

*Security Intelligence Service*

Despite the widespread evidence of institutionalized wrongdoing, which was clearly documented in the report of the McDonald Commission, despite the evidence of wilful blindness on the part not only of senior members of the RCMP security service but, more important, their political masters, it is important to look at the record of what has taken place as a result of those revelations.

According to the report of the McDonald Commission, it found a willingness on the part of members of the RCMP to deceive those outside the force who had some sort of constitutional authority or jurisdiction over them or their activities. The McDonald Commission documented a series of wrongdoings and criminal activity, whether it be arson, theft, breaking and entering, kidnapping, illegal opening of mail, illegal access to government records, and unfortunately the list went on and on. As the Commission noted as well, one of the most reprehensible kinds of wrongdoing carried out by the RCMP was the wide range of illegal and improper acts carried out by the security service to disrupt radical political groups in Canada suspected of being threats to national security. Most of these activities were carried out in the early 1970s, following at least the tacit urgings of the government of the day to crack down on this kind of activity even though it was entirely legal.

I think it is important in establishing a historic context to remind Canadians of what it was that led us to this particular legislation. The McDonald Commission said:

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These methods violated the rule of law, inflicted damage on Canadian citizens and involved secret attempts to manipulate political events and the news media. Such practices not only violate important precepts of Canadian democracy but they may also seriously damage the security agency itself.

It concluded by saying:

Approval of such tactics will reduce the public support for any kind of secret security intelligence activities.

What was the response of those who are constitutionally obliged to uphold the law in this country, to ensure that the principle of the rule of law which is now entrenched in the preamble to our Constitution is upheld? To this date there has not been a single prosecution of any breach of federal statute by the Government of Canada. The Government has decided that despite clear and compelling evidence of breaches of a number of statutes, whether it be the Income Tax Act, the Post Office Act or the Unemployment Insurance Act, there was to be no prosecution whatsoever for the breaches of those federal statutes.

At the provincial level, in the four provinces in which there was evidence of criminal wrong-doing—British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec—it was only in the Province of Quebec and only following the report of the Keable Commission that the Attorney General of Quebec laid charges for the very serious breaches of the Criminal Code in that province. To this date it remains, and I put it at its most charitable, unclear as to whether there has been any disciplinary action taken within the RCMP security service as a result of the very

clear breaches of the standards which must be upheld by a security service in a democratic society.

In August, 1973 the then Minister of Justice stated clearly and unequivocally that there was to be no disciplinary action whatsoever against any member of the RCMP security service for the breaches of the law and the breaches of the standards of the force, which were so clearly documented by the McDonald Commission. Just last week we heard from the Solicitor General (Mr. Kaplan) the suggestion that in fact there was disciplinary action taken, but he was not going to tell us the nature of the disciplinary action, who it was taken against, when it was taken or why. Effectively what he said was, "Disregard the statement of the Minister of Justice who said there was to be no disciplinary action and trust me when I tell you that we have disciplined those who should be disciplined, but I am not going to tell you how or when".

What does that do to the rule of law? What does it do in terms of a deterrent to other members of the force who may be tempted in similar circumstances to breach the high standard of ethics of the security service? As I said, there has been no disciplinary action and certainly no prosecution whatsoever. In fact, they have made a mockery of the rule of law in this country.

There are 800,000 Canadians who have had files opened on them. According to the report of the McDonald Commission, the vast majority of those Canadians had committed no illegality whatsoever, yet we still do not know how many of those files are being destroyed or even the extent to which Canadians are being informed of the existence of such files or how they were used against them.

For almost two years the Government pondered and studied the recommendations of the McDonald Commission and somewhat ironically set up a transition force, whose chief policy adviser was one of the senior members of the RCMP security service who had first called for the establishment of the McDonald Commission. These deliberations finally gave birth to Bill C-157, tabled in May, 1983. This legislation constitutes a massive and unprecedented assault on the civil liberties of all Canadians. The Hon. Member for Saskatoon West (Mr. Hnatyshyn) pointed out that it was denounced across Canada by a broad cross-section of the community, whether it be provincial attorneys general, academics, civil libertarians, trade unionists and many others. However, when the official spokesperson for the Conservative Party stated that Bill C-157 met with universal disapproval and when he said that it was recognized at the time as being totally wrong, there was one slight omission from his speech. There was one very important group in this country that remained totally silent on this affront to civil liberties. One group refused to speak out, one group which sat silently as provincial attorneys general, civil libertarians and a broad cross-section condemned this Bill. The group that remained silent and in derogation of its responsibility to the people of this country was none other than the Conservative Party.

I challenge the Hon. Member for Saskatoon West and his colleagues, the Hon. Member for Durham-Northumberland