event. By amending the National Defence Act, it provided CSEC with its first-ever legislated mandate as well as instituting a distinct review mechanism in the form of a commissioner's office. Beyond the core agencies (CSIS, CSEC, and Chief of Defence Intelligence) Canada’s Intelligence Community encompasses a wide array of organizations that are part of federal departments or agencies, including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police-National Security Criminal Investigations program, an Integrated Terrorism Assessment Centre (ITAC) as well as an independent agency—the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Centre (FINTRAC)—Canada's financial intelligence organization, which reports to the Minister of Finance.

The mandate and legislation applicable to each are detailed in the 2006 report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Maher Arar, titled A New Review Mechanism for the RCMP's National Security Activities.

To study the seminal events that have affected the origin, evolution and effectiveness of the Canadian intelligence community and its constituent parts, American scholars, students and practitioners would not be well served by recently edited volumes and anthologies on the subject of intelligence and its study because of their overwhelming emphasis on the Anglo-American experience. Relying on them, a reader would be hard pressed to discern how that experience differs from the Canadian one. Yet, it does. While American students and practitioners are well served by these volumes, Canadians, unfortunately, have no single volume to point to that captures the breadth and detail of their own nation’s intelligence experience.

For most of the Cold War period, Canadian intelligence activities were largely conducted in secrecy, and the monopoly of the executive branch. The security intelligence function was the responsibility of Canada’s national police, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Foreign intelligence was also an area of intense activity throughout the Cold War and after. Besides the military intelligence activities, which fall under the purview of the Canadian armed forces, and are focused on the intentions and capabilities of foreign militaries, Canada also has a signals intelligence organization (Communications Security Establishment CanadaCSEC), but its very existence was not publicly acknowledged until 1983.

A seminal event in the history of Canadian intelligence occurred in 1981 when the Commission of Inquiry Concerning Certain Activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (the McDonald Commission) recommended that a civilian service replace the Security Service of the RCMP along with robust review and accountability mechanisms. Having agreed with the thrust of the Commission’s report, government enacted legislation in 1984 creating the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) and a review body, the Security Intelligence Review Committee (SIRC).1

In December 2001, the adoption by parliament of the Anti-Terrorism Act represented another seminal

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Yet, as a distinct field of enquiry, intelligence studies in Canada are vibrant today. Twenty years ago, the field was nascent and limited to a select few academics. It expanded in slow increments until the events of 9/11, whereupon it developed significantly with an influx of new scholars and distinctive scholarly activities, fuelled in part by the impact of particular government decisions affecting the rights of individuals and for which intelligence played a significant role. The Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies (CASIS), established in 1985, played a part in increasing the legitimacy and popularity of studying intelligence. Intelligence analysts themselves within the Canadian government have paid attention proactively to the professionalization and improvement of the intelligence field of study and have organized into a Canadian Association of Professional Intelligence Analysts (CAPIA) to further promote professional development, training, and education of intelligence analysts.

However, an epistemic community intending to grow and move the research yardstick forward needs more than good motivation. It also needs access to key material from which to take stock of past and current research and findings and to draw research agendas for the future. It is in this context that this short article brings together a set of readings for the study of Canadian intelligence. The readings we propose concerning Canadian intelligence issues include authoritative chapters, books, and articles that have appeared over the past 20 years critically analyzing some key issues: the legal framework for intelligence, intelligence culture, security intelligence, foreign intelligence, signals intelligence, military intelligence, and accountability and review. The introductory material we identify covers the progress and achievements of the Canadian literature on intelligence from 1990 to 2010 (state of the discipline’s scholarship) in a manner reminiscent of Geoffrey Weller’s article published in the International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence in 2001 and of Stuart Farson’s article published in Conflict Quarterly in 1989.10

These major texts in Canadian intelligence studies represent, in our view, key reference points for those—students, professors, intelligence and national security professionals, and the general public—seeking (a) to understand how the Canadian intelligence community has evolved since the end of the Cold War and (b) to better comprehend how it did so and under what conditions. These texts should also be of interest for students beyond intelligence studies, including Security Studies and International Relations. Dependent on their availability outside of Canada, they should also help educate the public about the role, place and importance of intelligence in Canada, and motivate scholars in Canada and abroad to further study the Canadian intelligence community.

We have organized our suggested reading material around the key issues outlined above, which also reflects the major topics of study within Canadian intelligence studies. Following the introduction, the first section situates the Canadian intelligence community within the wider frameworks within which it operates, including the global, legal, cultural and change management contexts. This is important, as each of these contexts influence, through constraints and opportunities, the practice of intelligence and the performance of each agency, each being a government bureaucracy of its own. The second section proposes material that examines the evolution of security intelligence in Canada and the broadening of its mandate post-9/11. The following sections respectively look at foreign intelligence, signals intelligence and military intelligence. The last section examines accountability and review by identifying its major features (such as the role of the legislative branch, the media, special inquiries and independent review bodies), all recognized as essential to the proper functioning of an intelligence community within a democratic system.

Some caveats, however, are in order:

To fully comprehend and understand the practice and evolution of intelligence in Canada, instructors


will need to access and go through a sizeable amount of government material. In particular, reports of major government inquiries and landmark court decisions (the latter are accessible through the Canadian Legal Information Institute) will represent key primary sources. The former include:

- Freedom and Security Under the Law, several volumes, Ottawa: Commission of Inquiry Concerning Certain Activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, August 1981.
- Internal Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Abdullah Almalki, Ahmad Abou-Elmaati, and Muayyed Nureddin, Ottawa: Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, represented by the Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2008.

In addition to these major inquiries’ reports, instructors will require familiarity with a variety of annual or public reports produced by the agencies themselves. These include the annual Public Report of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, the annual operational audit of the Security Intelligence Review Committee, and the annual report of the Communications Security Establishment Commissioner.12

Contrary to what one can find in the United States or the United Kingdom, there is no major history of the intelligence community available in Canada. A history of the Canadian intelligence community in the first decades of the Cold War was prepared several years ago by University of Toronto Professor Wesley Wark with support and access to archival documentation provided by the Privy Council Office, but no consensus on the declassification of Dr. Wark’s study could be reached after its completion.13

Canadian and other scholars have paid more attention to the oversight and review mechanisms—either in place or lacking—than the effectiveness and practices of the community and its constituent parts. This is reflected in the paucity of material on operational effectiveness, performance management, and organizational issues. For instance, no scholarly work has ever been done on the intelligence components of the Departments of Transport and Environment, the Canada Border Services Agency and others.

### READINGS FOR INSTRUCTORS

The following are recommended readings on Canadian intelligence issues.

#### Overview


#### Security Intelligence


Arne Kislenko (2010). “Guarding the Border: Intelligence and Law Enforcement in Canada’s Immigration System,” in Loch K. Johnson (Ed.). The

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13. The authors are grateful to Dr. Wark for verifying and confirming this information.
Foreign Intelligence


Signals Intelligence


Military Intelligence


Accountability and Review


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