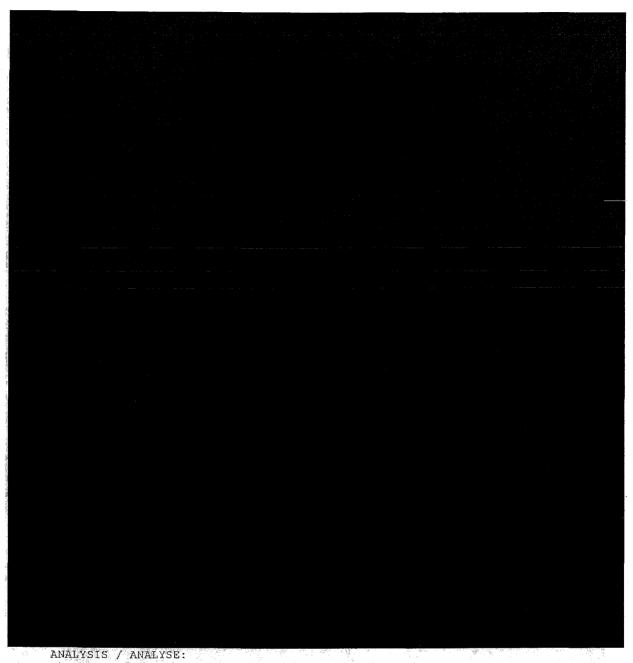


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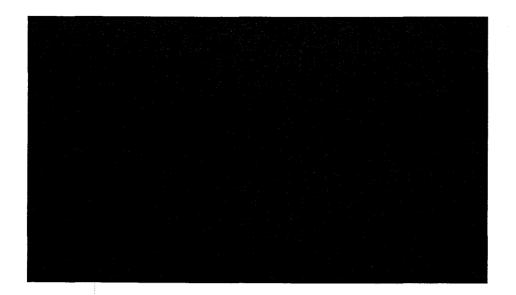


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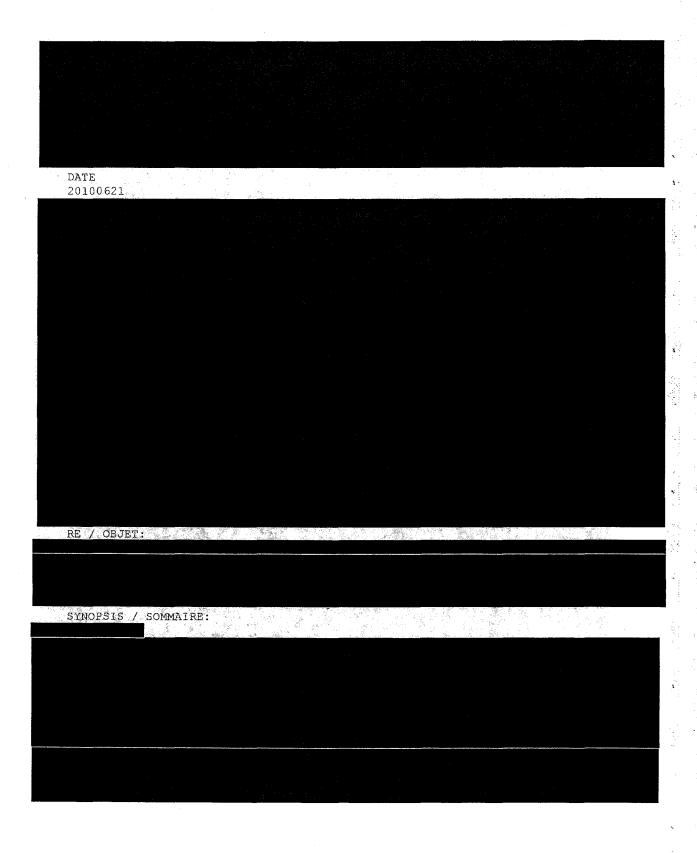
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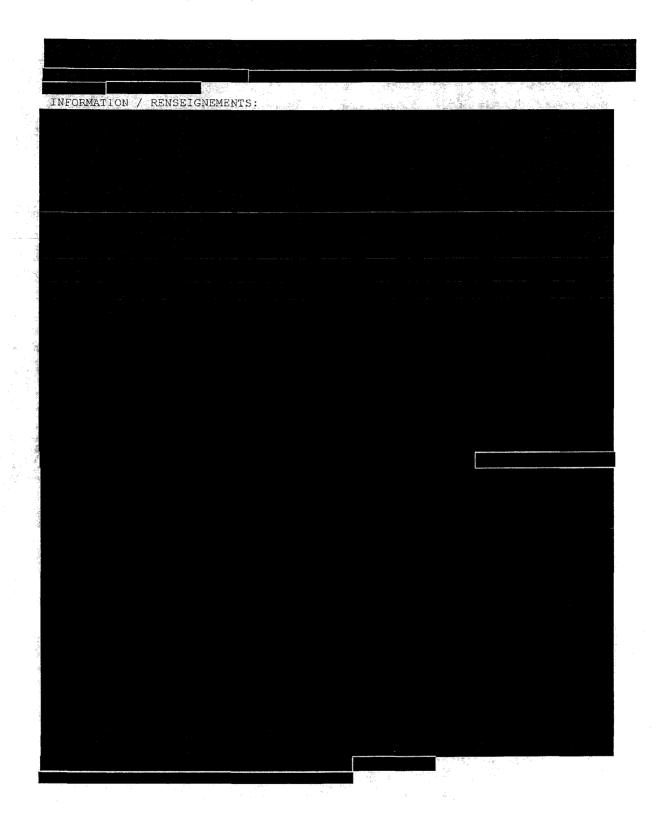
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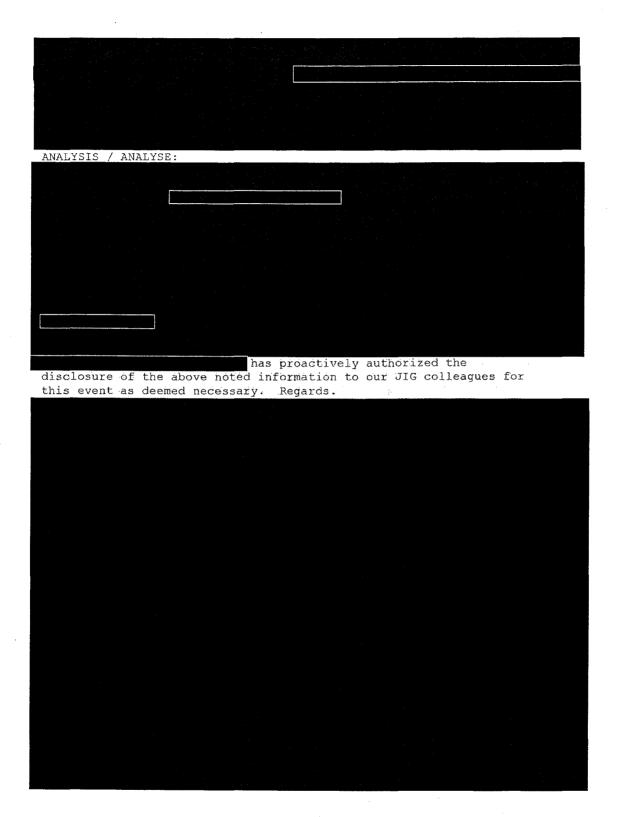
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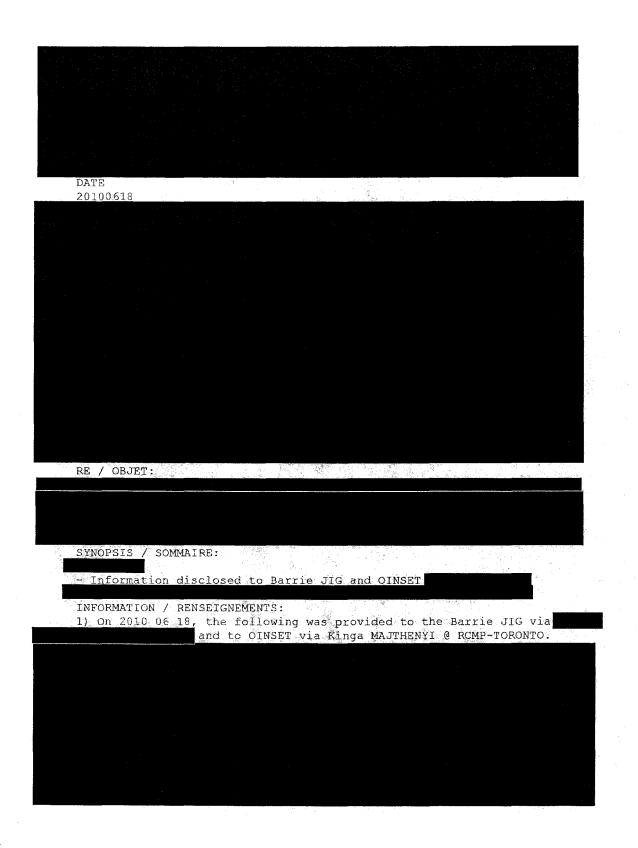


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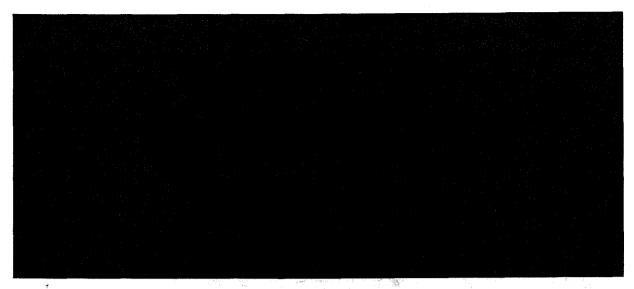




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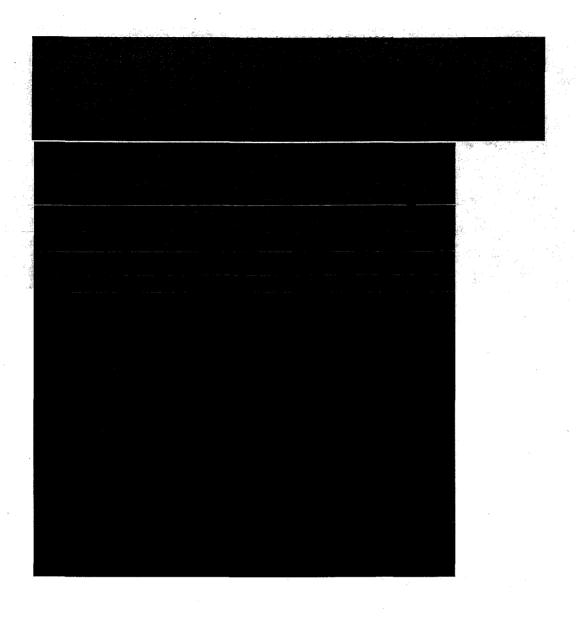
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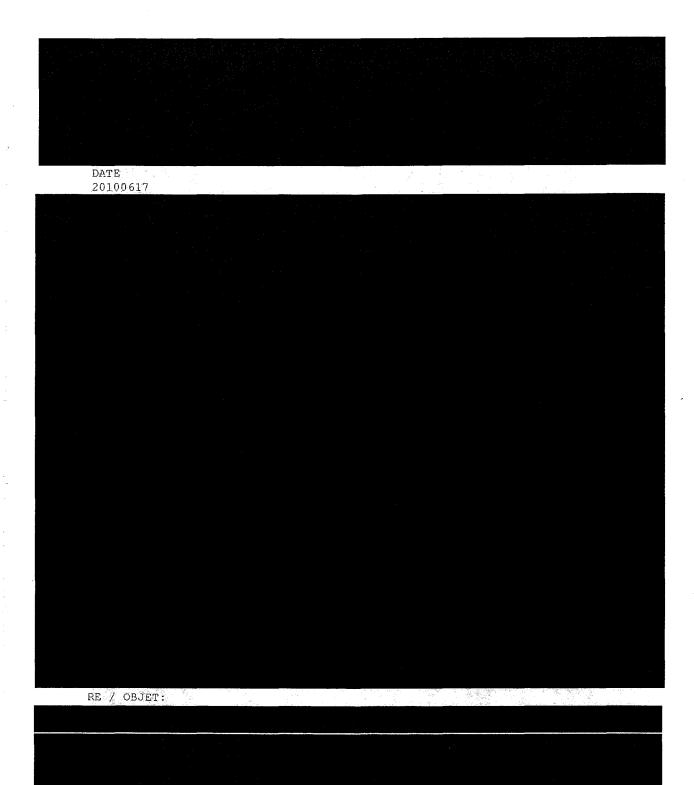
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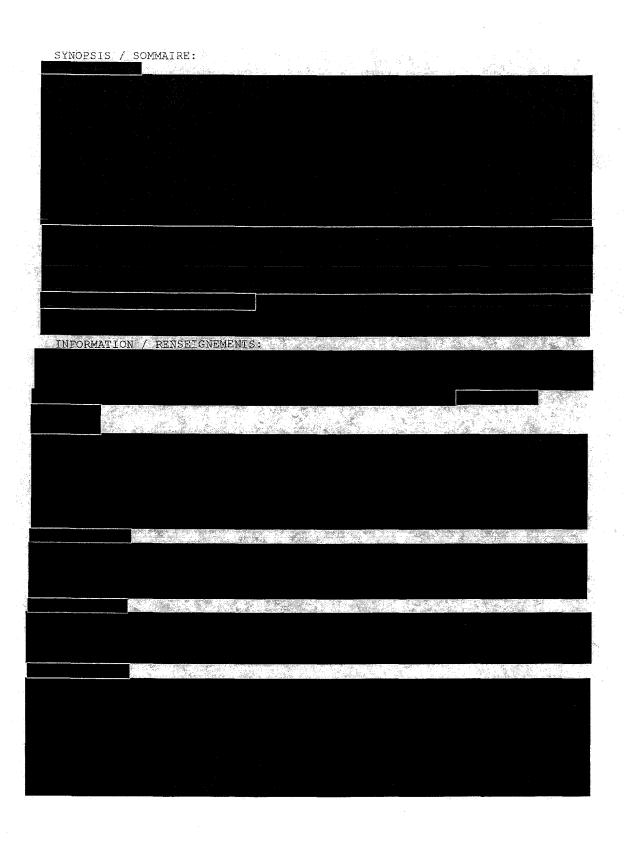
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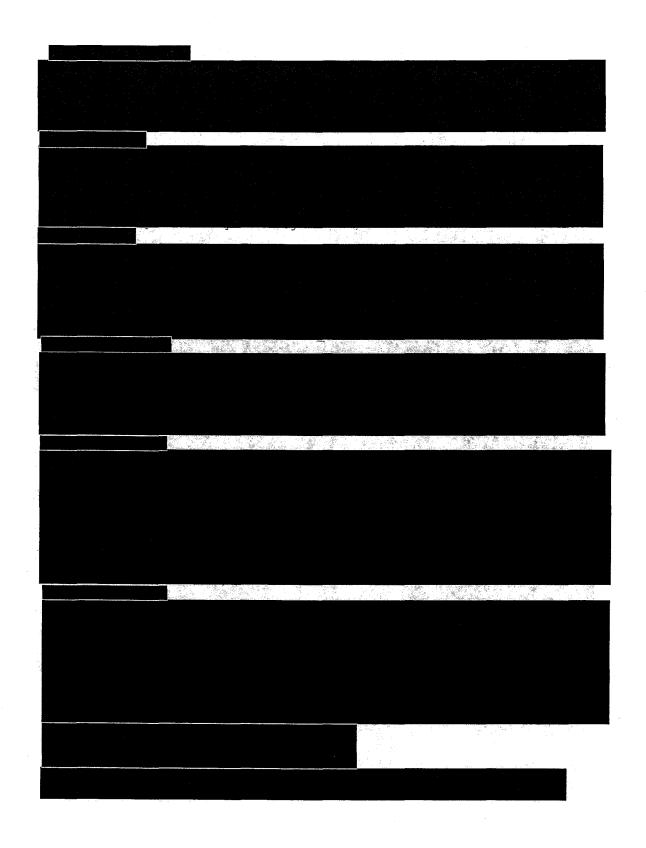






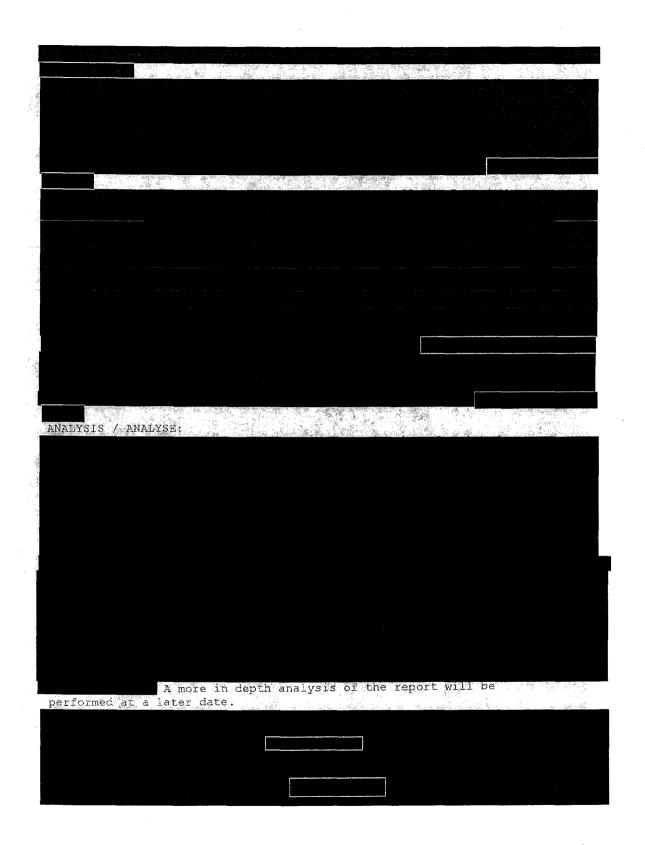
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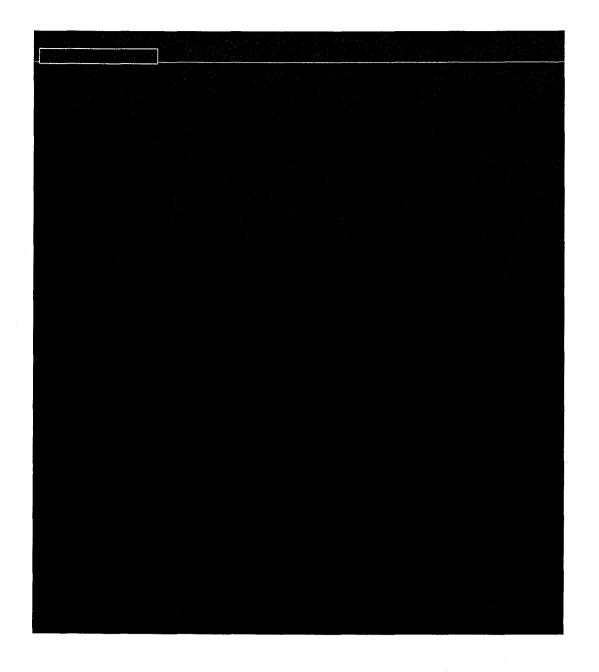


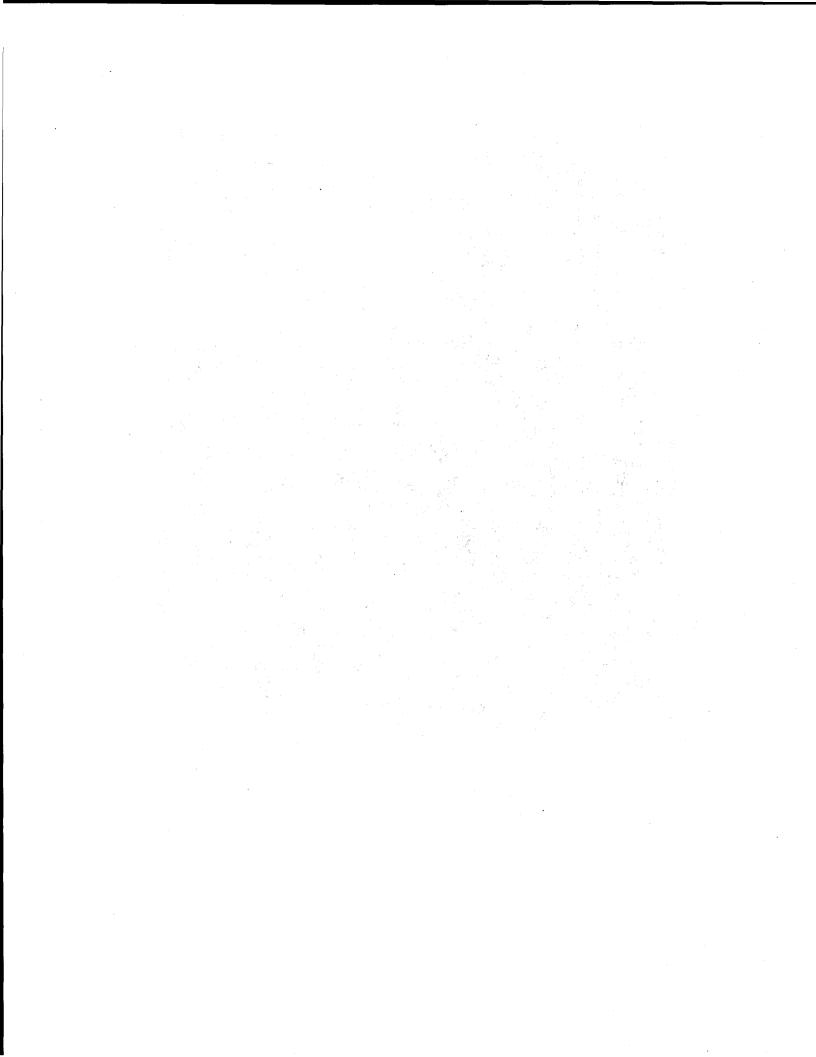
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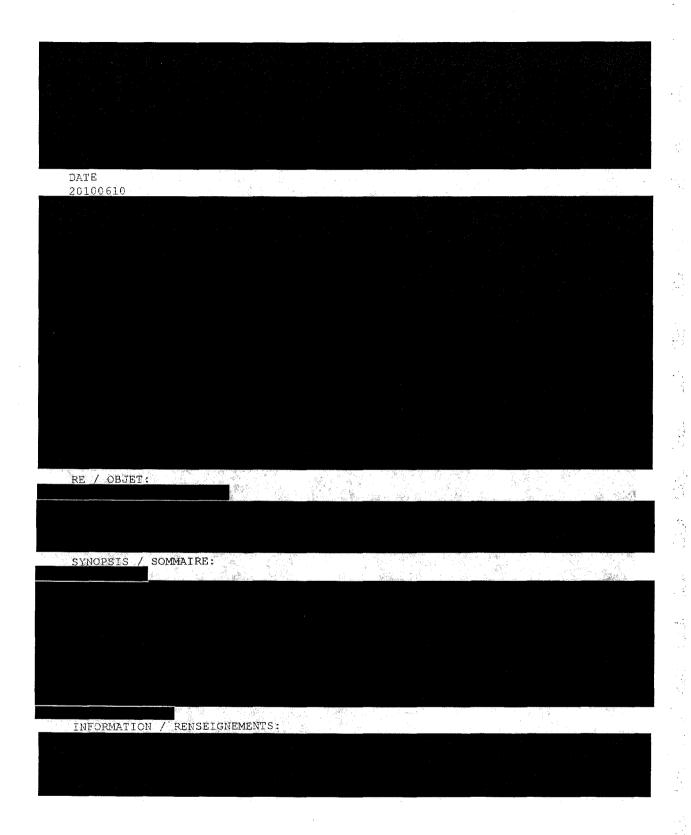
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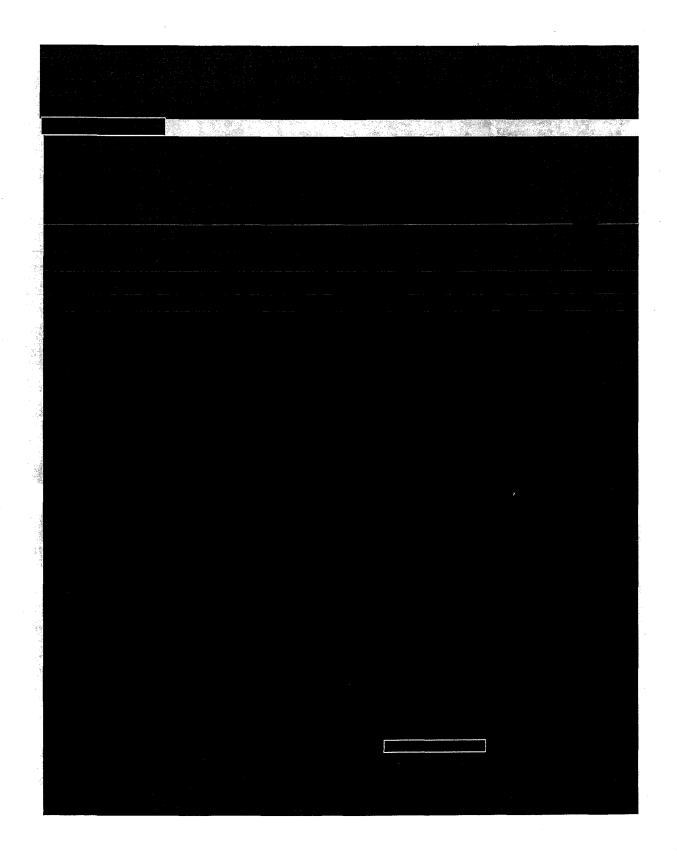
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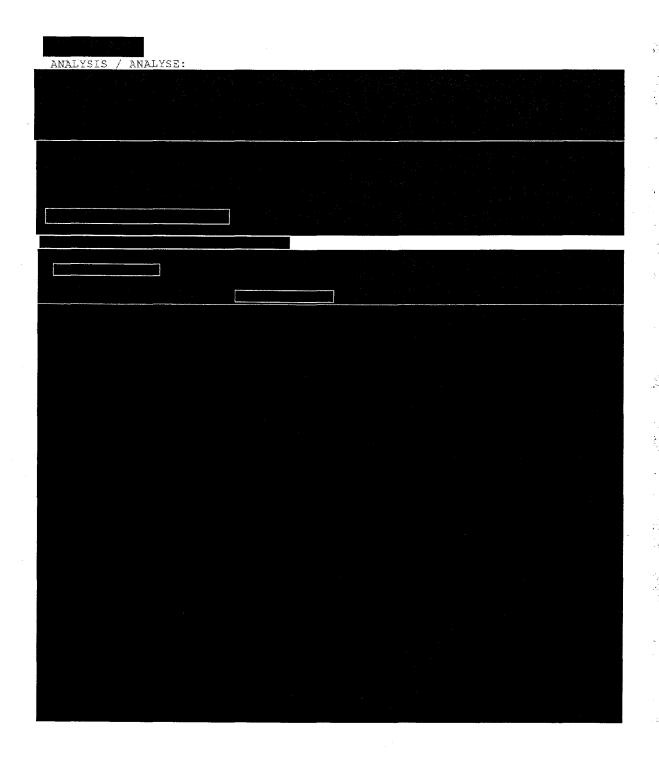




