



"You can tell original thought, as opposed to someone parodying someone else's line," Moxley said.

Using a personal set of stiff criteria, Moxley said he cleared the Ottawa group of Cuban and Soviet influences.

Secondly, Moxley looked for people who were prone to violence, passing their names on to the RCMP.

"I felt the RCMP had a right to know if something—espionage or violence—was going on. Also, if nothing was wrong with a group, the RCMP would leave them alone."

But when the RCMP asked him to put his energies into the peace activist groups, he started to sympathize with the people he was spying on. Finally, he was sent down to Kingston on May 28, where the RCMP knew a demonstration was planned, and Moxley felt his cover had been blown. Some activists suspected he was an RCMP informer.

Soon after, he quit.

The extent of the RCMP's appetite for information on Canadians is broad. Federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent took note of this capacity. "... The government has already managed to collect more than 800,000 files on individual Canadians. These are files that the government's own Royal Commission on the RCMP, the McDonald Commission, has documented. To this day, the government refuses to destroy these files and they remain as mute testaments to violations of the civil liberties of thousands of Canadians."

Many activist groups simply assume their phones are tapped, or that they come in regular contact with informers, without knowing who they are. Toronto criminal lawyer Paul Copeland told a special Senate committee examining bill C-157 on Sept. 21, that judges and lawyers he knows assume their phones are tapped.

"It is a very real problem in society when you do not feel you can talk over the telephone," Copeland said.

Copeland represented the Law Union of Ontario, a left-wing group of lawyers and law students, to the committee. The union is publishing a handbook for activists on how to protect themselves from police harassment. A draft, *Offense Defense: Survival seminars for activists*, states "It is safe to assume that the police photograph every demonstration, rally and march. They try to get pictures of every person in attendance ... The police will later go through the pictures in order to identify individuals and update their files. Their concerns include knowing who was in attendance as well as establishing which individuals play leadership roles and the connections or affiliations of the individuals ..."

While Copeland is concerned about the RCMP's

ability to collect information, he is even more concerned about the fact the bill does not address a security agency's more active function, that of actually disrupting groups it identifies as subversive.

The RCMP has not only collected information on thousands of Canadians, it has put that knowledge to use. The McDonald Commission documented the use of "disruptive techniques" by the RCMP, and recommended in 1981 they be explicitly forbidden by legislation. Bill C-157 is silent on this issue.

An RCMP officer described disruptive techniques to the commission as "making use of sophisticated and well researched plans built around existing situations, such as power struggles, love affairs, fraudulent use of funds, information on drug abuse, etc., to cause dissension and splintering of the separatist/terrorist group."

Copeland told the Senate committee the law union is highly critical of the RCMP's role in actively disrupt-

**Under the bill, everything the government has been embarrassed about in the past will be made legal.**

ing political groups.

"The aspect that concerns our organization the most is the disruption activities of the security agencies," he said. "The position we take is that if a group is breaking the law and the government finds out about it, that group should be prosecuted ... (However) one should be free to engage in lawful activities, free of intimidation and free of interference by state authorities."

A disruptive act can be as simple as letting an individual or group know they are under surveillance, to the RCMP is conducting a campaign of "police intimidation", focussing on members of public sector unions and especially female officials.

Last August, a trade union official said 10 to 15 officers were contacted by the RCMP in the previous six months, indicating some kind of campaign. In one interview, and RCMP officer visited an equal opportunities officer, simply asking her why she subscribed to a now-defunct Communist magazine, *Forge*.

Separating "information gathering" from policing responsibilities was behind McDonald's recommendation to separate the security service from the RCMP. "Because the essential function of a security intelligence agency is to collect, analyze and report intelligence about threats to Canada's security, we believe it should not be authorized to enforce security measures."

Disruption activities are a politically charged issue, and Copeland wants to know why bill C-157 does not

take McDonald's recommendation. "From the fact that they totally disregard that recommendation, the government must want them to (continue the practice) ..."

Copeland points to other ignored recommendations, such as shielding the minister from responsibility for the service (he can offer only "general directions"), and giving security agents *carte blanche* to break laws without fear of repercussion.

"We have a very cynical view ... that the government is using this legislation to ensure that it is not embarrassed, as it has been in the past. Under the bill, everything the government has been embarrassed about in the past will be made legal ...," Copeland said.

The peace movement is certainly feeling the heat of police pressure, Copeland said. David Orlikow, NDP MP from Winnipeg, told the House of Commons he knew of RCMP surveillance on a prominent national peace organization.

But Kaplan explained the peace movement as such is not a target, but rather "individuals who are promoting the overthrow of the government or who are acting on behalf of foreign governments within Canada might be targeted and that would cover them if they infiltrated the peace movement."

If the RCMP is only interested in individuals in the peace movement, one such person is Ken Hancock, member of an anti-cruise missile group in Toronto. As an informer, Moxley said his RCMP contacts mentioned Hancock's name frequently and encouraged him to learn more about him.

Hancock knows he is under surveillance, especially by the Toronto Metropolitan police. The Ontario attorney-general notified him this summer his phone has been bugged "for some considerable time." His

**"It is a very real problem in society when you do not feel you can talk over the telephone."**

house and those of other members of his group, the Cruise Missile Conversion Project, were raided by police last year, looking for evidence to connect them to the 1982 bombing of Litton Industries, a Toronto manufacturer of the cruise guidance system.

Hancock, a Quaker, received a living allowance from the Quaker organization, the Canadian Friends Service Committee, to support his political activism in the peace movement, which included the use of civil disobedience.

The Quaker Church does not endorse violence of any kind. It's hard to call it a foreign influenced organization, or Hancock a violent agitator. In fact, when the Litton bombing took place, the media distinguished non-violent activities of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project from the bombing, rather than take the opportunity to cast doubt on its work.

Hancock doubts why he is being harassed. "They want us to stop doing our actions. We start to get flack from our own people who start to say we're too confrontational. It's the perfect slave mentality. After they raid us, and our children, then we take the blame for confrontation."

The step from passively collecting information on people, to using that information to intimidate them, is a small one.

And there is no explicit reporting mechanism in bill C-157 explaining how security agents will decide which political activist deserves a scare, a house raid, or whether an informer should act as an agent provocateur, encouraging a group to more extreme and eventually self-destructive action.

Copeland says the RCMP's history of suppressing political activity without regard for civil liberties will not be remedied by bill C-157, rather it will be entrenched.

"It's difficult to see the difference between (bill C-157) and what the KGB does," Copeland said. "They discourage dissenters from coming to demonstrations ... much of what the police state in Eastern Europe is designed to do is scare people out of this activity."

Looking back, Moxley is pleased with his work. "I've been a little of everything. I can see and appreciate views on all sides and I see a synthesis of all these beliefs."

Moxley has a simple way of summing it up. "What's law and order for one person, is repression for someone else."