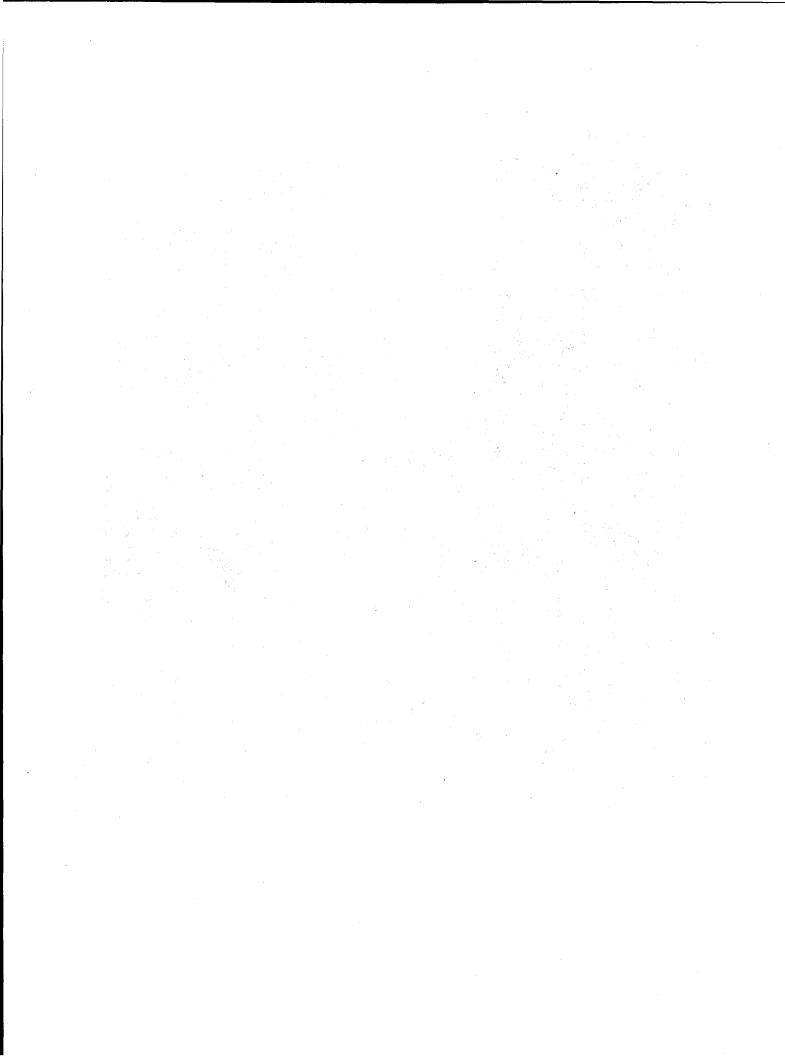
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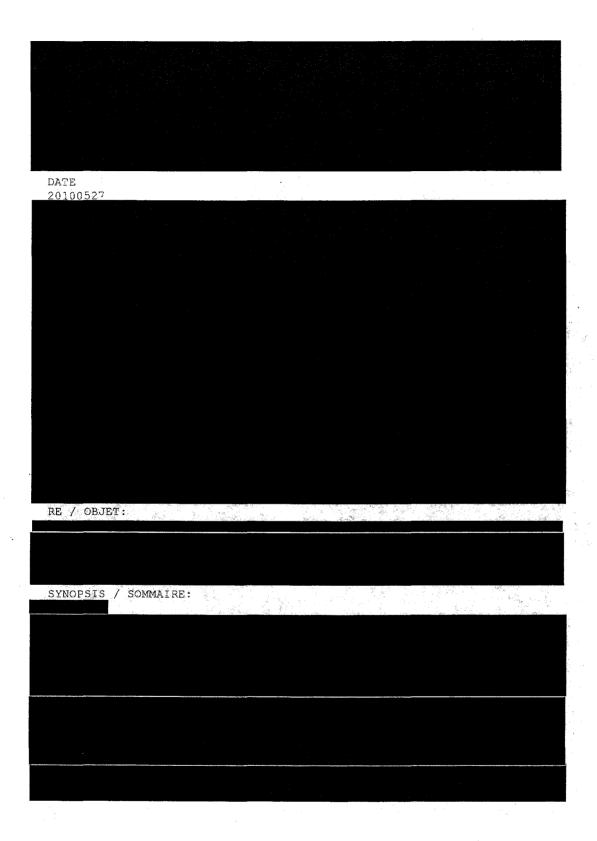


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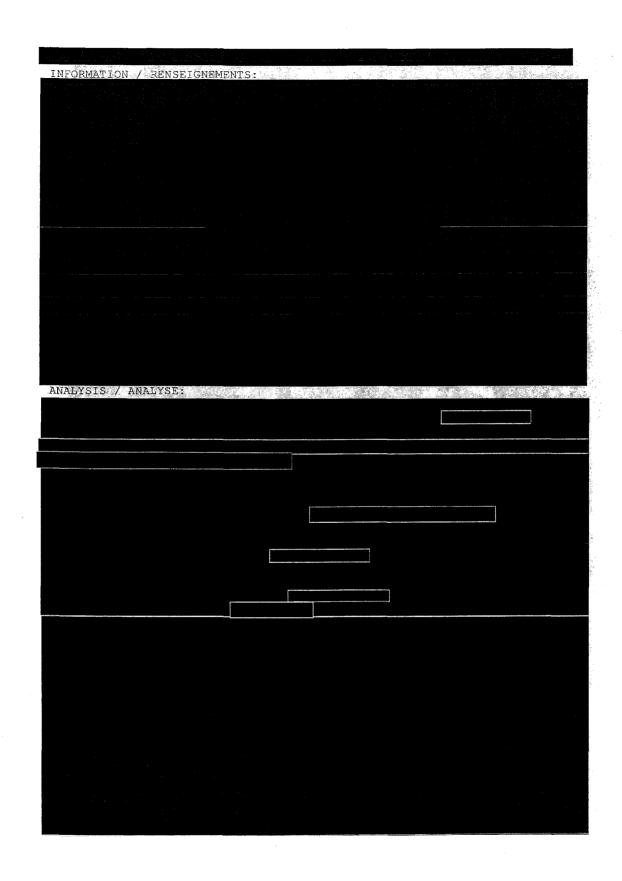
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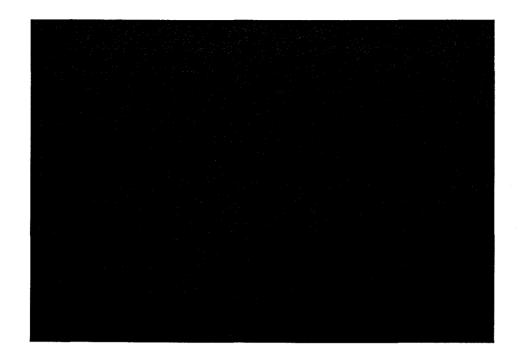


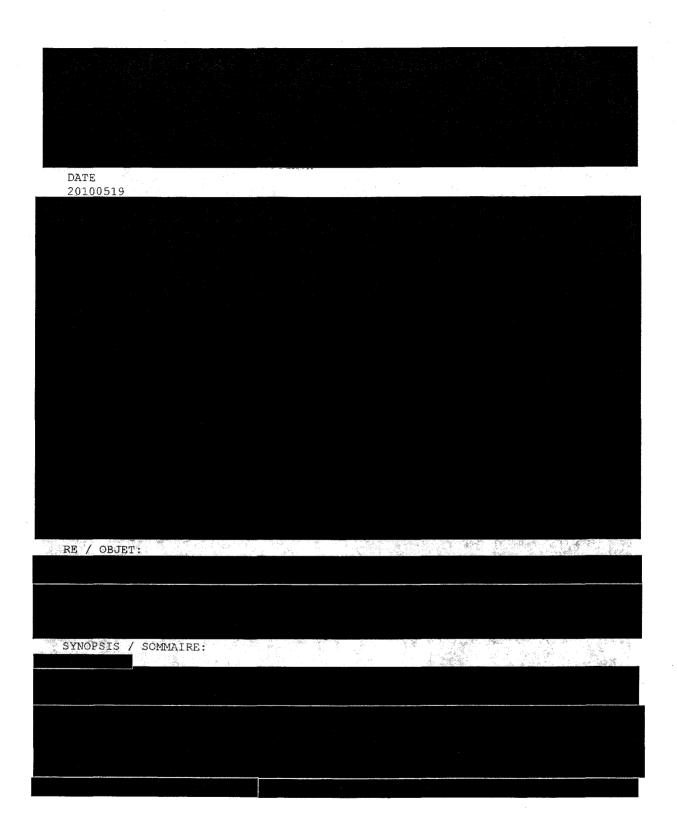


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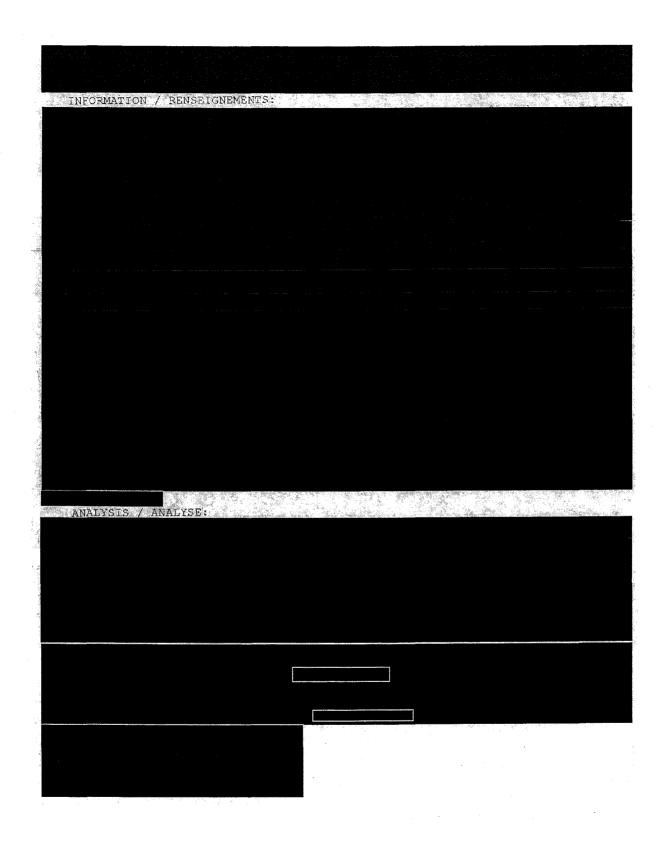
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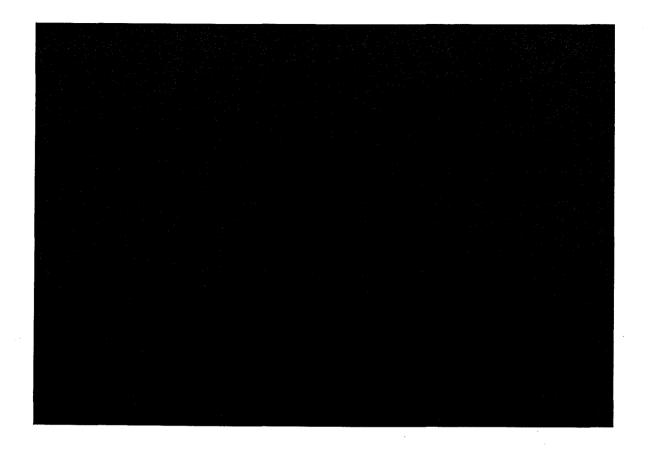


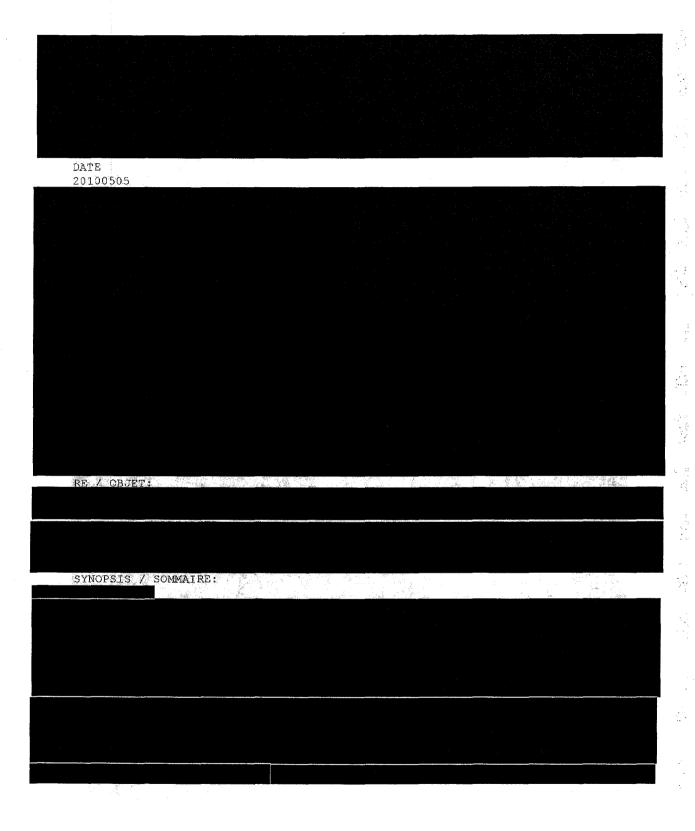




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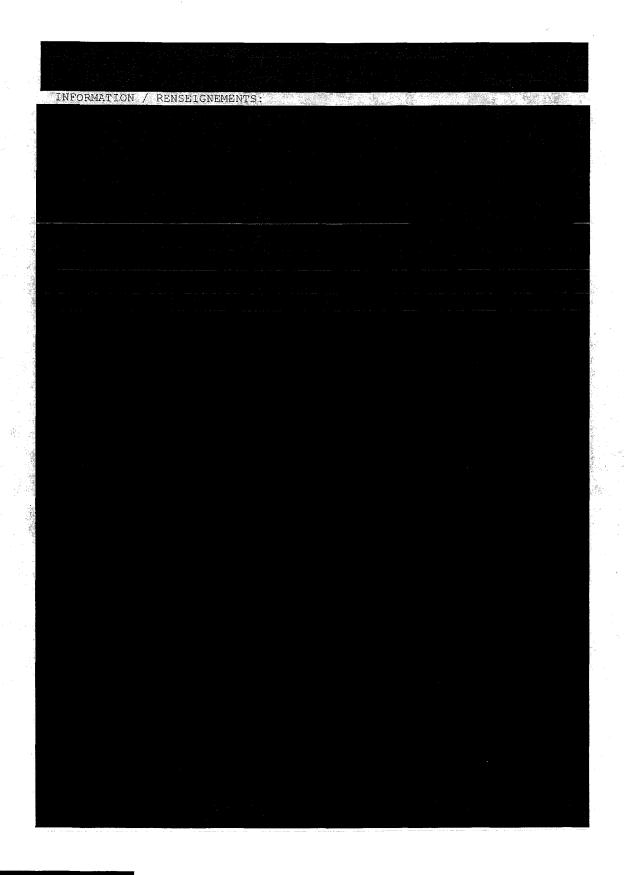




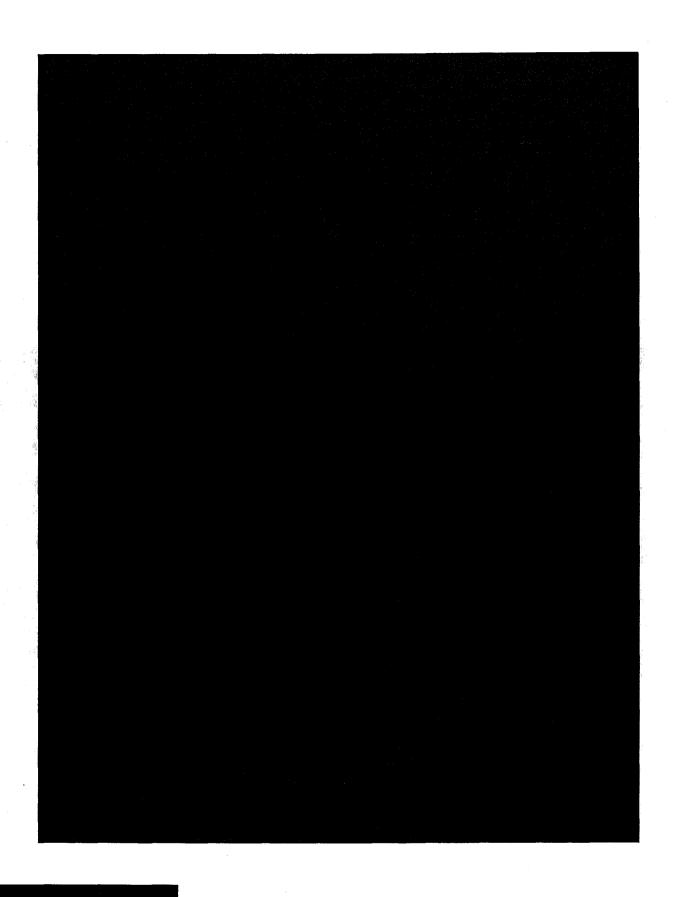


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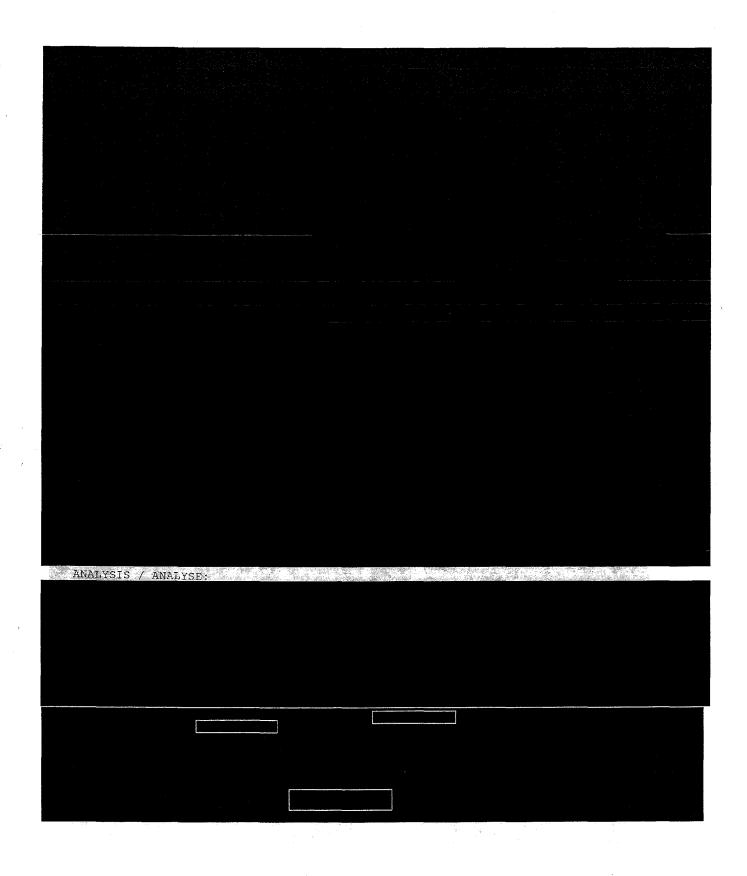
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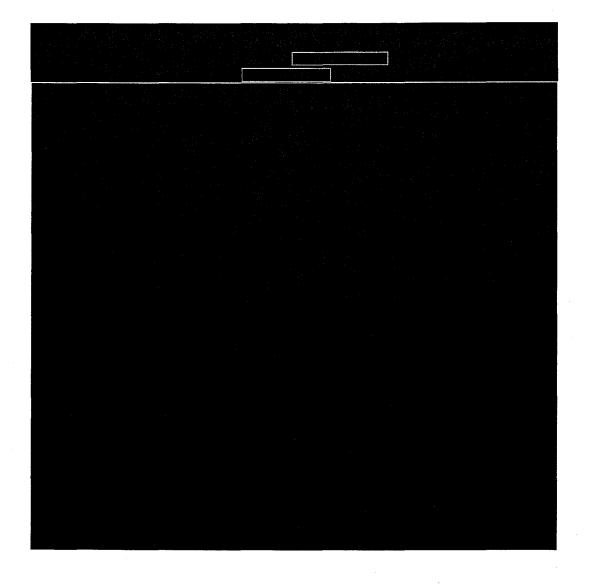


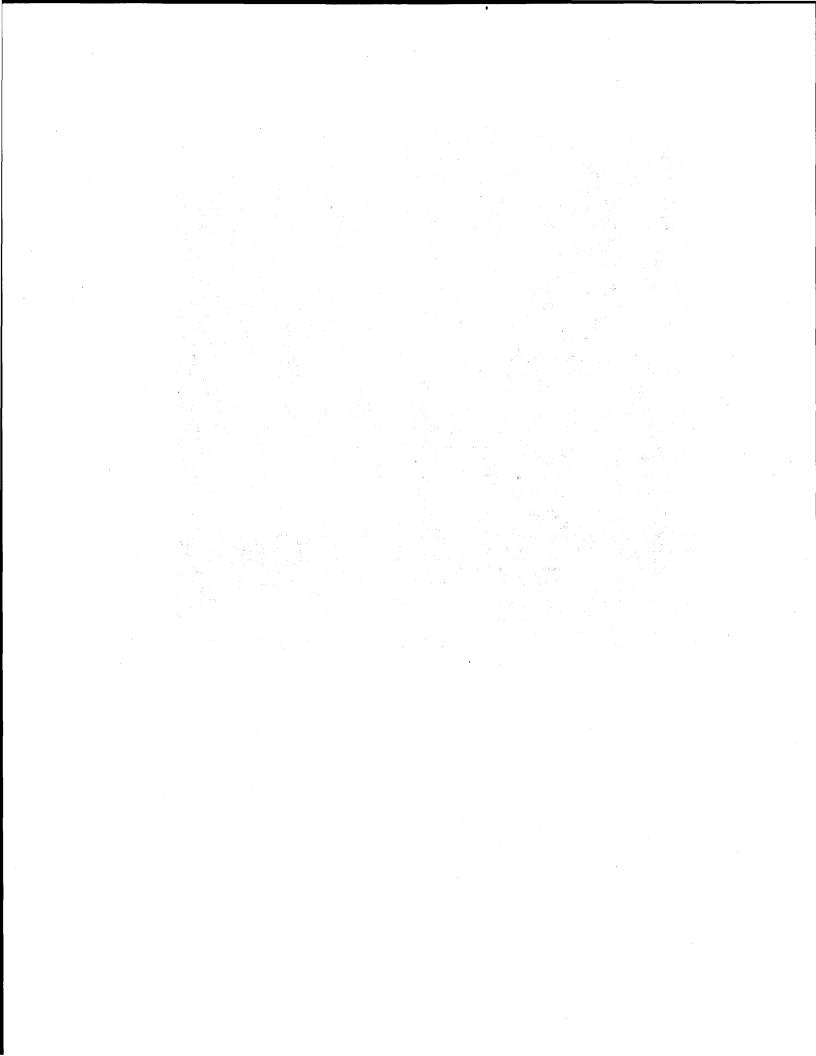
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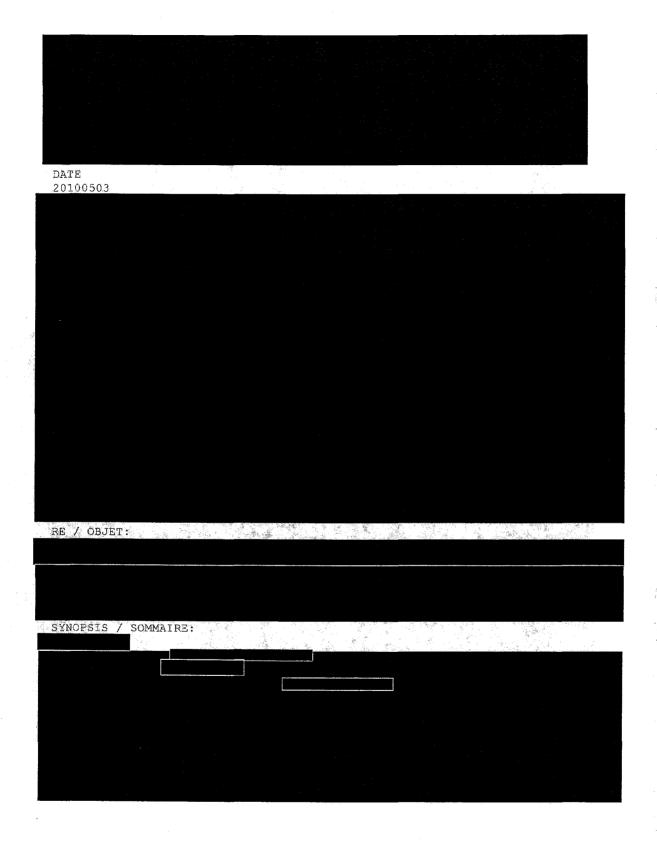


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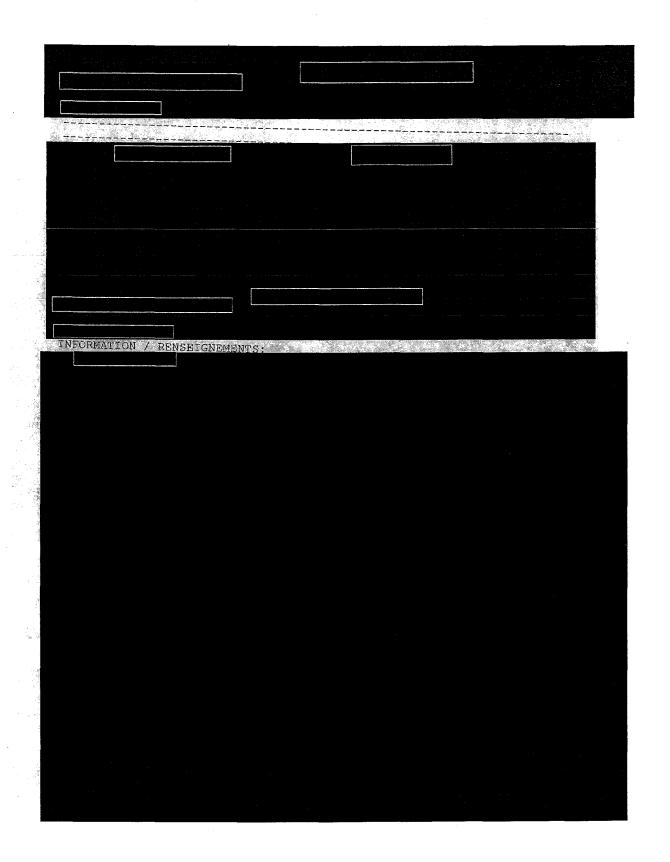


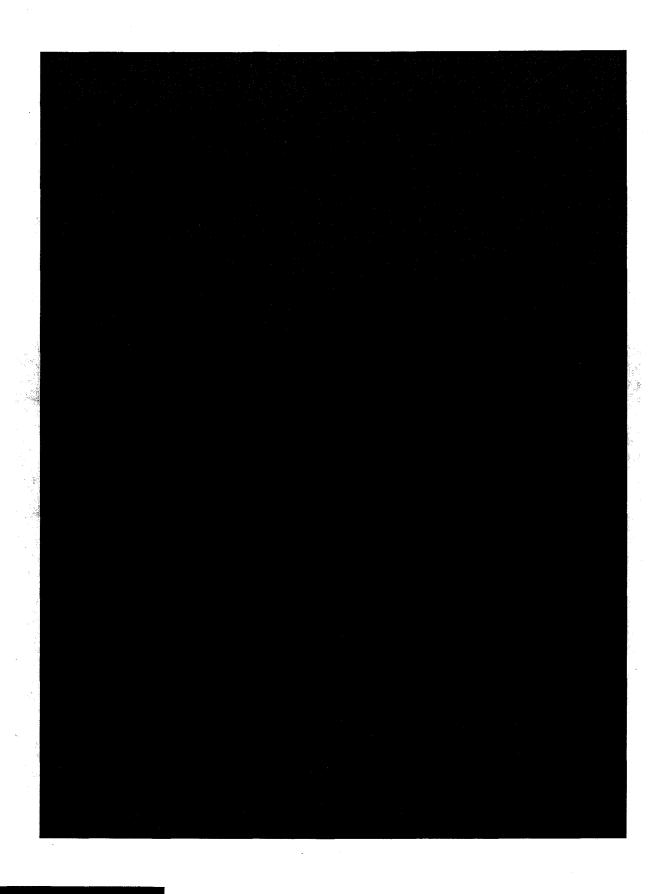






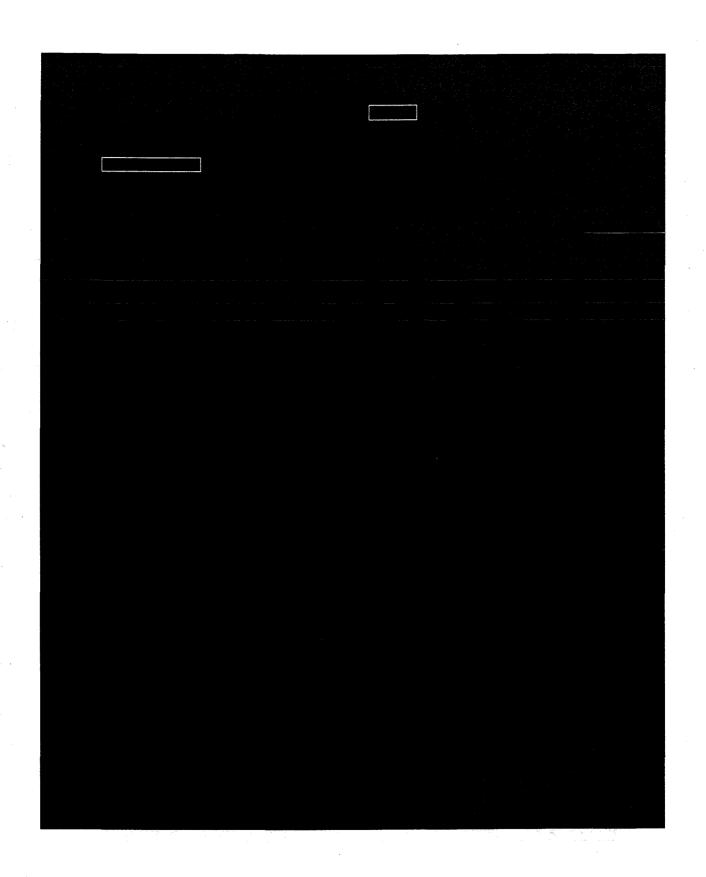
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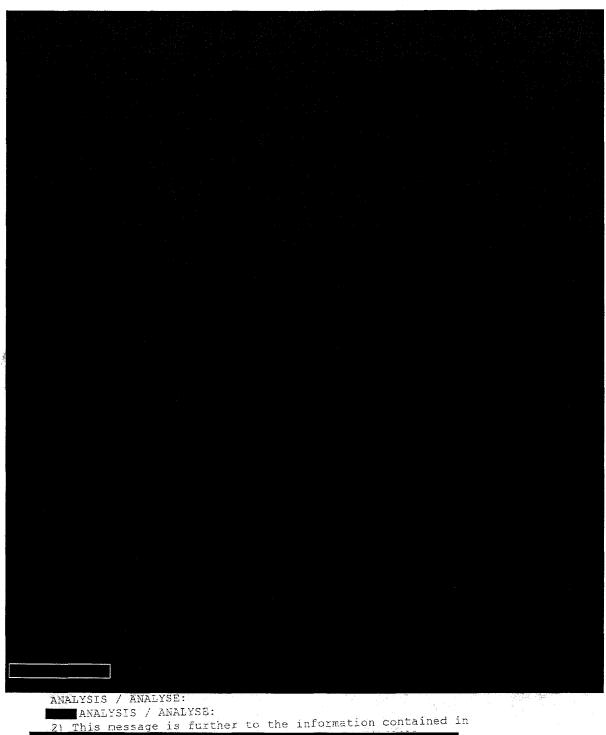


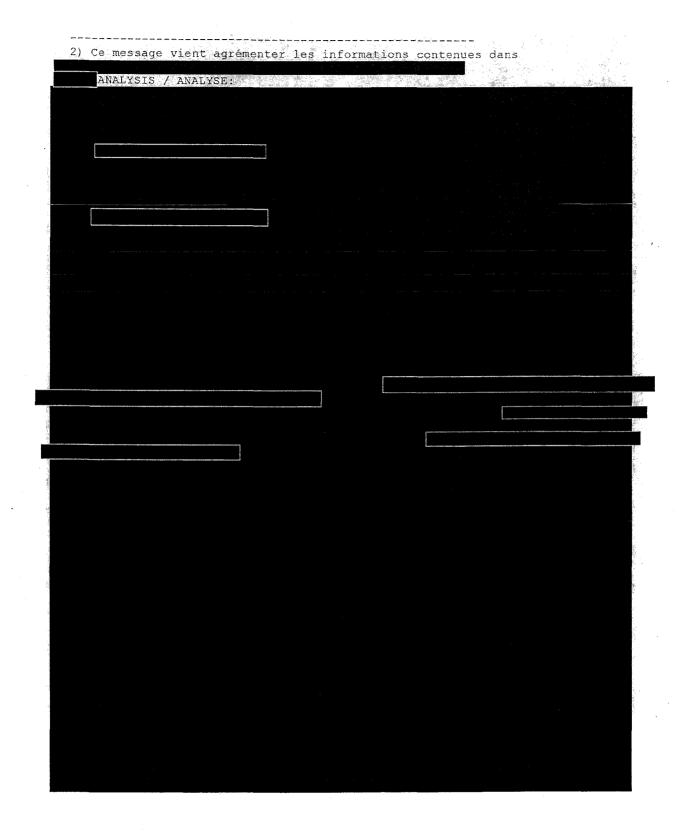
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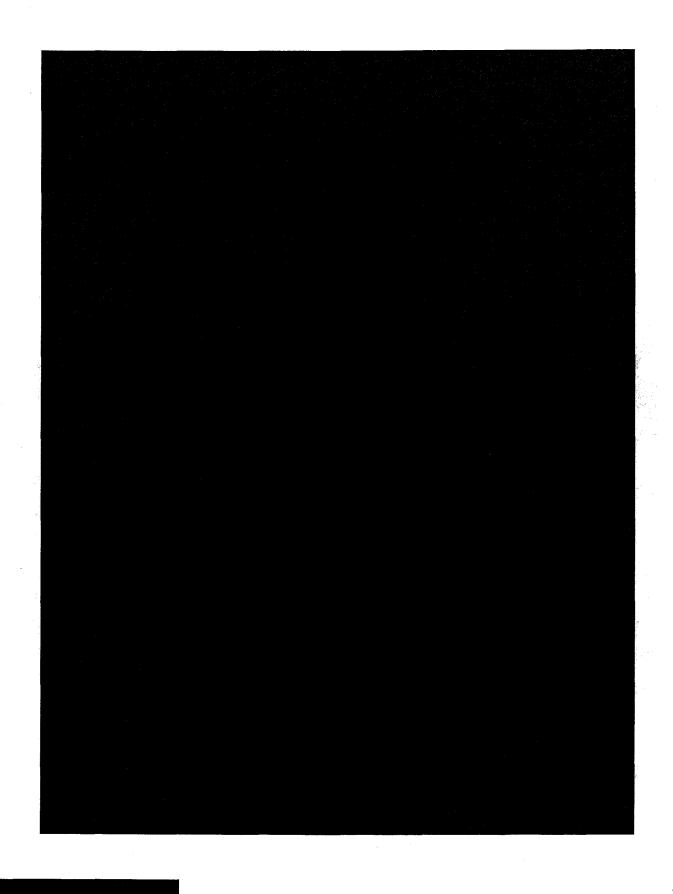
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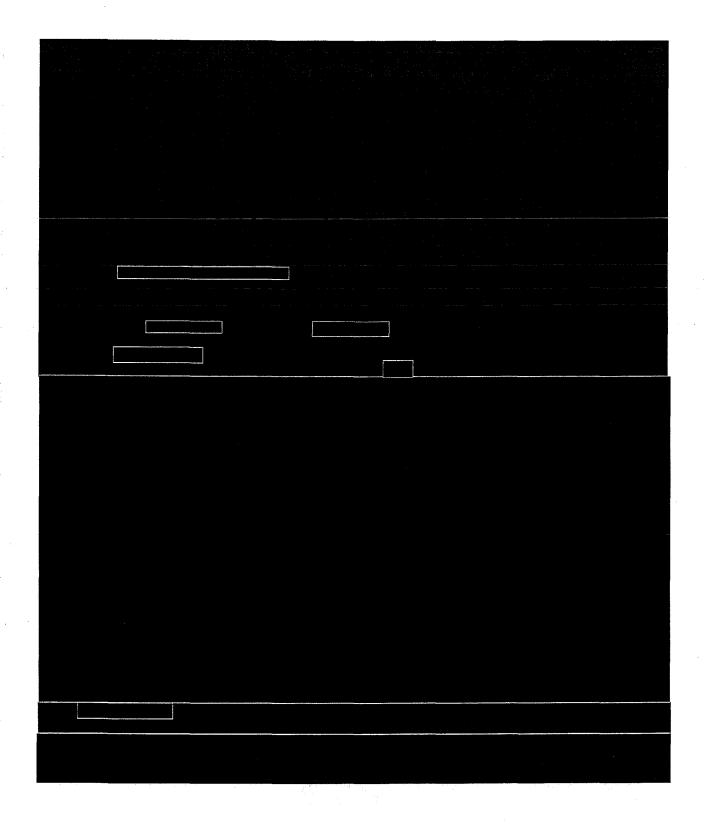
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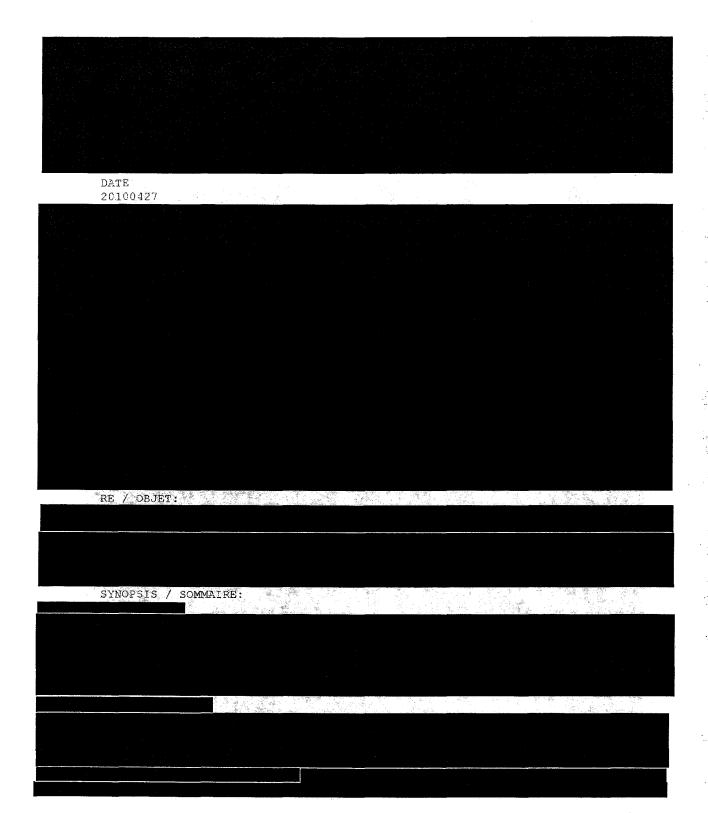


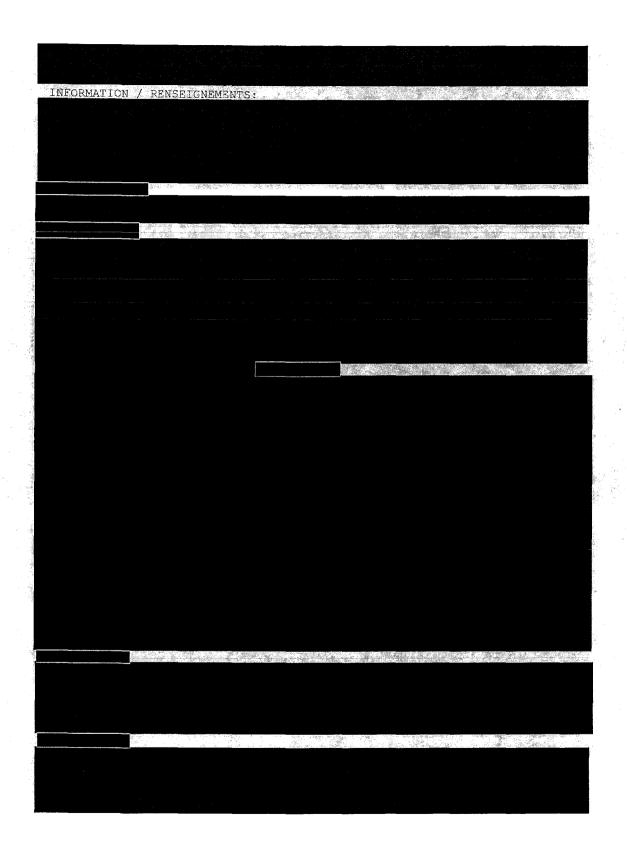




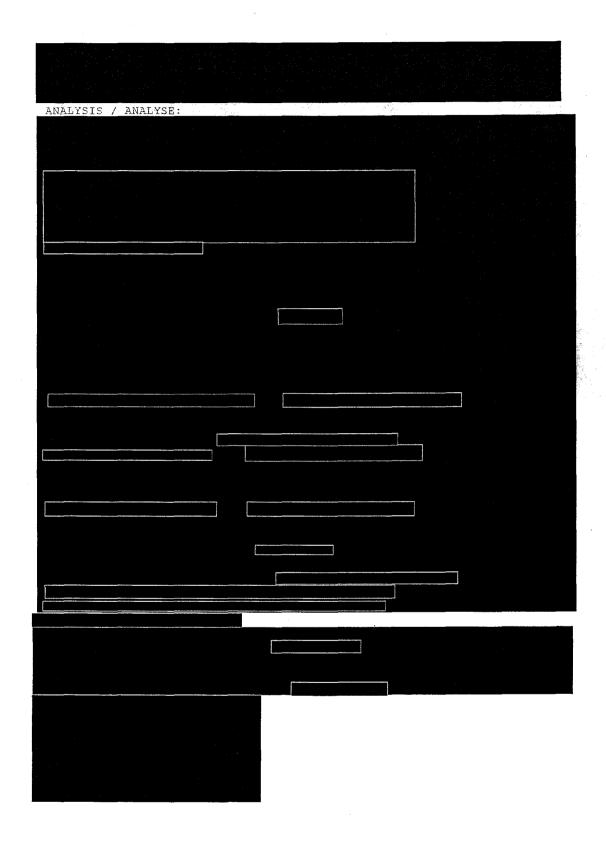
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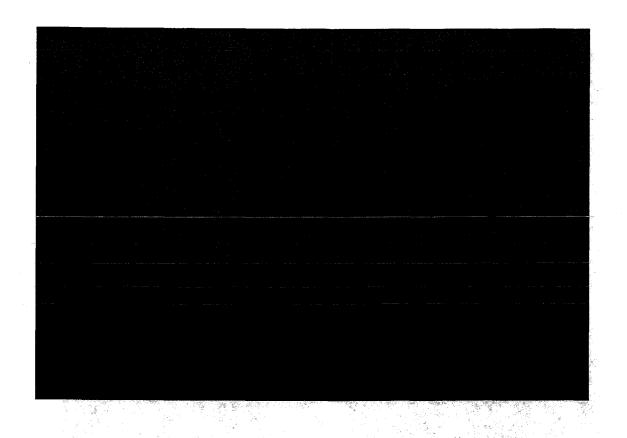




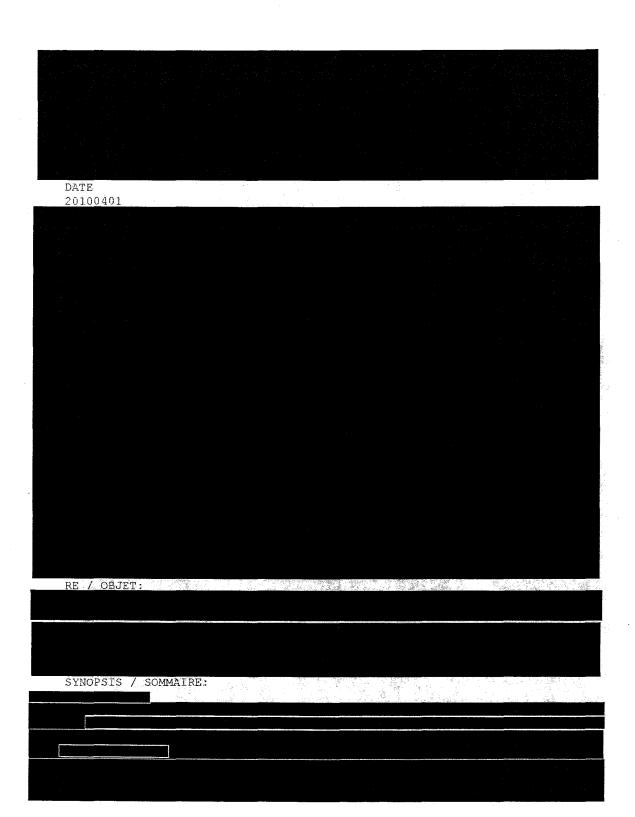
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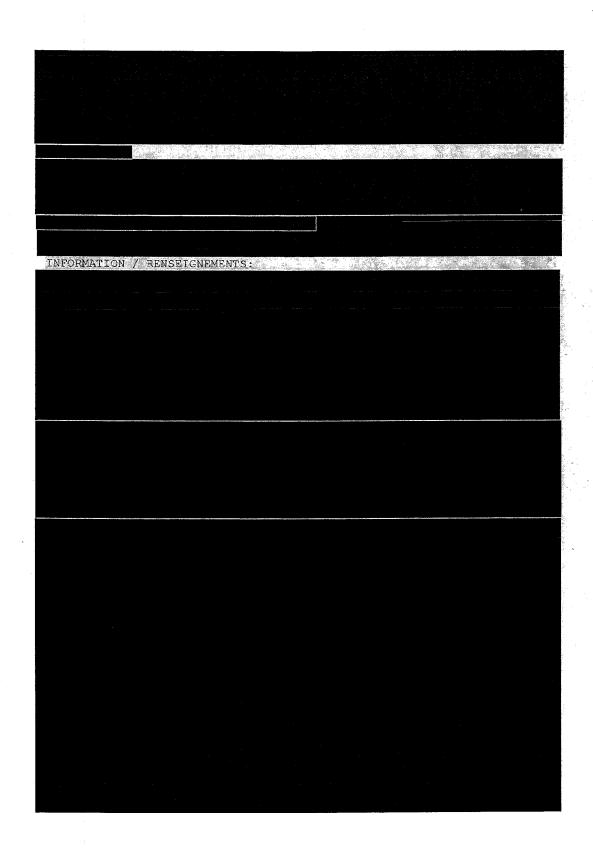
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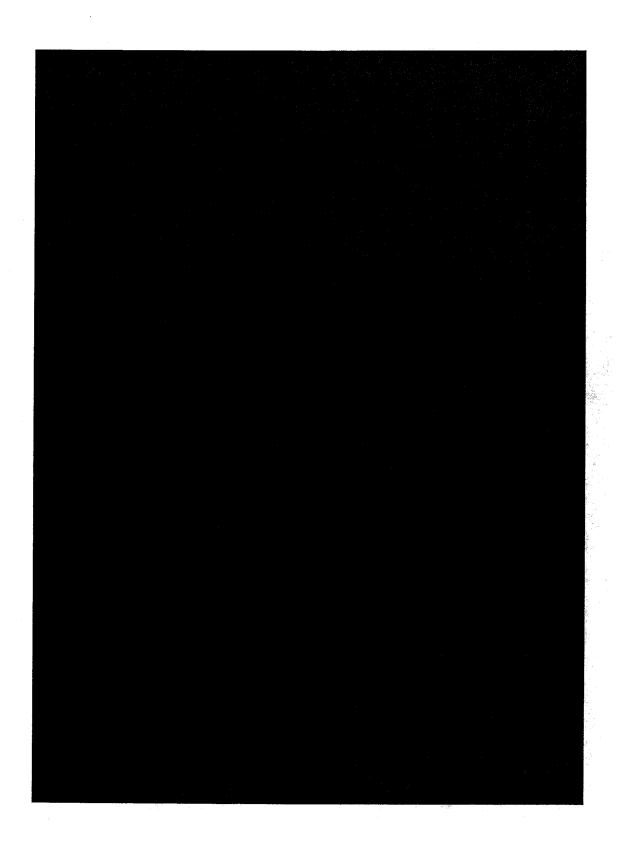
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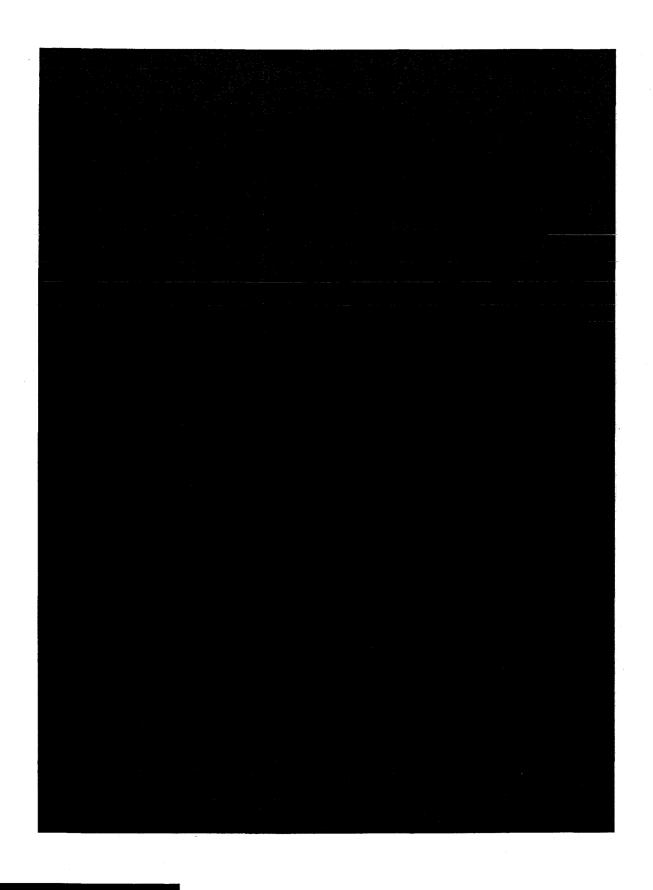
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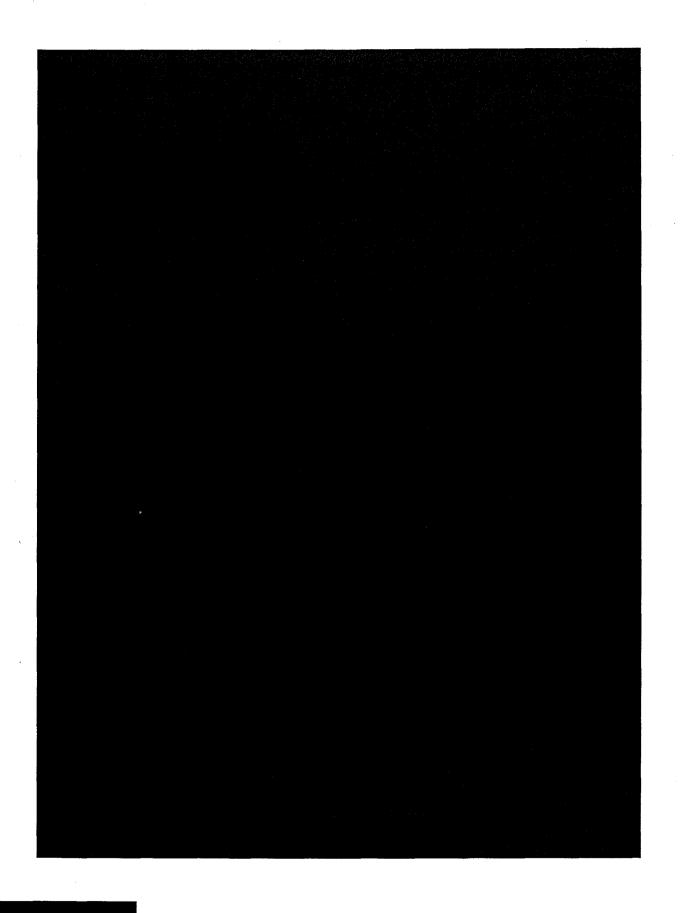
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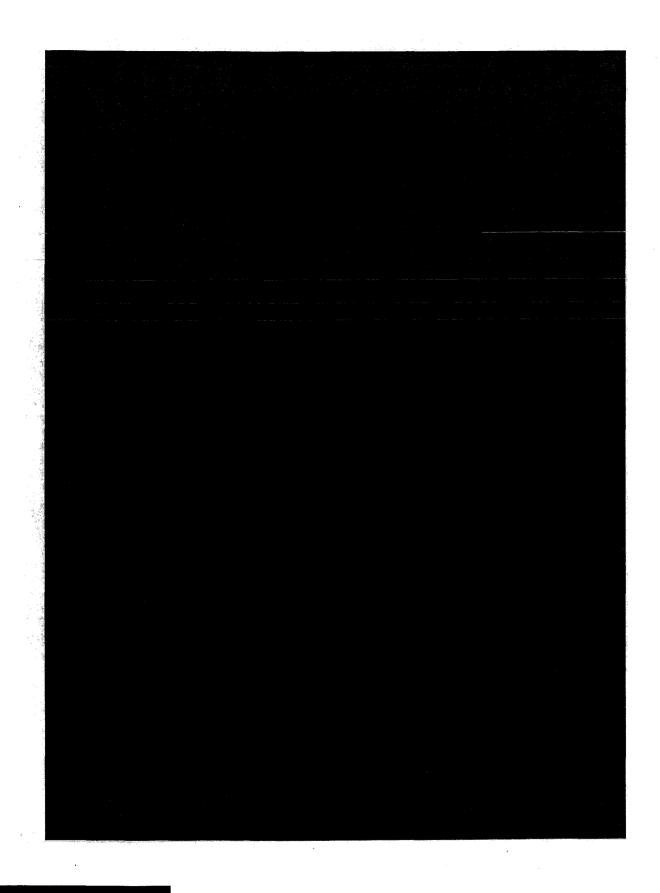
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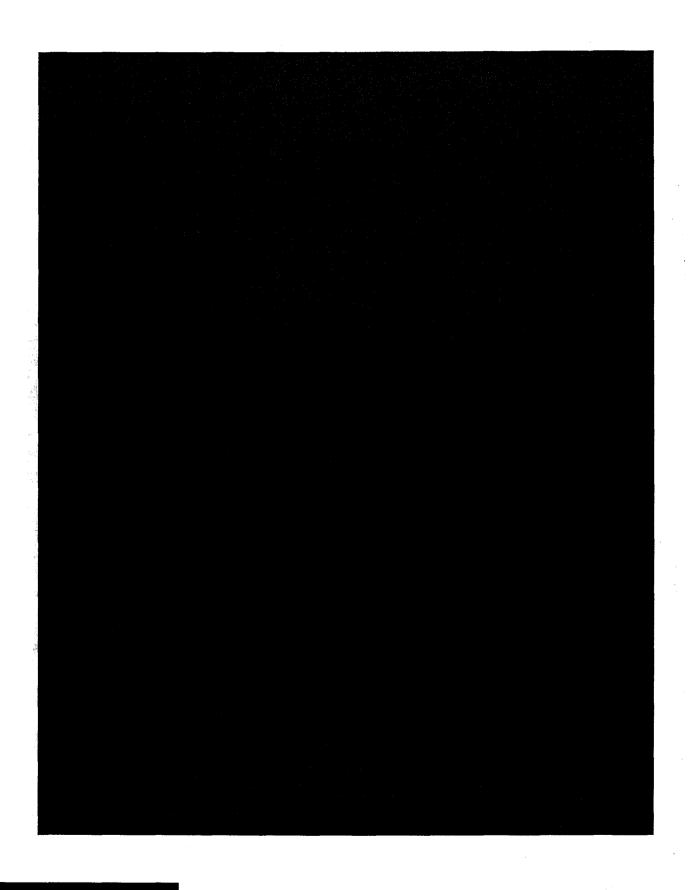
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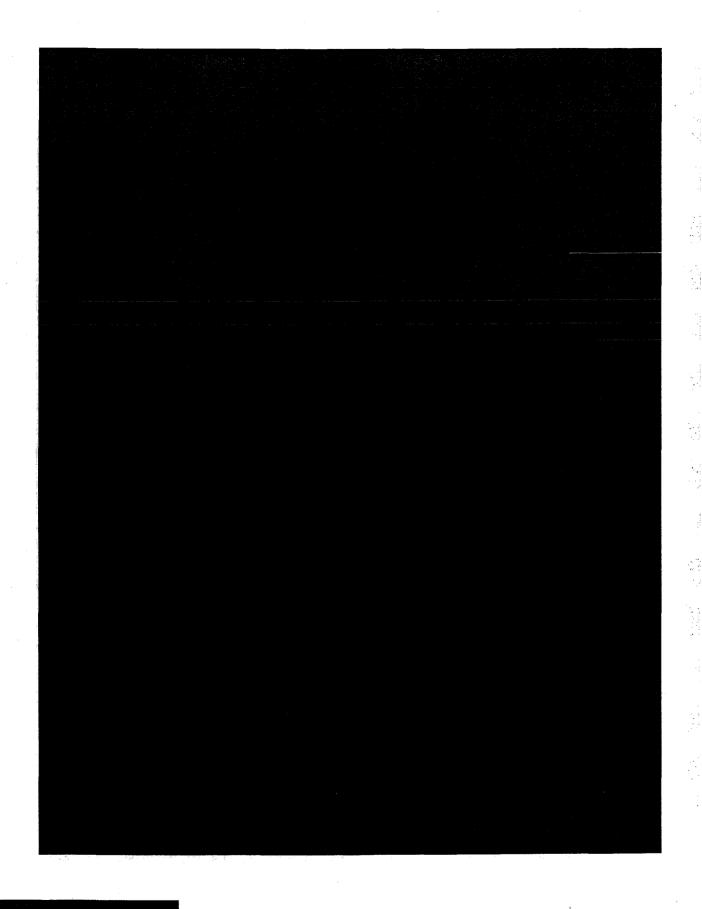
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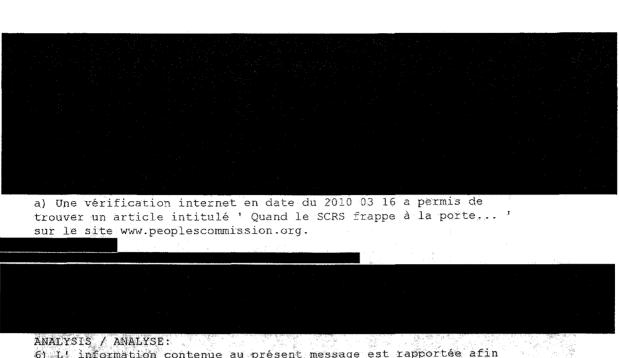
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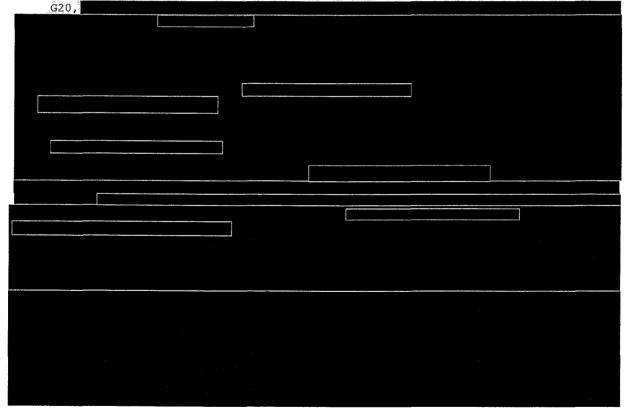


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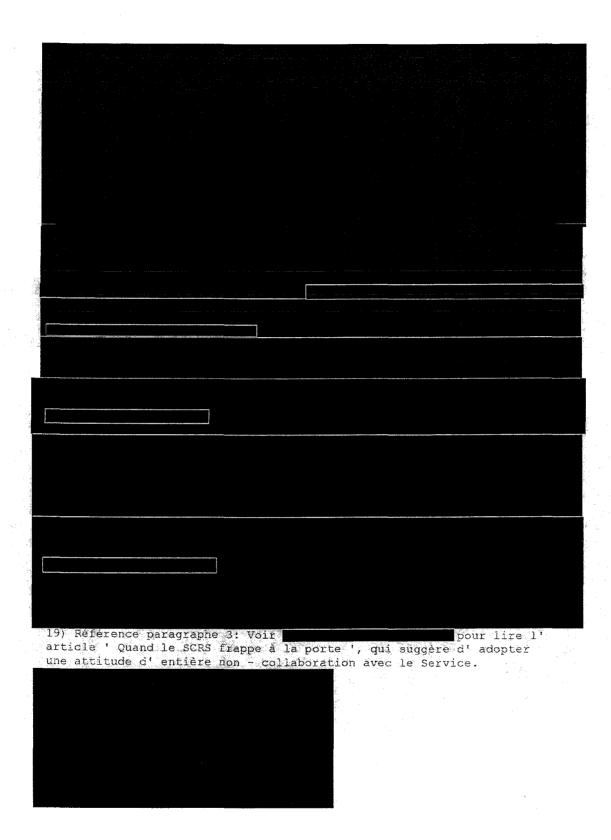
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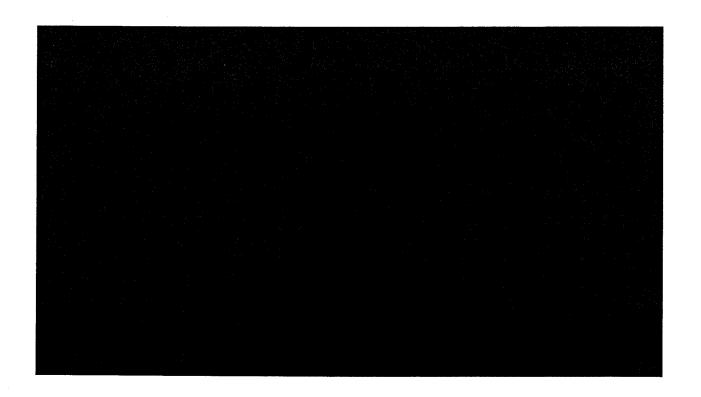
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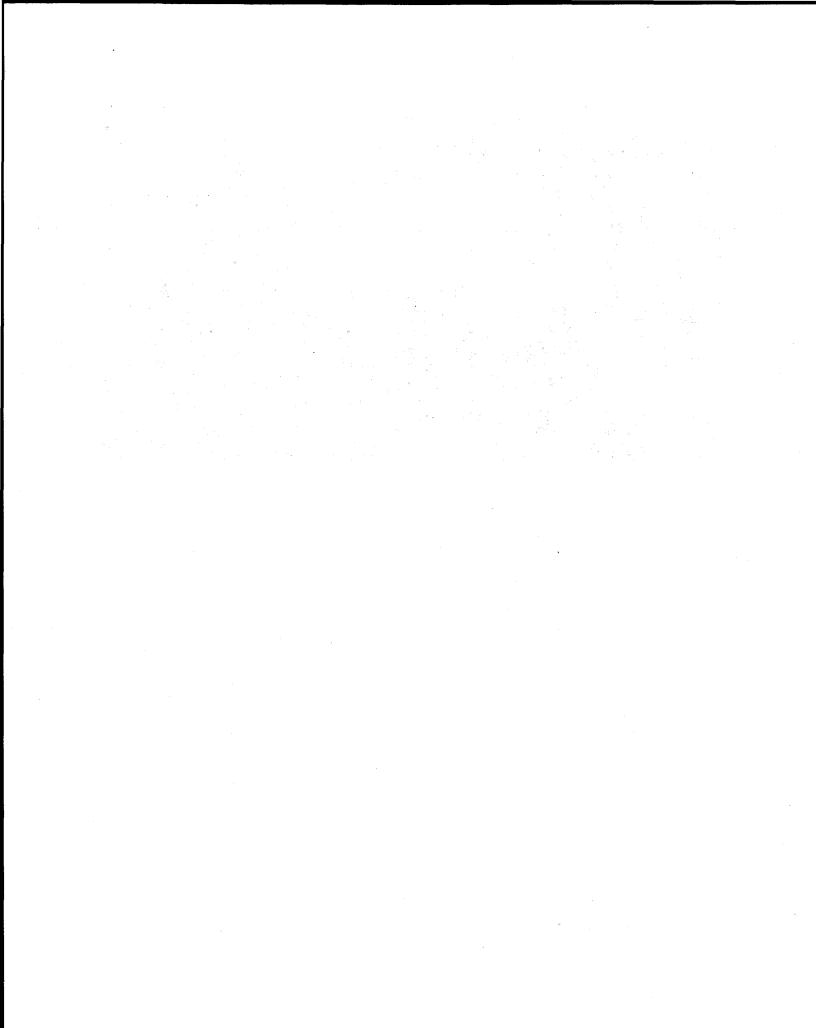
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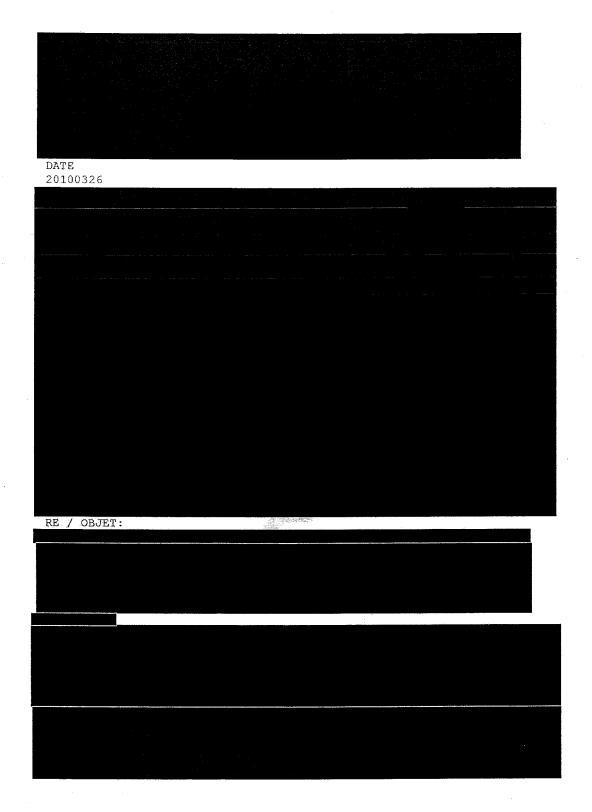
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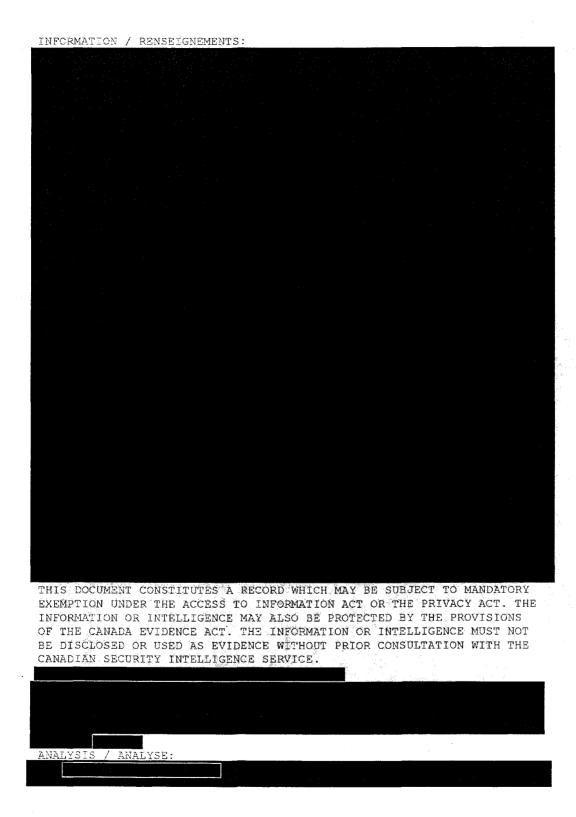


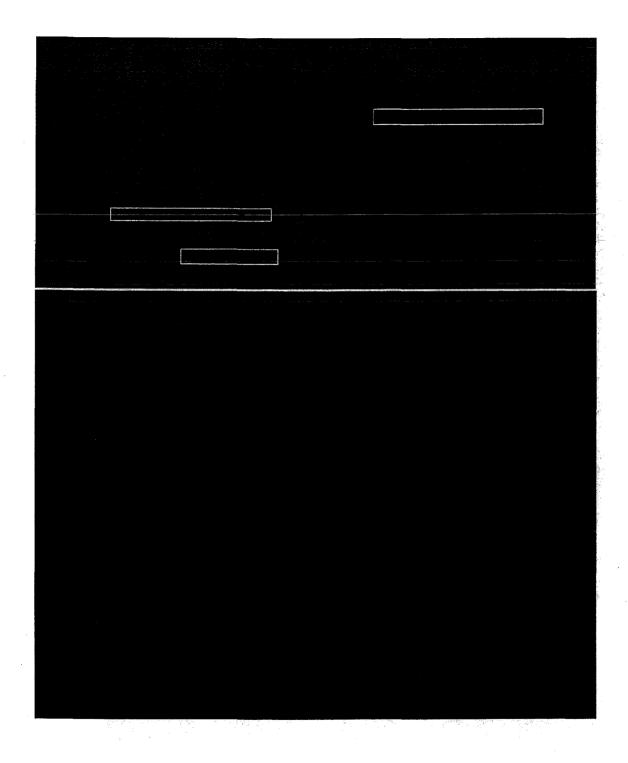
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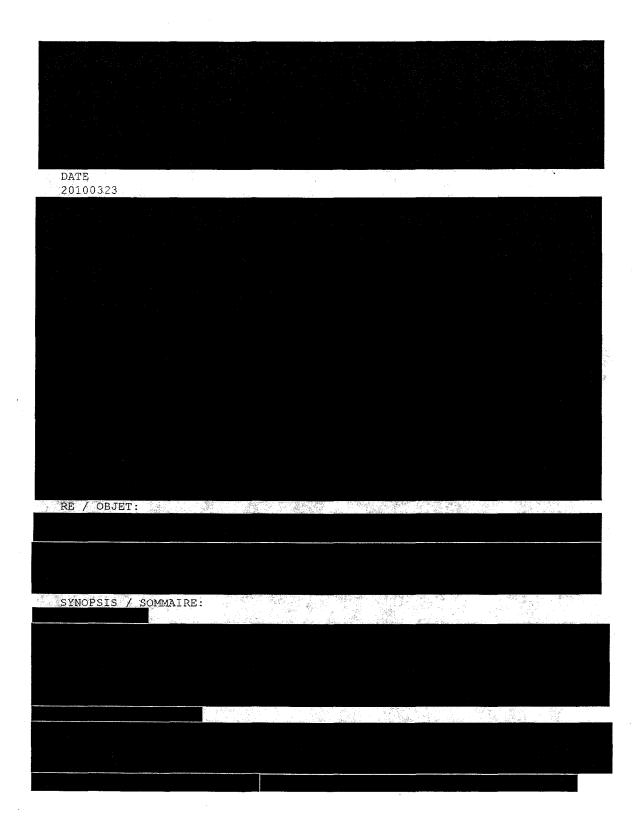
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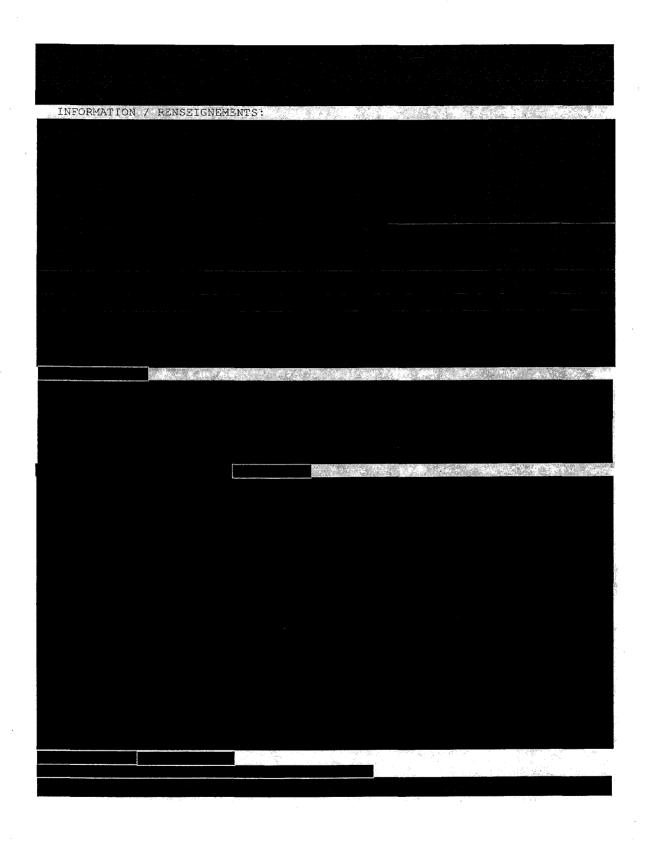


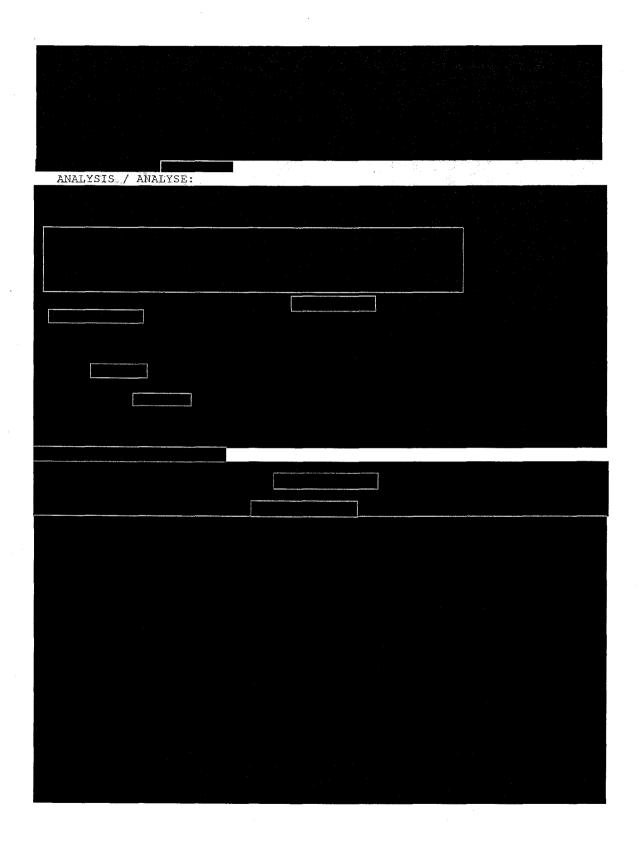




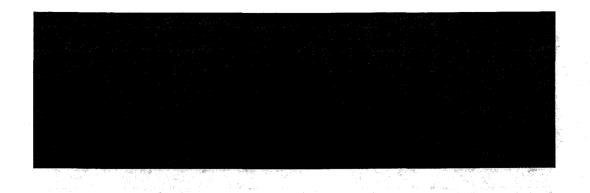
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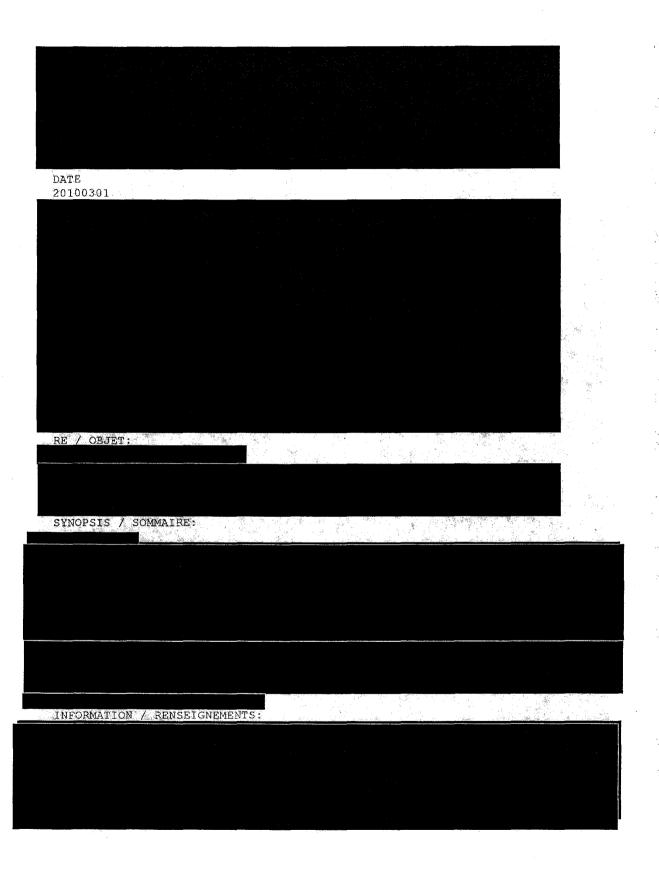
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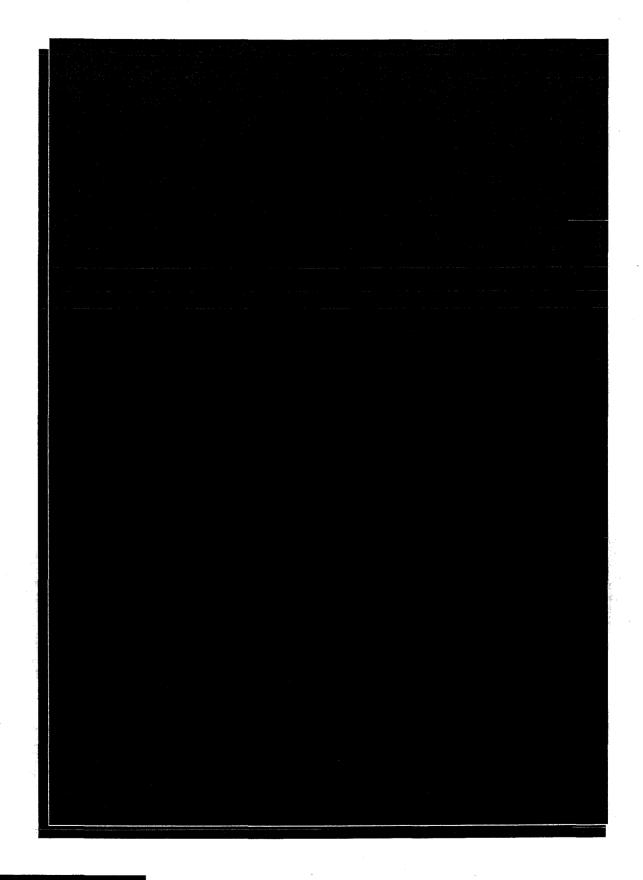
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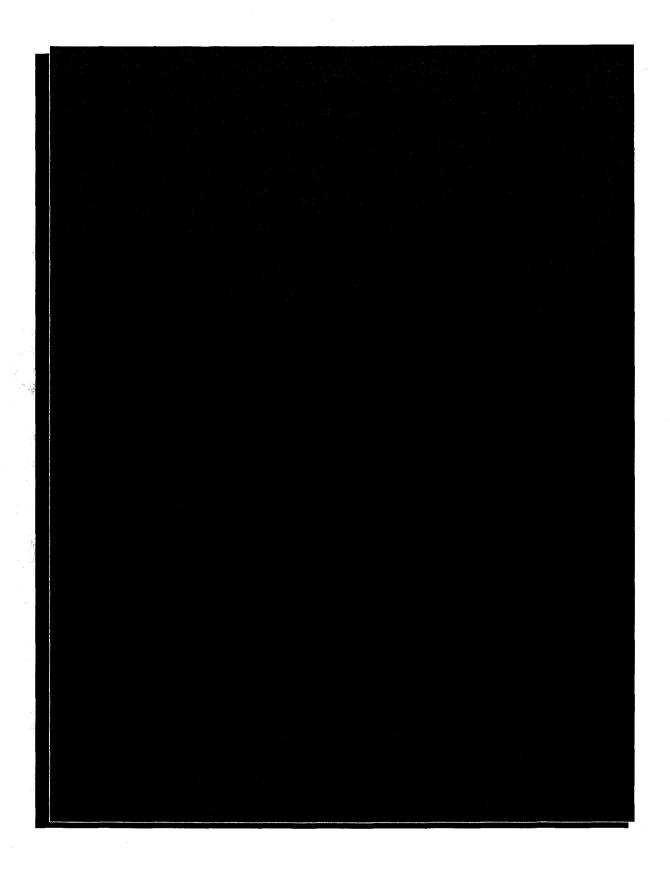
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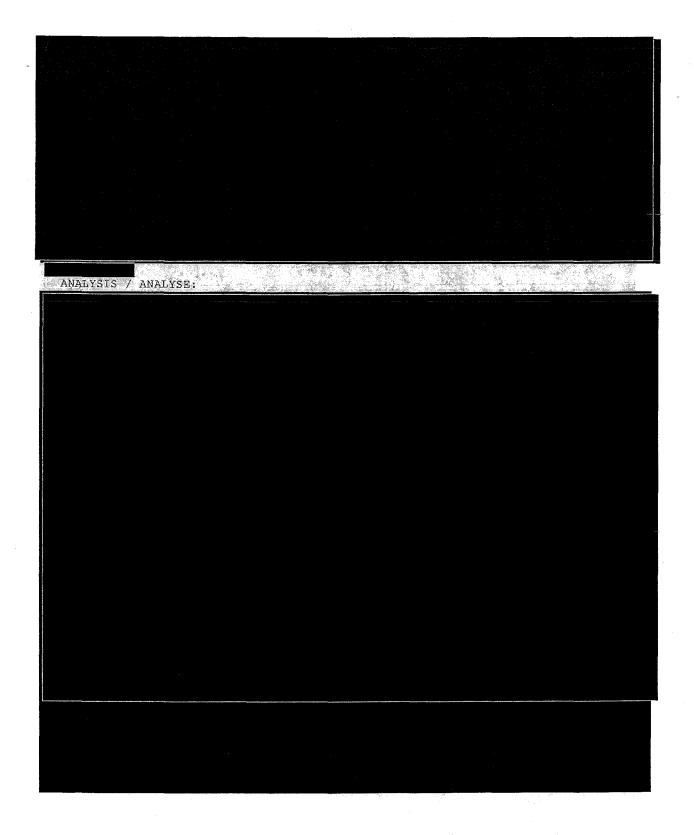


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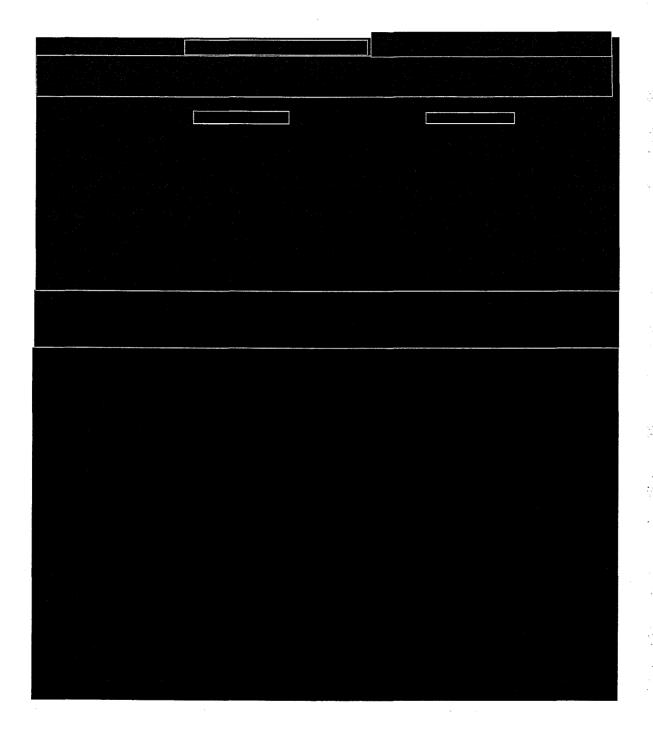
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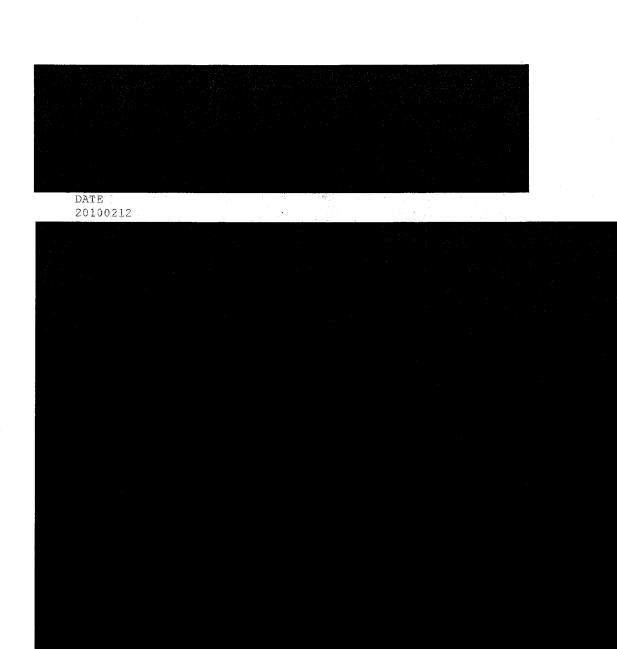
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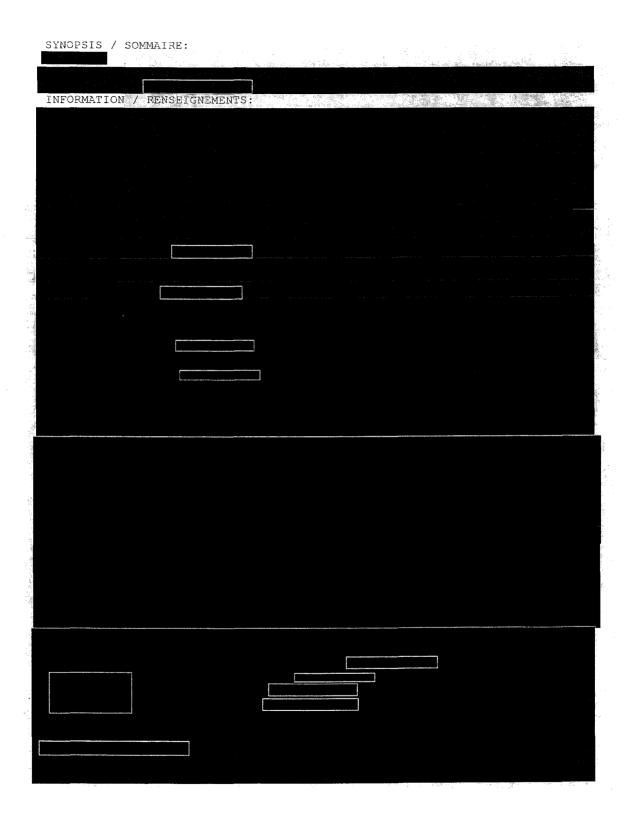
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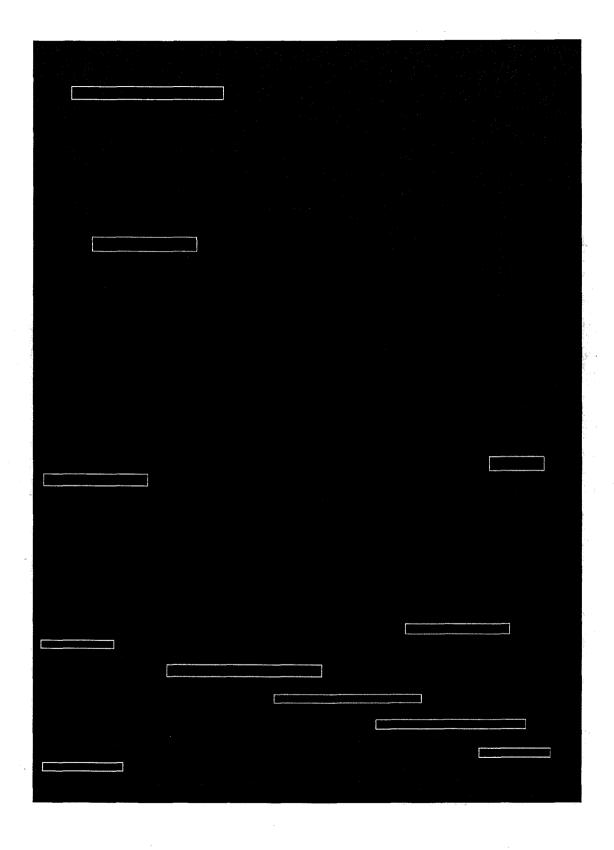
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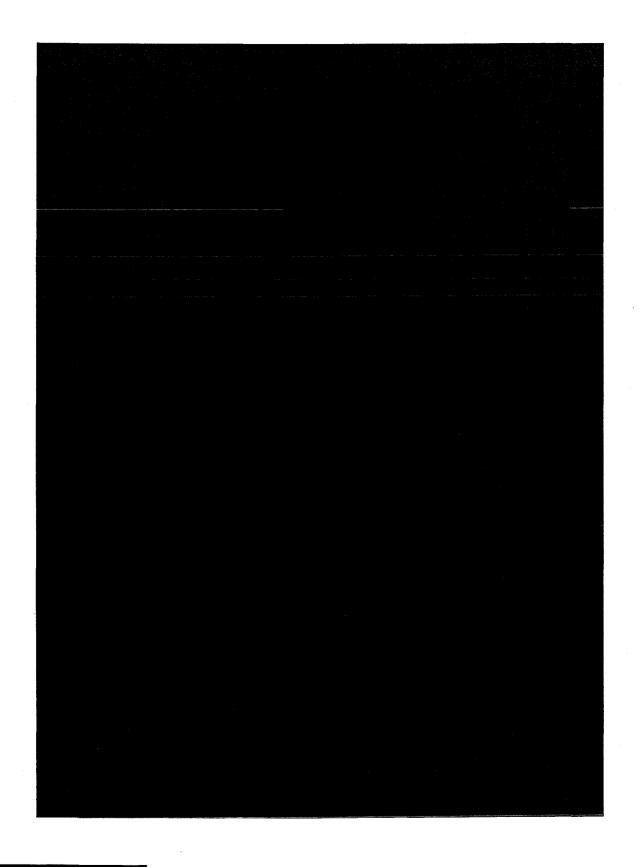


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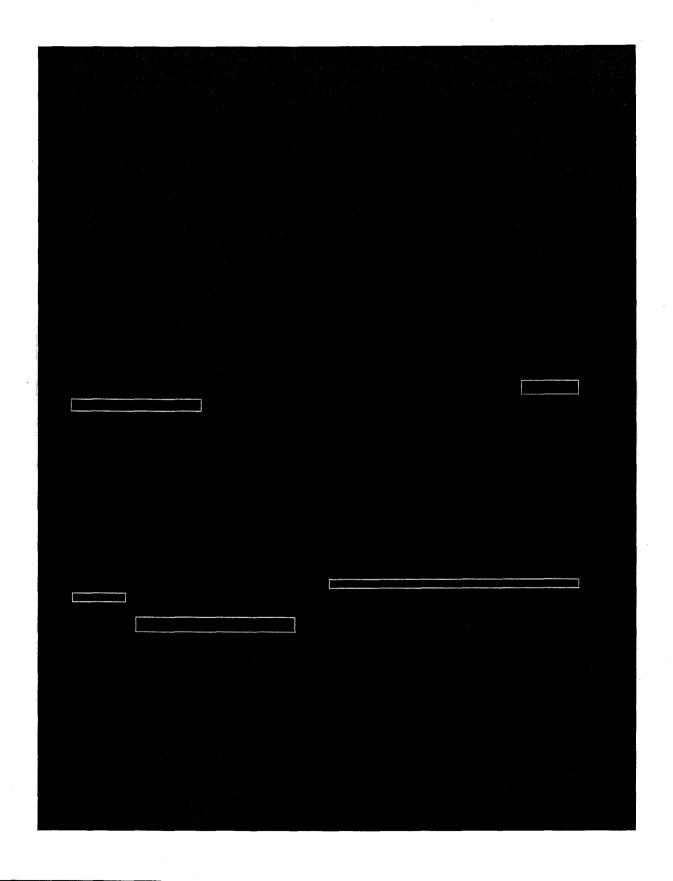


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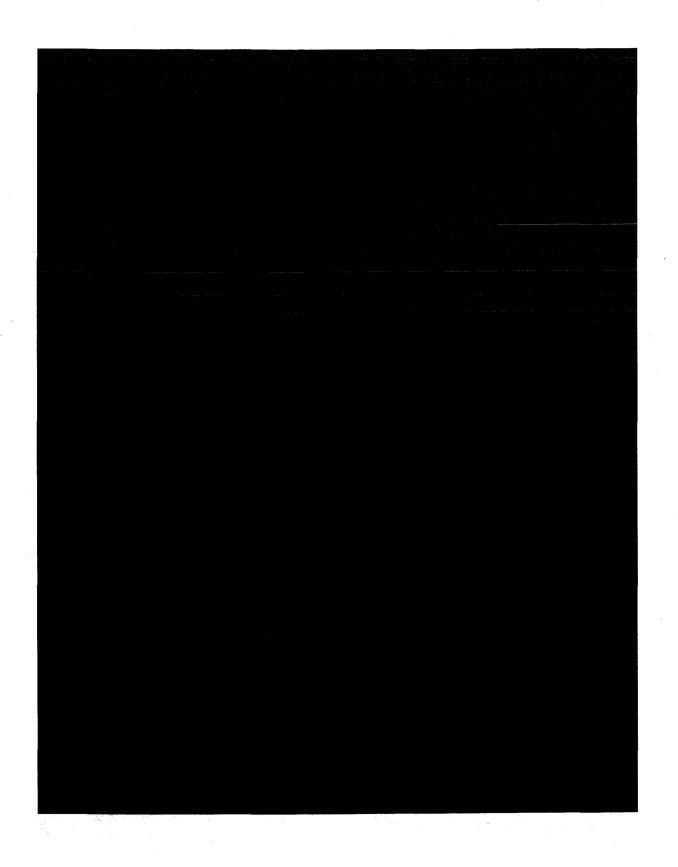
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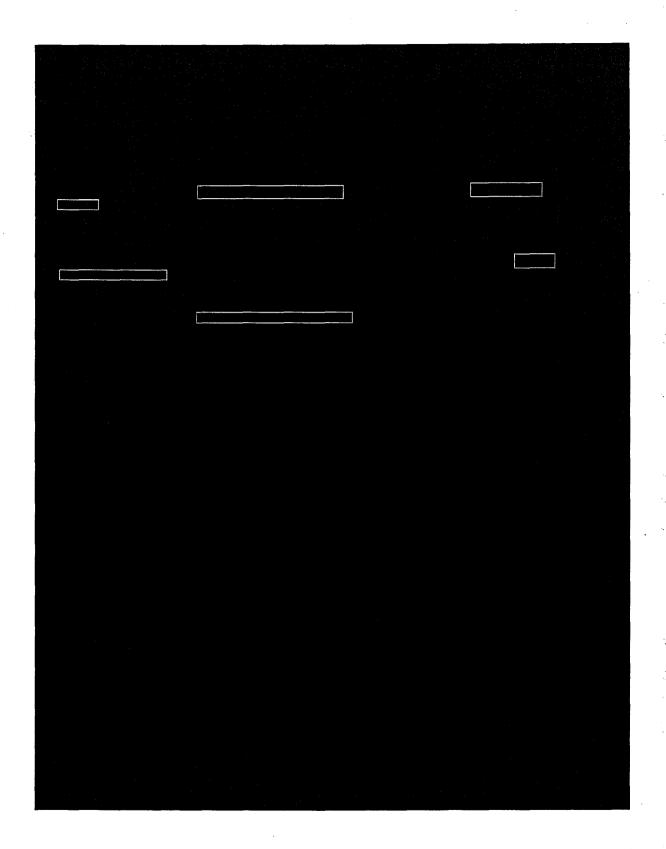


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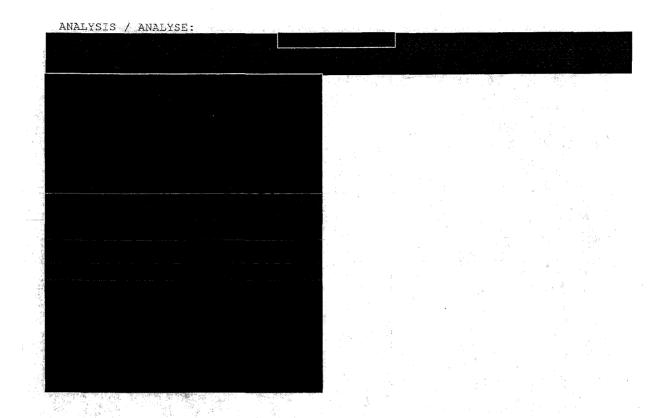


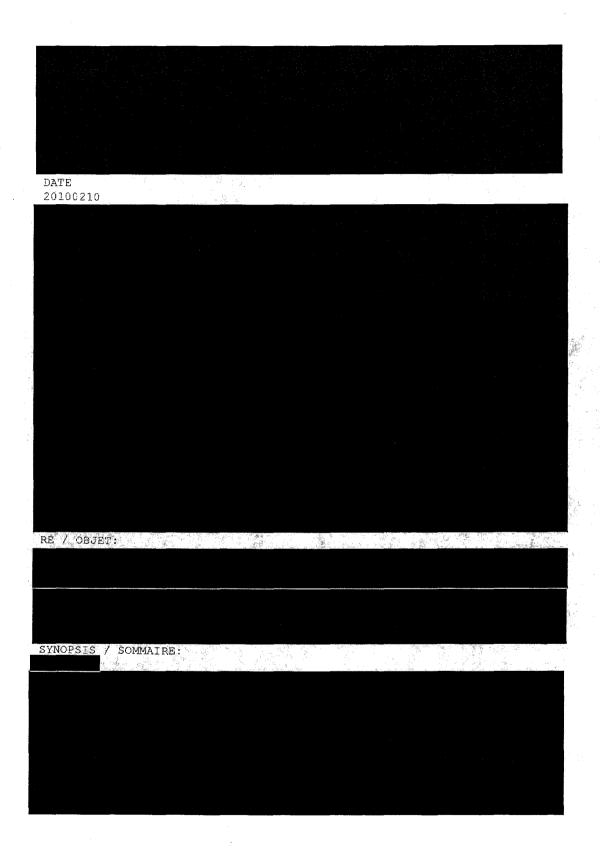
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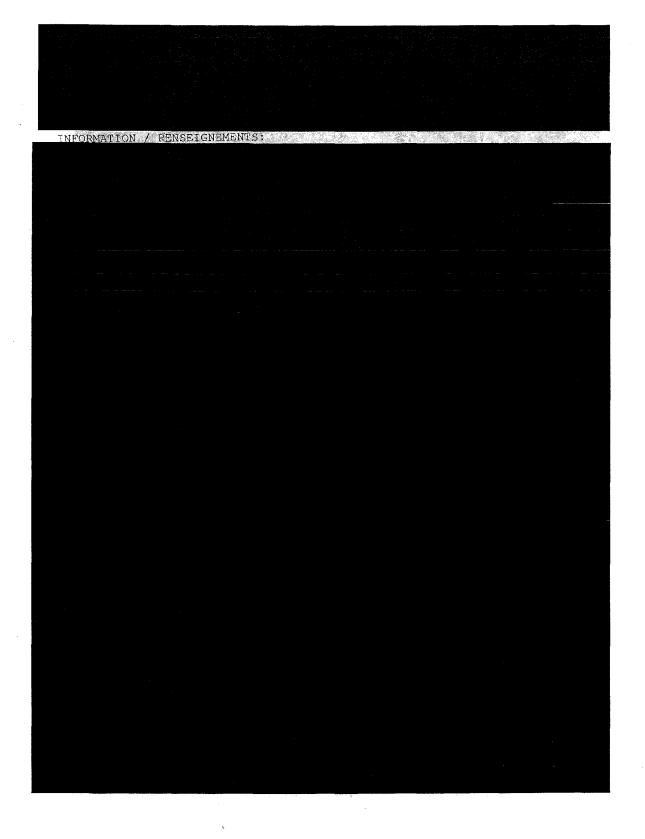


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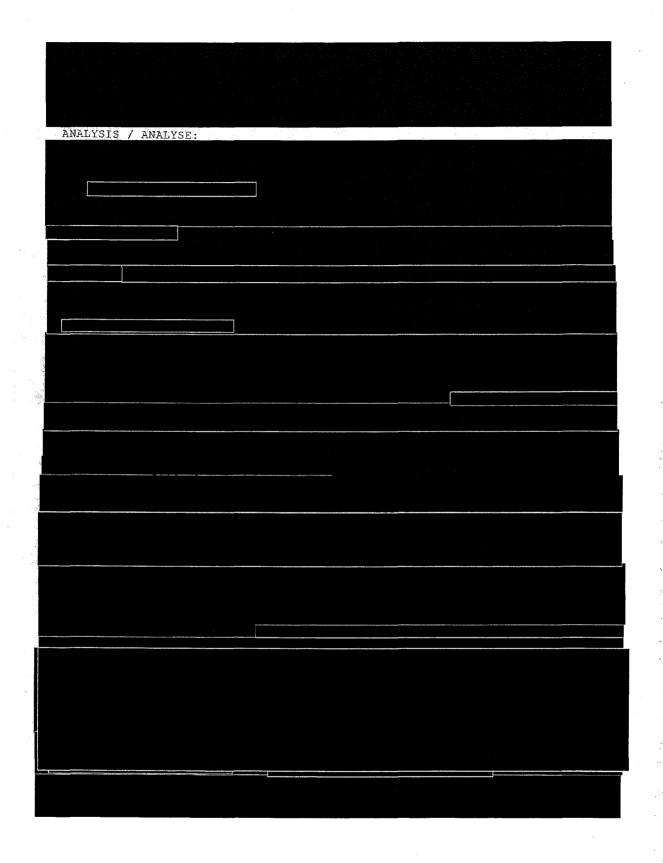


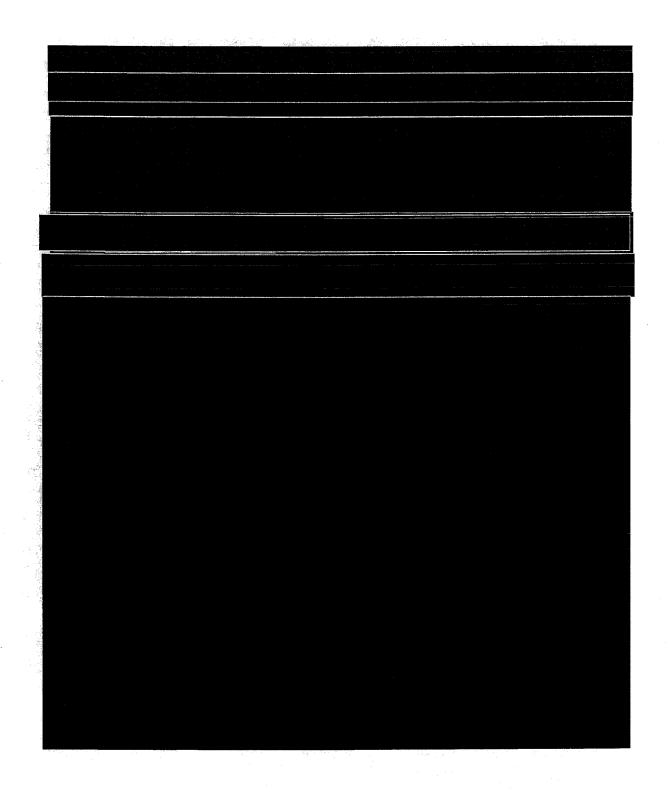
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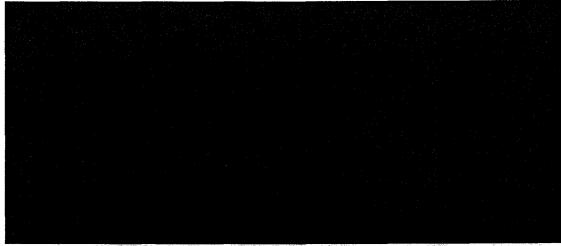


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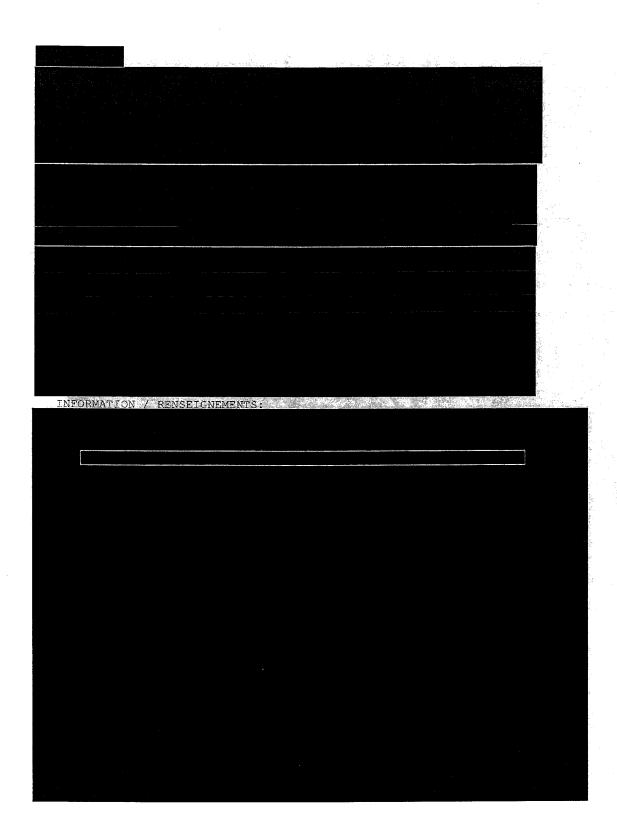
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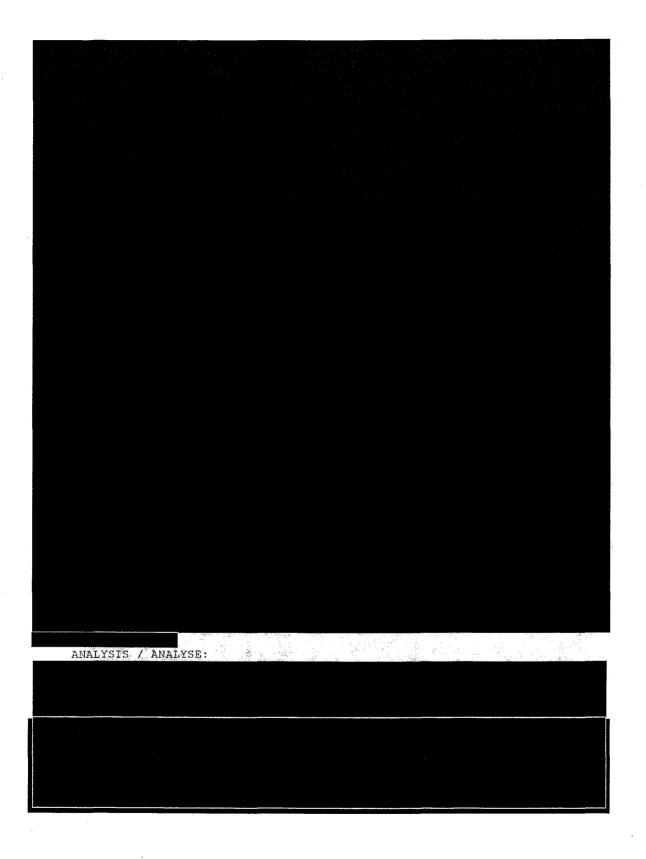
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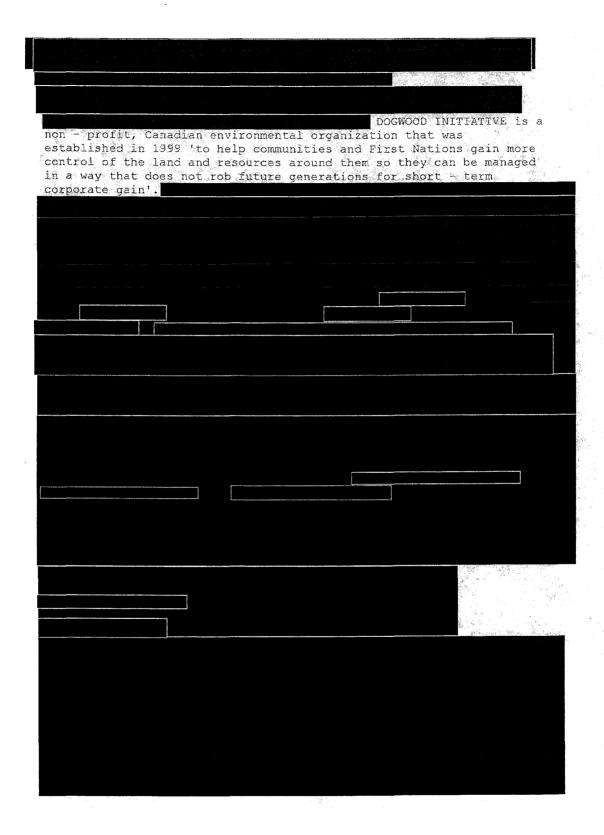


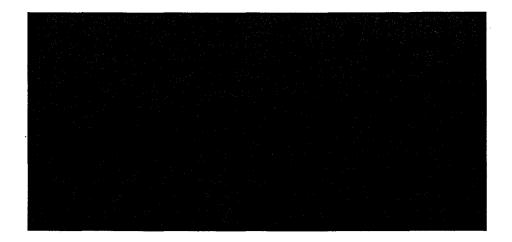
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From / Security Intelligence Review Committee Security Intelligence Review Committee

P.O. Box 2430, Station D Ottawa ON K1P 5W5

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WT/Pds (kg) / VE/ÉV: \$ 447

Method of Payment/Mode de paiement : Metered / Affranchissement a la mar Transaction Amount / Mentant total: \$10.79 Order No. / Nº de commande : 0137558650

Ref./Ref. 1: 43-2016

To / Dest. :

HON, YVES FORTIER 1 PLACE VILLE MARIE, SUITE 2822 MONTRÉAL QC H38 4R4



PLACE \$10.79 POSTAGE METER IMPRESSION HERE APPOSER ICI L'EMPREINTE DE MACHINE À AFFRANCHIR DE \$10.79



ATTENTION

Signatura Require



le case of non-delivery, return at senders expense at counter rates / En cas de non-livraison, renvoyer aux frais de l'expediteur aux tairfs du comptoir,



XPRESSPOST

Tracking Number

1010 4323 5149 6883

Numéro de reperaçe

Instructions

- Choose a box designed for shipping
- 2. Was your items so that they are secure in the box and seal the box using proper shipping tabe.
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- 4. Tape the label so it appears squarely on the targest side of the box (do not bend it around sides or end of box). Do not know over any part of the barcode on the label
- 5. Take the parcel to a Canada Post retail putlet for shipping. All items except Prodyle may also be deposited in a Street Letter Box.
- 1. Choisissez une boite conque pour l'expédition

- 2. Empaquetez solitament vos artícles dans la holte et scalles la tout avec du Bibás d'expádition
- 3. Découper l'étiquette le long du pointité et conservez la partie intériaure pour Zuns.
- 4. Apposez l'édiquelle pour qu'elle paraisse entièrement sur le côte le plus grand de la boile (ne pas la replier sur les cétés). He réconsiez accions partie su code a barres de l'étiquette.
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Order No. / Nº de commande:

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A barcode prouid be printed on the label because Delivery Confirmation is selected, if no her code is visible, please contact the help deax at 1-800-277-4799 for #551518709. Un code à panes gevrait etre imprime sur l'éliquette torsque le conformation de ligration est choisie. Si le code à barres mapparaît pas, veullez communiques avec le service d'assistance de 1-800-277-4799

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Equity Chambers 43 Fluxence Street Ottawa, ON K2P 6W6 T: 613-237-4740 F: 613-237-2680

Paul Champ pchamp@champlaw.ca

Our File: 1555

RECEIVED

FEB 0 6 2014

February 6, 2014

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BY COURIER

Shayna Stawicki, Registrar Security Intelligence Review Committee 122 Bank Street, Suite 200 Ottawa, ON K1P 5N6 James Sp. 18120

Dear Ms Stawicki:

Re: Surveillance of Canadian Citizens and Information Sharing with the National Energy Board

We are legal counsel for the British Columbia Civil Liberties Association ("BCCLA"). By this letter, our client is making a complaint pursuant to section 41 of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act regarding the improper and unlawful actions of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service ("CSIS" or "the Service") in gathering information about Canadian citizens and groups engaging in peaceful and lawful expressive activities, and sharing it with other government bodies and private sector actors.

As set out in greater detail below, recent media reports indicate that the National Energy Board ("NEB" or the "Board") has engaged in systematic information and intelligence gathering about organizations seeking to participate in the Board's Northern Gateway Project hearings. Records obtained under the Access to Information Act confirm that this information and intelligence gathering was undertaken with the co-operation and involvement of CSIS and other law enforcement agencies, and that CSIS participates in sharing intelligence information with the Board's security personnel, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police ("RCMP"), and private petroleum industry security firms. The records suggest that the targeted organizations are viewed as potential security risks simply because they advocate for the protection of the environment.

This complaint is directed at all CSIS employees participating in, directing or supervising the impugned activities described in more detail in the body of this letter. In brief, BCCLA has serious concerns about the scope and extent of the Service's intelligence gathering activities and its practice of monitoring groups and organizations that seek to peacefully participate in public discourse about energy-related programs such as the Northern Gateway Project. BCCLA is particularly concerned about the chilling effect that such intelligence gathering and sharing will have on participation in the Board's proceedings, as

Rights

Equality

Dignity

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Senéce canadies du rersolgnement da sécurité

Paul Champ Champ & Associates Counsel, British Colombia Civil Liberties Association 43 Florence Street Ottawa, ON K2P 0W6

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Dear Mr. Champ:

Thank you for your letter dated February 6, 2014, in which you raise concerns, on behalf of your client, the BC Civil Liberties Association, relating to the investigation of groups and individuals associated with environmental activism.

The activities of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) are governed by the CSIS Act. Our mandate includes, under section 12 of the Act, investigating and advising the Government of Canada on activities that may on reasonable grounds be suspected of constituting threats to national security, defined in section 2 of the act, as: a) esplonage or sabotage; b) foreign interference; c) terrorism and extremism; and d) subversion. The CSIS Act also does not constrain the provision of advice to any particular department, agency, or Minister of the Crown.

As you note, the CSIS Act expressly forbids the investigation of lawful advocacy, protest, or dissent. Such activities can only be investigated when they are carried out in conjunction with the threat-related activities cited above, again as stipulated by the Act. The Service's adherence to the Act, which is of course thoroughly reviewed annually by the Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC), is very well-established. In that regard I would encourage you to examine SIRC's most recent annual report and in particular its review of CSIS activities related to domestic investigations and emerging issues. In that review, SIRC found that the Service adhered to the law and internal policy, that the Service did not investigate "activities related only to legitimate protest and dissent," and that the Service was quick to terminate investigations when individuals were no longer involved in threat-related activity. The above referenced report can be found at www.sirc-csars.uc.co.

In response to your concerns, as articulated in the four bullets outlined on pages 2 to 3 of your letter, it is difficult to respond insofar as credible specifics of any wrongdoing or improper conduct by the Service were not provided. The information and observations are largely speculative and based on third-party information. The Service can, however, assure you that that we conduct ourselves according to the law, policy, and Ministerial Direction.

HO, Box 9732 Postal Station "T" Ottewa, Ontario K16 464 ER 9732 Successia 171 Ottawa (Ottario) N1G 4Ga

Page Canada



Department of Justice Canada

Ministère de la Justice Canada

National Security Litigation & Advisory Group PO Box 8127, Station T Ottawa, Ontario KYKS BHA

September 22, 2014

Groupe Itiges et conseils en sécurité nationale CP \$127, Suppursale T Ottawa (Oslacio) KIG 3H6

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SEP 7 & 2014

BY HAND

Ms. Sylvie Roussel Senior Counsel Security Intelligence Review Committee Jackson Building 122 Bank Street, 4th Floor Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5N6

Dear Ms. Roussel:

BCCLA - Complaint against CSIS Pursuant to Section 41 of the CSIS Act -Re:

Your File 1500-481

Representations by CSIS prior to SIRC Determining Jurisdiction

Please submit this correspondence to the Honourable Yves Fortier who was recently assigned to the above-mentioned complaint.

The Service requests that a management conference be held specifically for the purpose of identifying the issues that will be investigated as part of this complaint. The complaint set out in the February 6, 2014 correspondence to the Security Intelligence Review Committee (the Committee) asks that the Committee investigate overly broad questions that, in many instances, do not relate to "any act or thing done by the Service" as provided by Section 41 of the CSIS Act.

While the Service appreciates and acknowledges the role that organizations like the BCCLA play with respect to civil liberties issues, the Service submits that the BCCLA's complaint must be better defined and articulated into a complaint of a discrete act or thing done by the Service that the Committee is capable of investigating. The Committee must be cautious in allowing a complainant to initiate, by way of a complaint, a review of the Service's investigations regarding domestic threats and information sharing with Canadian government agencies without specific information to support the allegations. The Committee ought not to allow itself to become a proxy of the BCCLA in a matter which falls within the ambit of a review and not a complaint.

Based on the Complainant's letter and the scope of section 41 of the CSIS Act, the Service proposes that the following issues be investigated as part of this complaint:

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Department of Justice Canada

National Security Litigation & Advisory Group PO 80x 6127, Station T Ottawa, Ontario K1C 9H6 Ministère de la Justice Canada

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April 7, 2015

BY MAIL

Ms. Sylvie Roussel
Senior Counsel
Security Intelligence Review Committee
Jackson Building
122 Bank Street, 4th Floor
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5N6

Dear Ms. Roussel:

Re: BCCLA - Complaint against CSIS Pursuant to Section 41 of the CSIS Act Your File 1500-481

Please submit this correspondence to the Honorable Yves Fortier.

Following SIRC's inquiry on our availability for a pre-hearing conference to be held in May we would like to bring to your attention a correspondence dated September 22, 2014 for which the Service has not yet received a response.

On September 22, 2014, the Service requested that a management conference be held specifically for the purpose of identifying the issues that will be investigated in the context of this complaint.

As mentioned in our letter of September 22, 2014, the Service suggested that the issues to be investigated as part of this complaint be limited to the following:

- 1) Did the Service investigate groups or individuals for their engagement in lawful advocacy, protest or dissent activities in relation to the Northern Gateway Pipeline Project?
- 2) If yes, was the investigation lawful?
- 3) Did the Service provide information relating to individuals or groups involved in lawful advocacy, protest or dissent in relation to the Northern Gateway Pipeline Project with the National Energy Board or non-government members of the petroleum industry?
- 4) If yes, was it lawful to provide this information?

Canadä

Page 366 of 506

Champ & Associates

Equity Chambers 43 Florence Street Ottawa, ON K2P OW6 T: 613-237-4740

ochamp@champlaw.ca

F: 613-232-2680

Paul Champ

www.champlaw.ca

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DEFENDANCE TO

DATE

2015-04

Our File: 1555

April 9, 2015

BY COURIER

Sylvie Roussel, Senior Counsel Security Intelligence Review Committee 122 Bank Street, 4th Floor Ottawa, ON K1P 5N6

Stéphanie Dion National Security Litigation & Advisory Group Department of Justice Canada PO Box 8127, Station T Ottawa, ON K1G 3H6

Dear Ms Roussel:

Re: British Columbia Civil Liberties Association ("BCCLA")

Complaint re CSIS Surveillance and Information Sharing with the NEB

SIRC File No.: 1500-481

We are in receipt of and write in response to Ms Dion's letter dated April 7, 2015.

As noted in our earlier correspondence, BCCLA is prepared to proceed with its complaint before Mr Fortier, and welcomes any opportunity to participate in preliminary steps which may assist in moving the Review Committee's inquiry into this important matter forward in a timely and expeditious fashion.

We do not necessarily grasp the distinction that Ms Dion attempts to draw between a "management conference" and a "pre-hearing conference". It would seem to us that the issues raised by Ms Dion are the kind of matters that can and would be discussed in a prehearing conference call. With respect to the specific issues raised by CSIS, we generally agree with the broad issues defined by Ms Dion, with the following revisions:

- 1) Did the Service investigate groups or individuals for their engagement-in-lawfuladvocacy, protest-or-dissent activities in relation to the Northern Gateway Pipeline Project?
- 2) If yes, was the investigation lawful?
- 3) Did the Service provide information relating to individuals or groups involved in lawful, protest or dissent in relation opposed to the Northern Gateway Pipeline Project with the National Energy Board or non-government members of the petroleum industry?
- 4) If yes, was it lawful to provide this information?

Rights

Equality

Dignity

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Department of Justice Ganada

National Security Litigation & Advisory Group PO Box 8127, Station T Ortawa, Ontario K1G 3H8 Ministère de la Justice Canada

Groupe litiges et conseils en sécurité nationale CP 9127, Succursale T Ottawa (Ontario) K1G 3H6

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Sr. Care Part-off // // Registran

April 15, 2015

BY MAIL

Ms. Sylvie Roussel
Senior Counsel
Security Intelligence Review Committee
Jackson Building
122 Bank Street, 4th Floor
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5N6

Dear Ms. Roussel:

Re:

BCCLA - Complaint against CSIS Pursuant to Section 41 of the CSIS Act

Your File 1500-481

We acknowledge receipt and are writing in response to Mr. Champ's letter of April 9, 2015.

We agree with the issues as re-formulated by Mr. Champ. We have made one other minor change which is outlined below. As such, we understand that the issues to be examined as part of this complaint will be the following:

- 1) Did the Service investigate groups or individuals for their activities in relation to the Northern Gateway Pipeline Project?
- 2) If yes, was the investigation lawful?
- 3) Did the Service provide information relating to individuals or groups opposed to the Northern Gateway Pipeline Project to the National Energy Board or non-government members of the petroleum industry?
- 4) If yes, was it lawful to provide this information?

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Page 366 of 506



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Equity Chambers 43 Florence Street Ottawa, ON K2P 0W6 T: 613-237-4740 F: 613-232-2680

Paul Champ pchamp@champlaw.ca

Our File: 1555

0506/15

March 25, 2015

BY COURIER

Shayna Stawicki, Registrar Security Intelligence Review Committee 122 Bank Street, 4th Floor Ottawa, ON K1P 5N6

Dear Ms Stawicki:

Re: British Columbia Civil Liberties Association ("BCCLA")

Complaint re CSIS Surveillance and Information Sharing with the NEB

SIRC File No.: 1500-481

We are writing to inquire as to the status of above-noted complaint by the British Columbia Civil Liberties Association ("BCCLA"), which was first presented to the Review Committee on February 6, 2014.

It has now been more than three months since we last heard from the Review Committee, and BCCLA continues to await further information from SIRC regarding the next steps in this matter. As noted in our December 9, 2014 letter, BCCLA is prepared to proceed with its complaint before Mr Fortier, and looks forward to hearing from you soon to ensure that the Review Committee's inquiry into this important matter proceeds in a timely fashion.

We also take this opportunity to call the Review Committee's attention to additional records which have recently been disclosed under the Access to Information Act. These documents, copies of which are enclosed for Mr Fortier's review, provide further evidence of CSIS's ongoing involvement in gathering and sharing information and intelligence about protests concerning the petroleum industry, including the Northern Gateway Project. Perhaps most significantly, these records show that CSIS prepares reports and shares

Rights

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PROTECTED B

File No.: 1500-481

THE SECURITY INTELLIGENCE REVIEW COMMITTEE

IN THE MATTER of a complaint filed by the

pursuant to section 41 of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act

PRE-HEARING CONFERENCE ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 2015, at 10:00 a.m.

Honourable L. Yves Fortier, P.C., C.C., O.Q., Q.C., Presiding Member

AGENDA

- 1. Introduction and identification of the parties
- 2. Purpose of the conference
- Identification of the document(s) setting out the complaint
- Allegation(s) of the complaint to be investigated
- 5. Format of hearing: in writing or orally
- Number and identity of witnesses including a brief summary of the nature of their testimony
- Number of days for testimony
- 8. Hearing date(s) and place of hearing
- 9. Use of electronic devices
- 10. Schedule for filing of documents prior to hearing
- 11. Need for an interpreter and/or simultaneous translation
- 12. Request for ex parte hearing
- 13. Written submissions
- 14. Any other matters

Security Intelligence Review Committee



Comité de surveillance des activités de renseignement de sécurité

PROTECTED 8

File No.: 1500-481

May 15, 2015

BY COURIER

Mr. Paul Champ Counsel Champ & Associates Equity Chambers 43 Florence Street Ottawa, ON K2P 0W6

Ms. Stephanie Dion Counsel National Security Litigation & Advisory Group Department of Justice Canada PO Box 8127, Station T Ottawa, ON K1G 3H6

Dear Counsel:

RE:

COMPLAINT AGAINST THE CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE PURSUANT TO SECTION 41 OF THE CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE ACT

Lam writing on behalf of the Presiding member, the Hon. Yves Fortier, P.C., C.C., O.Q., Q.C. The Presiding member has considered the letter of complaint dated February 6, 2014 and the correspondence dated September 22, 2014, March 25, 2015, and April 7, 9 and 15, 2015. With respect to the proposed issues to be examined as part of the complaint as set out by Ms. Dion in her letter dated April 15, 2015, the Presiding member has raised the following questions which the parties are invited to consider and address during the pre-hearing conference to be conducted on May 20, 2015:

- 1) Given the wording of section 12 of the CSIS Act which provides that the Service "shall collect, by investigation or otherwise" and the allegations in the letter of complaint to the effect that the Service is "gethering information" and "monitoring and surveillance", what meaning shall be attributed to the words "investigate" and "investigation" in the April 15th letter?
- 2) Whether the "groups or individuals" referred to in questions 1 and 3 of the April 15th letter are those set out on pages 2 and 6 of the letter of complaint?

P.O. Box / C.P. 2430, Station / Secoursale "O" Ottawa, Canada K1P 5W5 Tai: 613 990-8441 | Fax: 613 990-5230

0896/15 Page 302 of 506

- 3) Whether the expression "non-government members of the petroleum industry" is limited to the private-sector industry?
- 4) While the issues to be examined in the April 15th letter only refer to the Northern Gateway Project, the March 25th letter refers to "protests concerning the petroleum industry, including the Northern Gateway Project" and the attachment to the letter refers to hydraulic fracturing protests in New Brunswick. What is the intended purpose of the references to the protests in New Brunswick?

Should you have any questions with respect to the foregoing, please do not hesitate to contact me at (613) 990-6319.

Yours sincerely,

Shayna Stawicki Registrar

Charles

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5 of 11 AGC0485

Page 460 of 566

7 of 11 AGC0485

PROTECTED B

File No.: 1500-481

THE SECURITY INTELLIGENCE REVIEW COMMITTEE

IN THE MATTER of a complaint filed by the

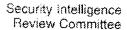
pursuant to section 41 of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act

PRE-HEARING CONFERENCE ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 2015, at 10:00 a.m.

Honourable L. Yves Fortier, P.C., C.C., O.Q., Q.C., Presiding Member

AGENDA

- 1. Introduction and identification of the parties
- 2. Purpose of the conference
- Identification of the document(s) setting out the complaint
- Allegation(s) of the complaint to be investigated
- 5. Format of hearing: in writing or orally
- Number and identity of witnesses including a brief summary of the nature of their testimony
- 7. Number of days for testimony
- 8. Hearing date(s) and place of hearing
- 9. Use of electronic devices
- Schedule for filing of documents prior to hearing
- 11. Need for an interpreter and/or simultaneous translation
- 12. Request for ex parte hearing
- 13. Written submissions
- 14. Any other matters





Comité de surveillance des activités de renseignement de sécurité

PROTECTED B

File No.: 1500-481

May 15, 2015

BY COURIER

Mr. Paul Champ Counsel Champ & Associates Equity Chambers 43 Florence Street Ottawa, ON K2P 0W6

Ms. Stephanie Dion Counsel National Security Litigation & Advisory Group Department of Justice Canada PO Box 8127, Station T Ottawa, ON K1G 3H6

Dear Counsel:

RE:

COMPLAINT AGAINST THE CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE PURSUANT TO SECTION 41 OF THE CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE ACT

I am writing on behalf of the Presiding member, the Hon. Yves Fortier, P.C., C.C., O.Q., Q.C. The Presiding member has considered the letter of complaint dated February 6, 2014 and the correspondence dated September 22, 2014, March 25, 2015, and April 7, 9 and 15, 2015. With respect to the proposed issues to be examined as part of the complaint as set out by Ms. Dion in her letter dated April 15, 2015, the Presiding member has raised the following questions which the parties are invited to consider and address during the pre-hearing conference to be conducted on May 20, 2015:

- 1) Given the wording of section 12 of the CSIS Act which provides that the Service "shall collect, by investigation or otherwise" and the allegations in the letter of complaint to the effect that the Service is "gathering information" and "monitoring and surveillance", what meaning shall be attributed to the words "investigate" and "investigation" in the April 15th letter?
- 2) Whether the "groups or individuals" referred to in questions 1 and 3 of the April 15th letter are those set out on pages 2 and 6 of the letter of complaint?

P.O. Bex / C.P. 2430, Station / Succursale *D* Ottawa, Canada K1P 5W5 Tel: 613 990-8441 Fax: 613 990-5230

Page 416 25 3 16

- 3) Whether the expression "non-government members of the petroleum industry" is limited to the private-sector industry?
- 4) While the issues to be examined in the April 15th letter only refer to the Northern Gateway Project, the March 25th letter refers to "protests concerning the petroleum industry, including the Northern Gateway Project" and the attachment to the letter refers to hydraulic fracturing protests in New Brunswick. What is the intended purpose of the references to the protests in New Brunswick?

Should you have any questions with respect to the foregoing, please do not hesitate to contact me at (613) 990-6319.

Yours sincerely,

Dours

Shayna Stawicki Registrar

CATACTIC

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Papasisto de das

Melissa Netley

a/Direc of Operations

Courts Administration Service

 \mathcal{J}^d floor – 701 West Georgia Street

Vancouver, BC

Tel: 604-566-5290

Fax: 604-666-8181

Pade Call Wat 10 1

Karc ne Chenier

From:

Shayna Stawicki

Sent:

Thursday, August 06, 2015 5:51 PM

To:

Karolyne Chenier

Subject:

FW: 1500-481: Complainant's Supplementary Book of Documents

Pls file

From: Shayna Stawicki

Sent: Thursday, August 06, 2015 5:51 PM

To: 'Dion, Stéphanie'

Subject: RE: 1500-481: Complainant's Supplementary Book of Documents

Please note the member's response:

« Having received and reviewed the Complainant's supplementary book of documents and noted that the Service has not formulated any objection to its filing at this late hour, the Committee allows the filing of same in the record of this case. »

Have a good evening.

Shayna Stawicki

Registrar- Senior Legal Assistant/ Greffière- Adjointe juridique principale Security Intelligence Review Committee/ Comité de surveillance des activités de renseignement de sécurité (613) 990-6319

From: Dion, Stéphanie imailto: Stephanie. Dionio justice. ec. cal

Sent: Thursday, August 06, 2015 4:29 PM

To: Shayna Stawicki

Cc:

Subject: RE: 1500-481: Complainant's Supplementary Book of Documents

Good afternoon,

We have received the Complainant's supplementary book of documents. We defer to the Committee's decision as to whether or not filing the supplementary documents should be permitted.

Sincerely,

Stéphanie Dion

Avocate | Counsel

Groupe litiges et conseils en sécurité nationale | National Security Litigation & Advisory Group stephanie don@iustice.cc.ca

Téléphone | Telephone: 613-842-1356

From: Shayna Stawicki [mailto:Shayna Stawicki@sirc-csars.gc.ca]

Sent: Thursday, August 06, 2015 12:28 PM

Pad 500/15

To: Dion, Stéphanie

Subje 1500-481: Complainant's Supplementary Book of Documents

Good afternoon,

I have received a supplementary book of documents in above file for next weeks hearing. I will ask the member whether or not he accepts it on such late notice but I would like to inform him of the Service's position. Does the Service object to the filing of these documents?

Thank you.

Shayna Stawicki

Registrar- Senior Legal Assistant/ Greffière- Adjointe juridique principale Security Intelligence Review Committee/ Comité de surveillance des activités de renseignement de sécurité (613) 990-6319

Page 585-9 716

Franchis Doucet

From:

Shayna Stawicki

Sent: To: Monday, September 14, 2015 5:00 PM François Doucet; Chantelle Bowers

Subject:

FW: 1500-481

From: Shayna Stawicki

Sent: Monday, September 14, 2015 5:00 PM

To: 'Paul Champ' Subject: RE: 1500-481

Extension granted by the presiding member until September 18th.

The Service will then be provided with 2 weeks from the date that they receive the information to advise the presiding member of the Service's preferred modalities for Professor Whitaker's cross-examination.

Shayna Stawicki

Registrar- Senior Legal Assistant/ Greffière- Adjointe juridique principale Security Intelligence Review Committee/ Comité de surveillance des activités de renseignement de sécurité (613) 990-6319

From: Paul Champ [mailto:pchamp@champlaw.ca]
Sent: Monday, September 14, 2015 9:10 AM

To: Shayna Stawicki Subject: RE: 1500-481

Ms Stawicki,

Please see attached correspondence.

Paul Champ
CHAMP & ASSOCIATES | CHAMP & AYOCATS
43 Florence Street | 43, rue Florence
Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0W6
T: (613) 237-2441
F | Téléc.: (613) 232-2680

www.champlaw.ca

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Francois Doucet

From:

Registrar-Greffier

Sent:

Friday, September 18, 2015 3:32 PM

To: Subject: Francois Doucet FW: 1500-481

Attachments:

WhitakerAffPDF.PDF

From: Registrar-Greffier

Sent: Friday, September 18, 2015 3:31 PM
To: 'Paul Champ' < <u>pchamp@champlaw.ca</u>>

Subject: RE: 1500-481

Many thanks for this Mr. Champ. I await the original by mail.

In future, if you are communicating with me by email, would it possible to email the Registrar's email account instead of the account with my name in it?

Many thanks,

Shayna Stawicki

Registrar- Senior Legal Assistant/ Greffière- Adjointe juridique principale Security Intelligence Review Committee/ Comité de surveillance des activités de renseignement de sécurité (613) 990-6319

From: Paul Champ [mailto:pchamp@champlaw.ca]

Sent: Friday, September 18, 2015 2:51 PM

To: Shayna Stawicki < Shayna Stawicki@sirc-csars.gc.ca>

Subject: RE: 1500-481

Ms Stawicki,

Please see attached Affidavit of Professor Reg Whitaker. I understand that the Committee will forward this document to CSIS for its consideration.

I look forward to hearing how CSIS would like to conduct an examination.

Paul Champ

CHAMP & ASSOCIATES | CHAMP & AVOCATS

43 Florence Street | 43, rue Florence

Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0W6

T: (613) 237-2441

F + Teléc.: (613) 232-2680

www.champlaw.ca

Page 598 017 /15

SIRC File No. 1500-481

THE SECURITY INTELLIGENCE REVIEW COMMITTEE

In the matter of a Complaint filed by the BRITISH COLUMBIA CIVIL LIBERTIES ASSOCIATION pursuant to section 41 of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act, RSC 1985, c.C-23

BETWEEN:

BRITISH COLUMBIA CIVIL LIBERTIES ASSOCIATION

Complainant

- and -

THE CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE

Respondent

AFFIDAVIT OF REG WHITAKER

- I, Reg Whitaker, of the City of Victoria, in the Province of British Columbia, do AFFIRM THAT:
- 1. I am a Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus in the Department of Political Science at York University and an adjunct professor of Political Science at the University of Victoria. I completed my PhD in Political Economy at the University of Toronto in 1976 and have been a university professor since that time. One of my primary areas of study over the years has been the security and intelligence activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police ("RCMP") and the Canadian Security Intelligence Service ("CSIS"). I have published scores of scholarly articles over the years on national security activities of the RCMP and/or CSIS and in 2012 published, with two co-authors, a book on the history of national security policing in Canada, entitled Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada From the Fenians to Fortress

America. The book was the winner of 2013 Canada Prize in Social Sciences, awarded by the Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences. A copy of my c.v. is attached hereto as Exhibit "A".

- 2. I have been asked to provide an overview or history of the RCMP/CSIS selection of targets for intelligence investigations in Canada. As I will set out in more detail below, for most of Canada's history, there has been no clear demarcation between legitimate and illegitimate targets for investigation. A royal commission in 1977 discovered that the RCMP security service maintained a name index with 1.3-million entries, representing 800,000 files on individuals.
- 3. Beyond protecting the country from espionage, sabotage, terrorism, political violence, and covert foreign interference threats generally recognized as reasonable targets for intelligence investigations RCMP and CSIS have also targeted groups and individuals said to be "subversive", a vague and elusive term that can take many forms in the minds of those hunting it. These targets of RCMP and CSIS surveillance for "subversive" activities have often been those engaged in what might be described as 'left wing' activism, or those who appear to challenge the political/economic status quo. Those targeted over the years in Canada include workers striking for higher wages and better working conditions, refugees fleeing political conflict and persecution abroad, gay men and lesbian women, religious sects like Doukhobors and Jehovah's Witnesses, democratic socialists, Quebec separatists, First Nations activists, anti-globalization activists, and so on.
- 4. As will be explained in more detail below, CSIS was created in large part to address the problems of improper targeting in security investigations. Operating under a statutory mandate that imposes restraints on its reach and methods, CSIS has shed some, but not all, of the ideological baggage of the RCMP. In many cases, CSIS operates under the same sort of bias towards those who challenge the economic or political status quo.

RCMP SECURITY SERVICE 1920-1984

- 5. Since its inception as a federal police force in 1920 until 1984 the RCMP maintained a unit under different names and organizational designations, generally known as the 'security service'. The purpose of the security service was to investigate and report to the government of Canada on threats to national security. For the six and a half decades of its existence, ambiguity was inherent in the definition of its specific mission.
- 6. There was never a statutory mandate for the security service spelling out parliamentary expectations of what the security service was supposed to do, nor any declared limits on its activities. Nor was there language in successive RCMP Acts that shed any light on the specific security service mandate.
- 7. The Criminal Code includes or has included a number of offences that may be described as national security-related, including espionage, sabotage, terrorism, violence to overthrow established government, and sedition. While national security-related laws underwent various changes over the period 1920 to 1984, all of the above named categories of offences were targets of security service attention. It cannot be said however that these were the only such targets.
- 8. Observers of both the RCMP security service and of similar security intelligence organizations in other Western countries, have identified 'political policing' as an enduring feature of state power in Western liberal democracies. Political policing refers to efforts of the liberal democratic state to set limits on the legitimacy of political activity and political expression. Those individuals and groups who fall outside the boundaries of legitimacy thus defined are deemed appropriate subjects for intrusive state surveillance and sanctions (such as designation as political 'security risks' in clearances for employment in 'sensitive' positions or for immigration,

refugee and citizenship applications) that would be deemed inappropriate for those who fall within the boundaries of political legitimacy.

- 9. The RCMP security service throughout its decades-long history always targeted, in addition to those believed on reasonable and probable grounds to have committed or conspired to commit national security-related Criminal Code offences, those who were suspected of a more ambiguous category of activities, not defined anywhere in Canadian law: 'subversion' (overlapping with the difficult legal term of 'sedition', but by no means identical to it). Subversion could mean any activity believed to be directed toward the covert undermining of the established order, whether political or economic. Subversion was normally related to the better defined criminal offences, that is to say, the security service and the elected officials who backed the security service, argued that subversion was part of a continuum of national security threats that ultimately led to overt challenges to law and order and state security. Subversive activities might be technically legal, and thus a class of actions not normally subject to criminal sanctions. However, they were believed to be undertaken with the intention of undermining from within the defences of liberal democracy, thus weakening the capacity of the state to withstand overtly violent or revolutionary challenges.
- 10. It is clear from the historical record that security service targeting of persons or groups suspected of subversion has always presented certain identifiable biases. Policing in general is always to a great extent about defence of the established order, including the protection of wealth and power. Political policing is always most suspicious of those seeking change, especially radical change, and least suspicious of supporters of the existing order. The term 'bias' here is used not in the pejorative sense of 'prejudice' but as a structural tendency, as an inflection in the interface between political policing and society. In short, political policing tends to exhibit a small-'c' conservative bias.
- 11. To be more concrete, we may look at some leading historical targets of the security service. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the predecessors of the RCMP

security service focussed much of their attention on Sikh and Irish Republican movements in Canada against British imperial rule over their homelands. While these movements were often violent and constituted threats to public safety, the focus of the Canadian state on these groups also had the effect of labelling all Sikhs and Irish Catholics as members of 'suspect communities', with detrimental effects on ethnic relations and their full integration into Canadian life.

12. The 1919 Winnipeg General Strike and the accompanying national labour revolt, followed by the formation of the Canadian Communist party in 1921 coincided with the creation of the RCMP security service, which from its earliest beginnings focussed its targeting almost exclusively on the left wing of the political spectrum. The primary fixation of the security service on Communism as the main threat to national security continued unabated from the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 through to the collapse of Communism and the Soviet bloc in 1989-90. While this targeting was justified by the apparent revolutionary ideology of the Communists and by espionage by Canadian Communists on behalf of the Soviet Union as exemplified in the 1946 Gouzenko spy affair, it had ramifications for advocates of various causes and those with radical or left-wing but non-Communist views - many indeed who were bitter rivals of the Communists.

INTRUSIVE SURVEILLANCE OF TRADE UNIONS AND NON-COMMUNIST LEFT

13. The impact of intrusive state surveillance on the wider non-Communist left can be glimpsed in the vast dossiers amassed by the RCMP security service on the trade union movement from the 1920s to the 1980s. Data was carefully collected and filed not just on the small number of unions that had prominent Communists in leadership roles but on unions of every possible kind, from coast to coast, even including ancillary groups attached to trade unions, such as ladies' auxiliaries and other support groupings. The internal intelligence bulletins compiled by the security service for

internal use and ministerial attention feature heavy emphasis on union activity and strikes.

- 14. Moreover, throughout most of this period, intelligence on unions and unionists was primarily drawn from human sources in place. Very occasionally sources might be undercover Mounties, but in the vast majority of cases they were members of the unions who had been enlisted, voluntarily or otherwise, to inform on their associates. Given the volume of intelligence collected on unions, this represented a substantial army of informants honeycombing unions across Canada, all reporting regularly but secretly to the RCMP security service.
- 15. The security service indicated, among themselves and to others in government, that trade unions were legitimate associations of civil society; that legal strikes were an appropriate instrument in industrial disputes; that, in short, generally trade unions and trade unionists constituted no real threat to the security of Canada. Why then this huge apparatus of surveillance, much of it quite intrusive, on the everyday activities of law-abiding citizens? The answer: the Communists were legitimate targets of the security service; the Communists had specially targeted the unions for infiltration and takeovers; unions could under Communist control become subversive instruments for economic disruption and revolutionary violence; unions thus constituted potential threats to security. The corollary to this argument was resonant with consequences for the practice of liberal democracy. What might be called the 'bad apple' argument went like this: how practically can you detect and isolate the Communists acting covertly within unions, or estimate the actual extent of Communist influence, without watching all the unions, all the time? How can you finger the few bad apples in the barrel without examining the entire barrel of mainly good apples? This is a justifying paradigm for much of the counter-subversive activities of the security service.
- 16. There is some logic in this argument, but the consequences of actions taken under this justification can be very serious. First, it must be emphasised that what was being authorized was intrusive surveillance of legal, legitimate activities, with

little or no regard for privacy rights. Canadians involved in union activities were being identified in effect as suspect because of their *potential* association with others deemed *potential* threats to security. All this hinged on the interpretation by the security service of the *intentions* of actors, not on their actual actions. In fact, there was never much, if any, evidence that Communists in the union movement behaved any differently than other unionists - they sought higher wages and better working conditions for their members and never imprudently attempted to turn unions into instruments of revolutionary class struggle, despite both Marxist and RCMP security service ideological claims. Yet even if they had, the consequences for the non-Communist majority of union members were just as alarming, placing all unions and all union members under state suspicion. Moreover, the idea that the state was enlisting some members to inform secretly on others - with potentially dire consequences - could only poison relations between those supposed to be in solidarity with their fellows in the common cause, undermining the very notion of freedom of association as a pillar of liberal democracy.

- 17. Trade unions were not the only 'radical' groups targeted by the RCMP security service. Certain ethnic organizations came under close scrutiny, but generally only those identified as left-wing or pro-Communist in orientation. This was the case for Ukrainian, Finnish and Jewish groups, among others. Only those viewed as left-wing were regularly targeted. Targeting could have serious consequences during wartime: in WW2 members of left-wing ethnic organizations were put in detention as threats to the war effort, some for many years; affected organizations had their buildings and property confiscated and sold off. Moreover, association with targeted groups could mean that non-citizens could have naturalization applications rejected and even face deportation. Again, these sanctions could be brought to bear even if the individuals in question had never undertaken any criminal acts: guilt by association was enough to trigger grave consequences.
- 18. One of the more sensitive areas where RCMP small-c conservative bias was demonstrated was in relation to the Parliament and the democratic political system.

The security service was always careful to indicate that they drew a line between the Communists, who, although a legal party, were considered a threat to national security, and the social democratic CCF-NDP that was considered a legitimate participant in electoral politics. That line was however indistinct in practice. It has become known, for example, that Tommy Douglas, premier of Saskatchewan for 17 years and first national leader of the NDP from 1961 to 1971 and a Member of Parliament until 1979 - a figure who, in a national competition, was recently voted the "Greatest Canadian" - was the subject of continuous RCMP security service surveillance for decades. Much of his voluminous security service files were released in recent years following extensive litigation led by a Canadian Press reporter.

- 19 Justification for this clear violation of a basic rule of liberal democracy - that police must not spy on the parliamentary opposition, or that one level of government should not spy on another - apparently rested on the same grounds used to justify the deep surveillance of the trade unions: Communists and other radical elements might be seeking to infiltrate the CCF-NDP and turn it to nefarious purposes. In the case of Douglas, he initially attracted the attention of the RCMP in the 1930s because he advocated for some form of unemployment insurance and old age security. Later in his career, the declassified security service material would suggest that his democratic habit as premier of agreeing to meet, publicly, with groups or persons of any political stripe who sought to represent their interests or advocate their causes. set off alarm bells in the security service and triggered his targeting. Suspicion overrode scruples. In the absence of any legislative mandate, ministerial guidelines, or external accountability, the security service was capable of acting as a law onto itself, even interfering in the democratic process - so long as suspicion of possible radical or Communist subversive influence could be cited.
- 20. It was revealed that the NDP had again been targeted in the 1970s when the left-wing Waffle faction became subject to surveillance. The justification was that some of the Waffle adherents had in the past had Communist or Trotskyite associations, but it was unclear how the Waffle within the NDP could be targeted

without in effect targeting the NDP itself. Declassified records suggest that undercover RCMP officers attended NDP meetings and conventions, reporting back to headquarters about the political winds within the party.

- 21. In the 1960s and 1970s, the security service widened the scope of its political policing beyond the traditional Cold War targets of Communists and Trotskyists to include a wide range of protest and advocacy groups coming under the general umbrella of the 'New Left'. Just how intrusive and disruptive security service surveillance of New Left groups could be, can be glimpsed in the case of Praxis Corporation, a group that was planning a national conference of poor people, and had come under close security service scrutiny. In 1970 the Toronto offices of Praxis were broken into, their files stolen and the offices set afire, destroying the building. Although no criminal charges were ever brought, it is known that the actions were undertaken by a right-wing RCMP informant. The security service came into possession of the stolen files, directly from the source and indirectly via a right-wing newspaper, retaining them for a number of years in its counter-subversion branch, 'New Left Section'.
- 22. Another dimension of the widening scope of surveillance in this era was the expansion of intelligence collection on university campuses undertaken in the face of an apparent rise of student radicalism in the 1960s. Mountie spying on universities including placing undercover security service officers and enlisted sources in classrooms to report on the political views expressed by both faculty and students was fraught with negative implications for academic freedom.

COVERT FEDERAL INTERVENTION IN QUEBEC POLITICS

23. Nowhere were the serious ramifications of intrusive surveillance and disruptive tactics for the practice of liberal democracy more apparent than in in the decadeslong efforts by the RCMP security service to investigate and counter the threat of Quebec separatism. These efforts went well beyond normal intelligence collection to include intrusive tactics of highly dubious legality, ranging from burglaries and break-

ins; intimidation to enlist potential sources; even directing agents provocateurs to promote violent actions that could bring down criminal sanctions, disrupting separatist organization. Although intensive RCMP investigation of the separatist threat, including recruitment of sources within independence groups dated back to the first bombings and other violent actions by the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) in the early 1960s, the counter-separatist effort went into high gear following the October 1970 FLQ crisis, in which a British diplomat was kidnapped and a Quebec cabinet minister kidnapped and later murdered. This crisis, in which the federal government controversially invoked the *War Measures Act* on the grounds of an "apprehended insurrection", spurred the government to step up a covert campaign to disrupt and "counter" the separatists.

- 24. There followed a period of intense RCMP security service involvement in the 1970s, a series of public scandals about illegal tactics, and finally the calling first of a Quebec inquiry and then of the federal McDonald commission of inquiry into "certain activities of the RCMP" that would ultimately recommend the 'civilianization' of the security service and lay the groundwork for the major reform of security intelligence in the CSIS Act of 1984.
- 25. The crucial point about the anti-separatist campaign was that it rested upon a fundamental ambiguity. While there was no question that violent terrorist groups like the FLQ posed a genuine threat to national security and public safety, and were thus legitimate subjects for security service surveillance and investigation, this tendency was never the dominant face of aspirations to independence in Quebec. The leading face of 'separatism' or 'sovereignty' was a movement that sought independence through peaceful, legitimate channels. By 1970 this took the form of the Parti Québécois, which was elected to govern Quebec from 1976 to 1985 and again from 1994 to 2003, at other times forming the official opposition in the National Assembly. Twice, in 1980 and again in 1995, PQ governments held referenda on sovereignty, seeking a democratic mandate to proceed.

- 26. If the FLQ posed a threat to national *security*, the PQ did not, even though it may have posed a serious threat to national *unity*. The latter should have been no concern of the security service. Unfortunately, a failure to distinguish clearly between national security and national unity characterised not only the RCMP security service but the political masters who provided the security service with direction and guidelines. As early as 1964 the federal government, via its top-level Security Panel, decided that membership in the RIN, a legal sovereignist party that preceded the PQ, could be regarded as a possible risk to withhold security clearance to public servants, thus green-lighting the security service investigating the legal as well as illegal separatist groups in Quebec. This placed legal sovereignist parties in the same ambiguous position as the Communist party was in throughout the Cold War: legal but suspect, membership being subject to sanctioning, such as denial of security clearances, and party activities subject to state surveillance.
- 27. After the federal Cabinet ordered that anti-separatist actions be stepped up after the October 1970 crisis, the security service moved from passive intelligence collection to active disruption ("countering"). This obviously had serious implications for covert federal interference in Quebec political life if legitimate peaceful sovereignist political organizations would be subject to the same potential intrusive pressure. While the statements and instructions of leading federal officials, from the Prime Minister through successive Solicitors General to whom the RCMP answered, sometimes indicated that the PQ was not an appropriate target for the 'countering' actions of the security service, at other times the door was left ambiguously open to such an interpretation. Under this confusing and confused regime, some actions were taken that clearly overstepped the boundaries not only of legality but also of propriety in regard to liberal democratic practice. For instance, it was learned that the security service had broken into PQ offices and stolen and copied membership lists. More egregiously yet, the second most influential figure in the first PQ government, just beneath Premier René Lévesque and the architect of the 1980 referendum strategy, Intergovernmental Relations minister Claude Morin, was

revealed to have been a long time informant to the security service, even accepting payment on occasion.

- 28. So-called 'cirty tricks' employed by the Mounties against the separatists became publicly notorious in the 1970s. Even if many Canadians and Quebecers would be willing to accede to illegal actions taken to counter violence in the name of independence, few would accept that such tactics against a legal democratic political party attempting only to use the ballot box to advance the cause of independence should be treated in the same way. Moreover, the optics of the federal government employing its secret police force to covertly undermine a democratically elected sovereignist government in Quebec were negative for the federalist cause - and not just for Quebecers. When the federal government later drew up the first draft of what would become, with significant amendments, the CSIS Act of 1984, protests against the language of the draft came not only from Quebec but from six of the nine provincial attorneys general in English Canada. Even if other provinces had few sympathies for the sovereignist cause, federal police interference in Quebec politics was seen as a potential Canada-wide problem for federal-provincial relations generally.
- 29. To what extent the 'RCMP scandals' of the 1970s were the result of so-called 'cowboy' security service operatives out of control, or were attributable to ambiguous but permissive directions set by a federal cabinet eager to crush the separatist threat by any means, remains a somewhat opaque issue.

NEED FOR REFORM OF THE SECURITY SERVICE.

30. With the focus of security service targets widening to include not only the Communists and the groups they allegedly were influencing, but the New Left, student radicals and Quebec separatism, the surveillance files of the security service were growing ever more voluminous, and from the point of view of civil liberties and

personal privacy, ever more ominous. While espionage and political violence was the subject of some of these files, the growth area was clearly in 'subversion'. The McDonald Commission concluded that the RCMP had adopted a wide definition of subversion that was "dangerous and unacceptable" because it did not "clearly distinguish radical dissent from genuine threats to Canada's security." As the McDonald commission discovered, by 1977 the RCMP security service maintained a name index with 1.3-million entries, representing 800,000 files on individuals, a startlingly substantial proportion of the population at the time, far beyond any reasonable estimate of the numbers who represented genuine threats to national security in terms of espionage, terrorism, etc. Few Canadians to that point had realised the RCMP had amassed that extent of information on civil society, much of it based on secret informers and other covert methods of collection. How this had been allowed to happen seemed a pertinent question for the government of the day, as well as what it intended to do about it.

31. The time had clearly arrived for major reform of the security intelligence system and for innovative public policy to establish a framework of review and or oversight of national security. By 1984 the government responded to pressures for reform with legislation that would take the security service out of the RCMP and into stand-alone civilian status with a legislative mandate. The initial bill met with very strong negative reaction across the country and was opposed not only by civil liberties groups, but also, in a rare show of unanimity, by all provincial attorneys general. Chief among the complaints was the bill's failure to limit the new agency's mandate to the sorts of targets that most people would accept as genuine threats to national security, and to offer protection for non-threatening political dissent from intrusive surveillance. After extensive hearings by a Senate committee, an amended bill was returned to the House of Commons. It was this revised version that became the CSIS Act of 1984.

A CIVILIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE 1984-2001

- 32. Prominent among the revisions was an additional clause added to the definitions of the threats to security of Canada that the new agency was authorized to investigate. S. 2 lists four categories of threats, but specifies that this authorization "does not include lawful advocacy, protest or dissent". At the time and subsequently, a great deal has been made of this exclusionary clause as a crucial liberal protection. While it does represent an important recognition that political policing ought to have limits defined in law, the experience of the three decades since the CSIS Act has come into force has not demonstrated that this exclusionary clause offers strong protection for "lawful advocacy, protest or dissent".
- 33. The vast expansion of the security service surveillance of Canadian society had fundamentally rested on the justifications that: (a) political actors engaged in or conspiring to engage in national security criminal offences must be tracked wherever they operate, even if that includes legal and legitimate associations of civil society; and (b) certain political actors (i.e., communists, separatists, etc.) have subversive intentions that colour even their legal activities and hence must have all their actions and all their associations carefully watched. Thus the intrusive surveillance of legal and legitimate organizations such as trade unions, the CCF-NDP, and the PQ described above. The question was, and is: can CSIS continue to spy on lawful advocacy, protest and dissent like its predecessor, despite the language of the CSIS Act?
- 34. That CSIS, at least in its early days, was not fulfilling the expectations of those who inserted the exclusionary clause into the CSIS Act, was made public in the closure of the Counter-Subversion Branch of the Service. In its 1986-87 Annual Report, SIRC noted that the new civilian agency was continuing to carry out surveillance and compile files on perfectly legitimate groups and individuals just as before, pointing to the continued existence of a Counter-Subversion Branch (CSB), the files of which showed an inappropriate anti-left wing bias that could not be justified under the CSIS Act. SIRC called for the CSB to be closed. In this recommendation, they were joined by a respected senior public servant, Gordon Osbaldeston, who had been tasked with reviewing CSIS management and suggesting reforms. Osbaldeston concluded that

counter-subversion operations should be closed out. When the Solicitor General joined in full agreement with this direction, objections from senior CSIS officials were overridden. The CSB was closed, and the bulk of its files were archived, a small number being redirected to the counter espionage and counter terrorist branches.

35. The closure of the CSB certainly sent a positive signal. The end of the Cold War in 1989-90 also contributed to a marked decline of CSIS interest in left-wing organizations and activities. There were other indications that old habits and patterns had indeed changed. There were no public indications that CSIS was interfering in Quebec politics in the inappropriate, not to speak of illegal, manner of the RCMP security service, despite the tensions to national unity posed by the second Quebec sovereignty referendum in 1995. The events of September 11, 2001 and declarations of a global war on terrorism that followed have changed the picture that had been taking shape in the 1990s. The identification of a new leading threat replacing the former Cold War paradigm redirected the attention of CSIS toward violent Islamist extremists. While terrorist networks and politically-inspired violence are obviously appropriate targets for CSIS intrusive surveillance, here too there have been serious questions addressed about CSIS methods of investigation spilling over into investigations of Canadian Muslims as a 'suspect community' - especially with recent attention to jihadist 'radicalization' of Muslim youth and alleged terrorist recruitment within mosques and other Islamic institutions.

CSIS TARGETING OTHER NEW GROUPS - 2001 TO THE PRESENT

- 36. CSIS has continued to identify terrorist threats posed by Islamic extremists as its main targets for investigation. However, certain protest movements e.g., anti-globalization, environmentalists and First Nations have also attracted CSIS attention.
- 37. In the case of anti-globalization protests, CSIS has apparently been conducting security assessments as far back as 1997 during the APEC summit in Vancouver.

 Declassified documents have suggested that CSIS performed assessments of all groups

participating in the APEC protests, including such obviously inoffensive aggregations as the Raging Grannies. The reason for investigating such a wide range of groups is straightforward: the 'bad guys' may be trying to hide in plain sight within peaceful groupings, or trying to undermine and manipulate peaceful groups for violent ends. Thus all groups have to be scrutinized, regardless of their professed aims, precisely the logic that led the RCMP security service in Quebec in the 1970s to intrusive surveillance of lawful sovereignist threats to national unity in the name of investigating unlawful threats to national security. The 'bad apples among the good apples' argument is not entirely unreasonable. Yet if not very carefully managed, it risks punishing peaceful dissenters for the sins of the violent, creating in effect new categories of 'subversive' political behaviour subject to political policing by the state, to the distinct detriment of liberal democracy.

- 38. This brings us to the concerns expressed by environmental groups, First Nations and NGOs with strong dissenting views regarding current government resource development and climate change policies, private sector megaprojects such as pipeline and super tanker carriage of energy resources to export markets with associated high risk to the environment. Large-scale protest organization has been taking place around issues like the projected Northern Gateway and Trans-Mountain pipeline projects, within a rather hostile official political context. Ministers of the Crown have repeatedly charged that protests are harmful to the Canadian economy. The former Minister of Resources issued a public warning to "environmentalists and other radicals".
- 39. It is of course true that critical infrastructure could be a prime terrorist target, identified as such since 9/11. It is also the case that there have been a few attacks on pipelines in Alberta in the past, although there is no evidence that these were the work of organized terrorist networks. More to the point, there has been discussion of possible civil disobedience to block pipeline projects if they get the legal go-ahead. It is apparently a short step from this for agencies like CSIS and the RCMP to decide that

potential violence against critical infrastructures, and thus a threat to national security, is a potential implicit in all the environmental protest groups.

- 40. There is today a pervasive sense of suspicion and distrust among environmental and First Nations groups of government and its agencies spying on their activities, with little regard for fine distinctions between advocacy, protest and dissent and genuine threats to national security. Since there is a long record of the RCMP and CSIS blurring this line in practice, whatever the professed theory, this distrust is not unfounded.
- 41. I make this affidavit in good faith and for no improper purpose.

AFFIRMED before me at the City of
Victoria in the Province of British
Columbia on this 18th day of
September 2015.

Commissioner for taking affidavits

Rea Whitaker

CURRICULUM VITAE REG WHITAKER

BORN: April 3, 1943, Ottawa

EDUCATION

PhD, Political Economy, University of Toronto, 1976 MA, Political Science, Carleton University, 1968 BA (Honours), Carleton University, 1965.

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EMPLOYMENT

Chair, Advisory Panel to the Minister of Transport on the Canadian Air Transport Security Authority Act Review, 2005-7

Member of Advisory Panel, Commission of Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Maher Arar, Mr Justice Dennis O'Connor, Commissioner, 2004-6

Adjunct Professor of Political Science, University of Victoria, 2001-

Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus, York University, 2001-

Distinguished Research Professor of Political Science, York University, 2001

Professor, Department of Political Science, York University, 1984-2001

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Carleton University, 1978-1984

Associate Director, Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton University, 1980-1982

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Carleton University, 1976-78

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Carleton University, 1972-1976

Research contract, Public Service Commission, Government of Canada, 1968-1970.

Research assistant, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967

Foreign Service Officer, Department of Trade and Commerce, Government of Canada, 1966-67

Research Economist, Committee on Election Expenses, Government of Canada, 1965-66 Statistician, Royal Commission on Taxation, 1964

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- `Democracy and the Canadian Constitution' in Keith Banting & Richard Simeon, eds., And No One Cheered: Federalism, Democracy and the Constitution Act (Toronto: Methuen 1983) 240-61

Introduction to William Irvine, *The Farmers in Politics* (Carleton Library Series no. 114) (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart 1978) v-xxxv

- 'Images of the state in Canada', in Leo Panitch, ed., *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1977) 28-68
- (with K.Z. Paltiel and H.P. Noble) 'The finances of the CCF-NDP', in Committee on Election Expenses, *Studies in Canadian Party Finance* (Ottawa 1966) 317-404

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PUBLISHED CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

"Before Sept. 11 – Some history lessons', Canadian Institute for the Administration of Justice, *Terrorism, Law & Democracy: How is Canada Changing Following Sept. 117* (Montréal; les Éditions Thémis, 2002) 39-54

Richard Simeon & Mary Janigan, eds., *Toolkits and Building Blocks: Constructing a New Canada* (Toronto: C.D. Howe Institute 1991)

John C. Courteney, Peter MacKinnon & David Smith, eds., After Meech Lake: Lessons For the Future (Saskatoon: Fifth House 1991) 111-13

ARTICLES IN NON-ACADEMIC AND ONLINE JOURNALS

'Was Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau justified in invoking the War Measures Act during the FLQ crisis of October 1970: No', Legion Magazine (September/October 2015) 37

'The Devil and Stephen Harper' *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 37 (Summer / Fall 2015) 6-9

'Groundhog Day in Ottawa', Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion 36 (Winter/Spring 2015) 6-9

'How citizens became democratic consumers', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 35 (Summer/Fall 2014) 6-9

'The PQ's toxic values brew', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 34 (Winter/Spring 2014) 6-9

'Chronicle of a train wreck foretold', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 33 (Summer/Fall 2013) 6-9

'The Northern Gateway to nowhere', Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion 32 (Winter/Spring 2012) 6-9

'Israel and Iran: When victims are bullies and bullies are victims', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 31 (Summer/Fall 2012) 10-13

'A True Friend of Israel Would Advise against Attacking Iran', Canadian International Council, April 3, 2012: http://www.opencanada.org/features/a-true-friend-of-israel-would-

advise-against-attacking-iran/

'The Liberals: the strange death of the political centre', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 30 (Winter/Spring 2012) 22-37

'The Beijing consensus: China has astonished the world, but is the dragon as formidable as it looks?', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 29 (Summer/Fall 2011) 44-57

'The Great Recession [of the Left]', Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion 29 (Summer/Fall 2011) 14-17

'The audacity of nope: populism makes democracy less democratic, not more', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion 28* (Winter/Spring 2011) 13-16

'The stealth route to conservative hegemony', Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion 27 (Summer/Fall 2010) 16-19

Listening to Obama – or not', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 26 (Winter/Spring 2010) 14-17

'A likeable campaign pamphlet – and a bit more' (review essay of Michael Ignatieff, *True Patriot Love: Four Generations in Search of Canada*), *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 26 (Winter/Spring 2010) 98-105

'GWOT- RIP', Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion 25 (Summer/Fall 2009), 6-9

'Ask a silly question – get a silly answer: the Canadian and US elections', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 24 (Winter/Spring 2009) 6-9

'The return of God – and what to do about it', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 23 (Summer/Fall 2008) 6-9

'The enigma of Stephen Harper', *Inroads: the Canadian Journal of Opinion* 22 (Winter/Spring 2008) 6-11

`Escape from politics', Law Now (April/May 2005) 16-17

'Ariel Sharon: avatar of anarchy, guarantor of order', *Inroads: a Journal of Opinion* 16 (Winter-Spring 2005) 124-9

'George Grant got it wrong: coping with Uncle Sam in the 21st century', Inroads: a Journal

of Opinion 14 (Winter/Spring 2004) 118-29

'The flight from politics: why neither left nor Right play the game anymore', *Inroads: a Journal of Opinion* 11 (2002) 187-202

'King into Trudeau: Jean Chrétien seeks Clarity', *Inroads: a Journal of Opinion* 9 (2000) 47-58

'Quebec rights, native rights: a fatal collision?', Inroads: a Journal of Opinion 4 (1995) 58-71'

ARTICLES IN MAGAZINES, NEWSPAPERS, etc.:

'Sorry Liberals, "Oversight" Won't Fix Menace of a Terror Bill', *The Tyee.ca*, 8 May 2015 http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2015/05/08/Bill-C-51-Oversight/

'Will changes to C-51 give spy agency power to detain?', *The Tyee.ca*, 2 April 2015, http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2015/04/02/CSIS-C-51-
Powers/?utm_source=daily&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=020415

'Even with Amendments C-51 Should Worry Activists: History shows 'lawful protest' clause a flimsy shield against surveillance, dirty tricks', *TheTyee.ca*, 28 March 2015, http://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2015/03/28/Even-With-Amendments-C-51-Should-Worry-Activists/

'Deception, betrayal, and terrorism: the Cuban-American vendetta produces a sobering and puzzling tale', *Literary Review of Canada* 21:8 (October 2013) 13-14

'Citizen Khadr: Either Omar Khadr has certain basic rights or no Canadian does. Which is it?", Literary Review of Canada 20:3 (April 2012) 20-22

'Is the government party over?', Globe and Mail, May 16, 2011

(With Philip Resnick) 'Time for Grits, New Derns, Greens to Make Electoral Deal: An open letter to Michael Ignatieff, Jack Layton and Elizabeth May for an arrangement amongst the three opposition parties', *TheTyee.ca*, 8 February 2010

'After the Speaker's ruling: where do we go from here?', Toronto Star, April 29, 2010

'Judge has no right to decide what parliamentarians can see', Toronto Star, March 19,

'Prime Minister vs. Parliament', Toronto Star, December 18, 2009

'Enough with the inquiries: Canada needs one permanent accountability process for security and intelligence issues', Ottawa Citizen, August 31, 2009

'Routing tokenism: a book on diversity hiring takes a constructive and persuasive approach' [review of Stewart, You Must be a Basketball Player: Rethinking Integration in the University], Literary Review of Canada 17:5 (June 2009) 24-5

Time for federal Liberals to put on their thinking caps: Party needs to be prepared to offer voters new ideas on how to cope with the economic slowdown', *Toronto Star*, April 5, 2009

"Security, Civil Liberties and the 2008 U.S. Election", in *Canada Watch*, Special Edition: *Deep Integration: North America Post-Bush* (2008)

'After Arar: Canada's unfinished business', The Hill Times, April 28, 2008, 32

'Arar report, terrorism and Canadian security', Globe & Mail online discussion, Apr. 03, 2008

"Spies, bribes and nuclear bombs"? Not really', Globe & Mail, Feb. 16, 2008

AECL and its regulator. What's a minister to do?', Globe & Mail, Jan. 15, 2008

'The Horse's Mouth', The Walrus, March 2007

'Power to the People... Populism', Globe & Mail, April 8 2006, D39

'Living with Bush's America', Literary Review of Canada 13:1 (Jan./Feb. 2005) 3-5

'An ill-fitting political overcoat' [review of Janet Ajzenstat, *The Once and Future Canadian Democracy*], *Literary Review of Canada*, 12:5 (June 2004) 22-3

'Jean Chrétien's surprise: A Canadían nationalist legacy', *Canada Watch*, 9:24 (Feb. 2004) 10-11

'Canada after Chrétien: Quebec in, Alberta out?', Literary Review of Canada 11:7 (September 2003) 3-4

'What's wrong with Canadian universities?', Literary Review of Canada 5:7 (Sept. 2002) 3-6

'A very un-Liberal state of affairs', Toronto Star, 24 Aug. 2002

'A poor bargain: Killing off individual privacy is not the way to combat terrorism', *New Scientist*, 174:2349 (29 June 2002), 26

'Manuel Castells: The Information Age', *Policy Options/Options Politiques* 23:01 (Jan-Feb. 2002) 62-3

'When freedom bumps up against security', University Affairs (Nov. 2001) 28

'Virtual political parties and the decline of democracy', *Policy Options/Options Politiques* (June 2001) 17-23

"Secret histories that never were', *Literary Review of Canada* 7:12 (October 1999) 21-4, with further exchange in 7:14 (Winter 1999/2000) 22-3

'A new Liberal hegemony?', Literary Review of Canada 7:10 (Summer 1999) 3-5

'The monarchy: gone with the wind?', Policy Options/Options Politiques (May 1999) 12-15

'The doctor knows best' [review of Hannant, Politics of Passion: Norman Bethune's Writing and Art, The Literary Review of Canada 7:3 (November 1998) 26-8.

'The Canadian style: authority and leniency', *The Literary Review of Canada* 6:7 (October 1997) 3-4

'Aboriginal self-determination and self-government: sovereignty by inclusion', *Canada-Watch* 5:5 (June/July 1997) 69-73

'Managing Quebec: the Mackenzie King model', *Literary Review of Canada* 6:1 (April 1997) 7-9

'The Referendum: Close, But No Cigar', Canada Watch 4:2 (Nov/Dec. 1995) 21-3

[with Steve Patten] 'Learning From Mr. Right: Taking Preston Manning and the Reform Party Seriously', Canadian Forum (July/August 1995) 9-11

'Lucky and smart? The federal Liberals' referendum strategy', Canada Watch 3:4

(March/April 1995) 69-70

- 'Quebec versus aboriginal rights to self-determination', Canada Watch 3:4 (March/April 1995) 87-9
- `The cutting edge of Ontario's bad law: employment inequity', *The Globe & Mail*, 6 Jan. 1994
- Bearing it without a grin' [Forum on the Referendum], Canadian Forum LXXI:813 (October 1992) 28-9
- 'Society is in a crisis of legitimacy', Compass: a Jesuit Journal, (May /June 1992), 9-11
- 'Play it again, Brian', This Magazine 25:5-6 (December 1991/ February 1992) 54-7
- Spies, lies and trash TV, This Magazine (February 1991) 34-7
- 'Breaking the Mulroney monopoly', Canadian Forum LXVIII: 787 (March 1990) 11-14
- 'The Night the Cold War Ended', This Magazine 23:6 (January-February 1990) 15-17
- 'Who is going to keep watch on the spooks' watchdog?', The Globe & Mail, 5 Dec. 1989
- 'The overriding right: why Quebec was right to use the Notwithstanding clause', *Policy Options* 10:4 (May 1989) 3-6; reprinted in G.S. Mahler and R. March, eds, *Canadian Politics* 1990/91 (Dushkin Publishing:Guilford, Connecticut 1990) 28-31; and in Paul Fox & Graham White, eds., *Politics: Canada* (7th ed, Toronto:McGraw Hill-Ryerson 1991) 84-90.
- "No laments for the nation: free trade and the election of 1988', *Canadian Forum* 68:779 (March 1989) 9-13; reprinted in G.S. Mahler and R. March, eds, *Canadian Politics* 1990/91 (Dushkin Publishing: Guilford, Connecticut 1990) 158-62
- Murder by decree: the new Tory refugee policy', *This Magazine* 21:2 (May/June 1987) 14-18
- `Spy scandal in Ottawa', Horizon Canada 10:112 (June 1987) 2665-2671
- `Return to the crucible: the persecution of Herbert Norman', *Canadian Forum* 66:763 (November 1986) 11-28
- 'Witch hunt in the civil service', This Magazine 20:4 (October/November 1986) 24-30

Articles on Canadian political science, politics, and the biography of Pierre Elliott Trudeau in the New Canadian Encyclopedia (Edmonton 1985)

Plus earlier articles in *The Globe & Mail, Canadian Forum, Canadian Dimension, This Magazine*, etc.

REVIEWS

Reviews in Canadian Journal of Political Science, Canadian Historical Review, Labour/le Travail, American Historical Review, American Political Science Review, International Journal, International History Review, Queen's Quarterly, Histoire Sociale, Sociology Today, Ontario History, Intelligence and National Security, Inroads, as well as The Ottawa Citizen, The Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star, etc.

CONFERENCES AND PRESENTATIONS

'Harper's history: does the right hand know what the other right hand is doing?', Presented to a joint session of the Canadian Political Science Association and the Canadian Historical Association, University of Victoria,

'The Global War on Terror: Wrong War, Wrong Place, Wrong Idea', keynote address to the 'Canadian Security into the 21st century' conference, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ont., March 6 2008

'A review of Canada's aviation security', Presentation at the Conference Board of Canada, *Canadian Transportation Security and Technology Forum*, Ottawa, November 29, 2007

'New wine into old bottles? Intelligence under stress, from the Cold War to the Global War on Terror'. Keynote address, Canadian Association of Security and Intelligence Studies *CASIS 2007* Conference, Calgary, Sept. 28, 2007

^{&#}x27;The death of public education', This Magazine (19:4) October 1985

^{&#}x27;Rash act to aid Catholic schools?', The Globe & Mail,11 April 1985

Canada used loose screen to filter Nazi fugitives', The Globe & Mail, 1 March 1985

[`]Spy story: lifting Gouzenko's cloak', The Globe & Mail, 6 Nov. 1984

'Arar: the affair, the inquiry, the aftermath'. Paper presented at the Institute for Research in Public Policy conference *Protecting Security and Human Rights: the Case of Migration in Canada*, Ottawa, Sept. 21, 2007

'Airport Security' panel, American Express Client Advisory Council, Banff Springs, Alberta, May 15 2007.

'Profiling: From racial to behavioural to racial?' British Columbia Civil Liberties
Association, Racial Profiling: national Security in a Multicultural Era, Vancouver, May 12
2007

Panel presentation on the Arar Commission, Canadian Association of Security and Intelligence Studies CASIS 2006 Conference, Ottawa, October 2006

'Democracy and trust: the concerned citizen between the Scylla of secrecy and the Charybdis of manipulation', Canadian Association of Security and Intelligence Studies CASIS 2005 Conference, Montreal, Oct. 22 2005

'Securing the "Ontario-Vermont Border": Myths and realities in post-9/11 Canadian-American security relations', Canadian Association of Security & Intelligence Studies, CASIS 2004 International Conference, Ottawa, 14 October 2004

'Security vs. Liberty Post 9/11: Are We Losing Our Balance?', Canadian Federation for the Humanities & Social Sciences 'Breakfast on Campus', University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, June 5 2004

Participant on Panel 'Top Secret: National Insecurity', Canadian Association of Journalists National Conference, Vancouver, 8 May 2004

The new Canadian Public Safety Paradigm', York University Centre for International & Strategic Studies, Public Forum on 'Canadian Homeland Security: A Reasoned Response to Post 9/11 Security Realities or the Americanization of Canadian Security Policy?', Royal Canadian Military Institute, Toronto, 30 March 2004

'The Bush Doctrine, the Western Alliance, and the Use and Abuse of Intelligence', Keynote address to Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies, International Conference 2003 'Homeland Insecurities: the Shifting Borders of Security, Intelligence, and Law Enforcement', Vancouver, 16 October 2003

'Sept. 11 and the Canadian Security and Intelligence Community', Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies, Annual Conference 2003, Ottawa, Sept. 26 2003

'A Faustian bargain? America and the dream of "Total information Awareness", Paper presented at *The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility*, a conference at Green College, UBC, Vancouver, 24 May 2003

'Escape from politics', Presented to Community Forums, The Sheldon Chumir Foundation, Edmonton, 25 March, 2003 and Winnipeg, 26 March 2003

'The return of "Big Brother", 'The Glasmacher Lecture, St. Paul's University, Ottawa 14 March 2003.

*Lawful access proposals', Panel, *The Frontiers of Privacy and Security: New Challenges for a New Century*, Victoria, Feb. 13, 2003

Presentation on 'Canada's intelligence services after 9/11' to the Royal United Services Institute of Vancouver Island, Victoria, Feb. 12, 2003

'Global alliances', Elder College, North Island College, Comox Valley, Courtenay BC, I Feb. 2003

'Escape from politics', Community Forum presented by the Sheldon Chumir Foundation for Ethics in Leadership, 21 Nov. 2002, University of Victoria

Presentation on 'Terrorism Today' to the Naval Officers Association of Vancouver Island, Victoria, 22 April, 2002

'The implications of Sept. 11 for policy agendas in North America', School of Public Administration, University of Victoria, April 18, 2002

'The flight from politics: why neither Left nor Right play the game any more', presented to The Charter @20 conference, York University, Toronto, April 13, 2002

'Keeping up with the neighbours: Canada's war against terrorism in historical and comparative context', lecture to The Centre for Public Law and Public Policy and the Osgoode Hall Law Journal, Toronto, April 10, 2002

'Before Sept. 11: some history lessons', Presented at the *Terrorism, Law & Democracy* conference, Canadian Institute for the Administration of Justice, Montreal, March 25, 2002

'9/11: responses right & wrong', Responses to Terrorism: An Analysis, Community Forum, University of Victoria, March 19, 2002

'So what's new? Canadian refugee policy after 911', paper presented to *Peacekeeping or Gatekeeping? Canadian security policy after Sept. 11*, York Centre for International and Strategic Studies, 9th Annual Conference, York University, Feb. 12/13, 2002

'Policing the space of flows', Department of Political Science, University of Victoria, Nov. 5, 2001

'Plan C? English Canada confronts Quebec secession'. Paper presented to *Rethinking Citizenship in the Canadian Federation: a Conference in Honour of Alan C. Cairns*, University of British Columbia, Vancouver Oct 12, 2001

Member of opening and closing panels, *CASIS 2000*, Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies & the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Ottawa, Sept. 28-30, 2000

'Canada and the Cold War: historical continuities and discontinuities', inaugural lecture for series, *Cold War Canada*, Green College, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Sept. 21, 2000

Invited participant in *The Political and the Governmental*, 1st International Workshop on Ontologies of the Political, University of Victoria, Victoria BC, 8-9 Aug. 2000

"Fortress North America"? Social fragmentation and state integration', Paper presented to conference on *Transnational America: the Fading of Borders in the Western Hemisphere*, Bavarian American Academy, Munich, Germany, 22-24 June 2000.

Presentations on 'El fin de la privacidad' to University of Barcelona, Autonomous University of Barcelona, Autonomous University of Madrid, and la Casa de América, Madrid, May 12 to 17, 2000, sponsored by Associación Española de Estudios Canadienses, Madrid, and the Centre d'Estudios Canadienses, University of Barcelona.

'Canada/Quebec: lessons for UK/Scotland', paper presented to the *Scotland Quebec – an Evolving Comparison* conference, 5-6 May 2000, University of Edinburgh, UK.

Panel on 'Privacy: new media technologies', The New School, New York, March 29, 2000

Invited lecture, 'Big Brother Outsourced', University of Saskatchewan, March 6, 2000

'Surveillance in the workplace', presented at Parkland Institute's Third Annual Conference, 'The Corporation as Big Brother: Challenging the Privatization of Knowledge', University of Alberta, November 25 to 27, 1999

Panel on Canadian politics, Nationalism, Citizenship and Canadian Identity conference, Mount Allison University, Nov. 11-13, 1999

Invited participant, 'The future of secret intelligence services in democracies: scope, justification and control', The Ditchley Foundation, Ditchley Park, Oxfordshire, UK, 17-19 Oct. 1997

'Spies who might have been: Canada and the myth of Cold War counterintelligence', paper presented at the International Studies Association, Toronto, 19 March 1997

'Political correctness, political science incorrectness', Plenary Session Roundtable on Teaching Political Science in the 1990s', Canadian Political Science Association, Brock University, 2 June 1996

'Refugees: the security dimension', Presented to *Organizing Diversity: Migration Policy and Practice, Canada and Europe*, Canada-Europe Conference on Migration and Refugee Issues, Berg en Dal, Netherlands, Nov. 8-12 1995

'From World War to Cold War', Keynote address to 1945: Victory and Reconstruction, Conference sponsored by Canadian Committee for the History of World War II, Winnipeg, 20 October 1995

"The Bristow Affair" a crisis of accountability in Canadian security intelligence', paper presented at the Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies, Montreal, 5 June 1995

'Trudeau: liberalism among the sovereignists', Plenary session roundtable on 'Pierre Trudeau: nation-maker or nation-breaker?', Canadian Political Science Association, Montreal, 5 June 1995.

'Does the federal government have a winning strategy?', presented to *Referendum 1995:*Beyond Rhetoric, York University, Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, 2-3 March 1995

Roundtable on 'Shifting paradigms, shifting gears: the intelligence agenda and the intelligence community', Conference on *Intelligence Analysis and Assessment: the Producer/Policy-Maker Relationship in a Changing World*, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ottawa, 27 Oct. 1994

Oversight: the lessons from Canada', Liberty and Quaker Committee on Truth and

Integrity in Public Affairs, Conference on *National Security in a Democratic Society*, London, UK, 30 Oct. 1993

- `Remembering Charlottetown', Centre for Constitutional Studies, Faculty of Law, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 6 Oct. 1993
- `The October 1970 Crisis: a re-evaluation', Department of Political Science, University of Alberta, 6 Oct. 1993 and Faculty of General Education, University of Calgary, 5 Oct. 1993
- `Whose agenda is it?', Panel presentation, CBC Symposium `Covering Politics in the 90s', Ottawa, 20 June 1993
- RCMP surveillance of Quebec separatism 1963-1970', Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, 5 June 1993
- What is the problem with democracy? The failure of constitutional politics', Conference on *Democratic Politics: Fifty Years of Political Science at Carleton University*, Carleton University, 14 November 1992
- The dog that never barked: who killed asymmetrical federalism?', Conference on *The Constitution: Year of Decision*, York University, 23 September 1992
- The integrity of English Canada', Conference on *Negotiating with a Sovereign Quebec*, Atkinson College, York University, 7-8 Feb. 1992
- 'The Constitution hijacked', Conference on *The Federal Government Constitutional Proposals*, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, Kingston, 30 November 1991
- *Igor Gouzenko the Movie', *International Conference on Espionage*, University of Toronto, 8 November 1991
- `The politics of security and intelligence policy-making in Canada, 1970-1990', Paper presented to a joint session of the Canadian Political Science Association and the Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies, Victoria BC, 28 May 1990
- `Political trends', Paper presented at the *Workshop on the Future of Policing* (Sponsored by the Solicitor General Canada and the Criminology Centre, Department of Sociology, University of Manitoba), Winnipeg, March 23-24, 1990

Keynote address to `Democracy with Justice' Conference in Honour of Khayyam Z. Paltiel,

Carleton University, Ottawa Feb.9 1990

Many other previous presentations of papers made to the International Political Science Association, International Studies Association, Canadian Political Science Association, Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies, European Consortium for Political Research, Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, Canadian Historical Association, and by invitation at the universities of Toronto, York, Waterloo, Western Ontario, British Columbia, Simon Fraser, Victoria, Alberta, Calgary, Trent, Winnipeg, Queen's, Carleton, Concordia, Manitoba, Memorial, McMaster and Ryerson.

GRANTS AND AWARDS

Isaac Walton Killam Research Fellowship, 1994-6
Social Science and Humanities Research Council Leave Fellowships 1985/86 and 1978/79
Social Science and Humanities Research Council research grants, 1993/96, 1990, 1986 and 1982-83, including leave-time stipend
C.D. Howe Foundation Fellowship, 1971-72
Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship, 1970-72
Ontario Graduate Fellowship, 1967-68

TESTIMONY, SUBMISSIONS AND CONSULTATION WITH GOVERNMENT

Submission and testimony to the Commission of Inquiry into the Investigation of the Bombing of Air India Flight 182, May 29-June 1 2007.

'Sept. 11 and Canadian-American relations', submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Vancouver, 6 May 2002.

Border security (Post September 11), presentation to Canada Customs, Pacific Regional Management Forum, Richmond, BC, Nov. 29, 2001

Testimony on Bill C-36, Anti-Terrorism Act, House of Commons Committee on Justice and Human Rights, Ottawa, Nov. 8, 2001

'Implications of Sept. 11 for international relations', presented to Canadian Centre for Policy Development, Roundtable on the New Face of Terrorism, Department of Foreign Affairs, Ottawa, 29 Oct. 2001

Consultation with Privy Council Office, Intelligence Assessment Branch, Ottawa, 28 Oct.,

26

2001

'Protecting privacy: alternative models' Keynote address, Freedom of Information and Privacy 2001 Conference, Edmonton, June 7, 2001

'Analysis of recent CRTC rulings in light of the *Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act*, Report commissioned by Industry Canada, Electronic Commerce Task Force, March 2001

Presentation on 'New threats to privacy and technology', *Privacy, Sovereignty and Technology*, Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, Ottawa, March 23, 2001

Invited consultation, Security Intelligence Review Committee, Toronto, Feb. 15, 2001

Participant in the 'Team B' report: 'The year Ahead – 2000', in consultation with the Privy Council Intelligence Assessment Secretariat, 2000, and for 'Global Issues' report in 2000-2001.

Invited participant, consultations with Privy Council of Canada, Security and Intelligence Secretariat, 1997-98, 2001

Brief and testimony on behalf of the Canadian Political Science Association to the Ontario Committee on the Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts, Toronto, 1 May 1991

Testimony to the Joint Commons Committee on the Amendment of the Constitution, Toronto, 22 April 1991

Brief and testimony to the Select Committee on Ontario in Confederation, Parliament of Ontario, Toronto, 18 February, 1991

'Money, politics and the law', Issue Paper prepared at the invitation of The Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Finance, February 1990

Brief and testimony to the House of Commons, Committee on the Review of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service Act, Ottawa, June 27, 1989

Invited participant in seminar for members of the Security Intelligence Review Committee on the five-year review of the CSIS Act, Toronto, June 8, 1989

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Member of College of Reviewers, Canada Research Chairs, 2000-

Member of Connaught Social Sciences Review Panel, University of Toronto, 1998-2001

Member of editorial advisory board, *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 1982-85, 1994-96 Member of editorial board, *The Socialist Register*, 1995-2000

Member of Researchers' Forum, National Archives of Canada, 1991-

Member of executive, Canadian Association for the Security and Intelligence Studies, 1991-

Member of the Project Team, York University Constitutional Reform Project, York University Centre for Public Law and Public Policy, 1991-92

Scriptwriter and participant in *TV Ontario* special `With Or Without Quebec?', 19 February 1991

Chair of Archives Committee, Canadian Political Science Association, 1990-

Consultant to Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Finance, 1990

Member of Advisory Council on Government Records, Government of Canada, 1987-90

Member of Jury, Sir John A. Macdonald Prize, Canadian Historical Association, 1987-1991

Member of advisory board, Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Studies, 1985-97 Contributing editor, This Magazine, 1989-1994

Member of executive and board of directors, Canadian Political Science Association, 1982-84

Founding member of editorial board, formerly editorial coordinator and treasurer, of *Studies in Political Economy*, 1979-92

Consultant and scriptwriter, TV Ontario series on Canadian political parties and ideologies, 1988-89

Consultant to the New Canadian Encyclopedia on political science

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

Chair of Arts Faculty Tenure and Promotion Committee, 1998/99, Co-chair of Committee 2000-2001

Member of Arts Faculty Information Technology Committee, 1998/99

Director of the Graduate Programme in Political Science, York University, 1990-1992

Co-ordinator of the Public Policy and Administration Program, York University, 1986-89

Member of York University Senate, 1986/87