



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

November 17, 2022

ANDREW CONTE  
2736 GUILFORD AVENUE  
BALTIMORE, MD 21218

FOIPA Request No.: 1420576-000  
Subject: HART, WARREN

Dear Andrew Conte:

The FBI has completed its review of records subject to the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) that are responsive to your request. The enclosed documents were reviewed under the FOIPA, Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Below you will find check boxes under the appropriate statute headings which indicate the types of exemptions asserted to protect information which is exempt from disclosure. The appropriate exemptions are noted on the enclosed pages next to redacted information. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted to indicate where pages were withheld entirely and identify which exemptions were applied. The checked exemptions used to withhold information are further explained in the enclosed Explanation of Exemptions:

<b>Section 552</b>		<b>Section 552a</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(1)	<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(A)	<input type="checkbox"/> (d)(5)
<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(2)	<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(B)	<input type="checkbox"/> (j)(2)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(3)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(C)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(1)
<u>50 U.S.C. § 3024(i)(1)</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(D)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(2)
_____	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(E)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(3)
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<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(5)	<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(9)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(6)
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19 preprocessed pages are enclosed. To expedite requests, preprocessed packages are released the same way they were originally processed. Documents or information originating with other Government agencies that were originally referred to that agency were not referred as part of this release. This material is being provided to you at no charge.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **“Part 1”** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **“Part 2”** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records about yourself or any third party individuals. **“Part 3”** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website under “Contact Us.” The FOIPA Request Number listed above has been assigned to your request. Please use this number in all correspondence concerning your request.

If you are not satisfied with the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s determination in response to this request, you may administratively appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, 441 G Street, NW, 6th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20530, or you may submit an appeal through OIP’s FOIA STAR portal by creating an account following the instructions on OIP’s website:

<https://www.justice.gov/oip/submit-and-track-request-or-appeal>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days of the date of my response to your request. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by emailing the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison at [foipaquestions@fbi.gov](mailto:foipaquestions@fbi.gov). The subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified. You may also contact the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS). The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at [ogis@nara.gov](mailto:ogis@nara.gov); telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769.

Sincerely,



Michael G. Seidel  
Section Chief  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Information Management Division

Enclosure(s)

This is the final release of information responsive to your FOIPA request. This material is being provided to you at no charge. Duplicate copies of the same document were not processed.

Based on the information you provided, we conducted a main entity record search of the Central Records System (CRS) per our standard search policy. For more information about records searches and the standard search policy, see the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum General Information Section.

The enclosed documents are from a multiple subject investigation that listed the subject of your request as one of the subjects. The only portions processed were those documents that contained information concerning your subject. Documents were not considered for processing if no information about your subject was in the body of the document.

Records that may have been responsive to your request were destroyed. Since this material could not be reviewed, it is not known if it was responsive to your request. Record retention and disposal is carried out under supervision of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Title 44, United States Code, Section 3301 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1228; Title 44, United States Code, Section 3310 as implemented by Title 36, Code of Federal Regulations, Part 1229.10.



## FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum provides information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes standard responses that apply to requests for records about individuals to the extent your request seeks the listed information. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records, searches, and programs.

### Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

- (i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIPA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c)]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIPA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website.
- (ii) **Intelligence Records.** To the extent your request seeks records of intelligence sources, methods, or activities, the FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and as applicable to requests for records about individuals, PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that any such records do or do not exist.

### Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

- (i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.
- (ii) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Witness Security Program Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could identify any participant in the Witness Security Program pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(3) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(3), 18 U.S.C. 3521, and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.
- (iii) **Requests for Confidential Informant Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of confidential informant records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(E), and (b)(7)(F) [5 U.S.C. § 552 (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(E), and (b)(7)(F)] and Privacy Act exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. § 552a (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records would reveal confidential informant identities and information, expose law enforcement techniques, and endanger the life or physical safety of individuals. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

### Part 3: General Information:

- (i) **Record Searches and Standard Search Policy.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching systems, such as the Central Records System (CRS), or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. The CRS is an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled by the FBI per its law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization, comprising records of FBI Headquarters, FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide; Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records are included in the CRS. The standard search policy is a search for main entity records in the CRS. Unless specifically requested, a standard search does not include a search for reference entity records, administrative records of previous FOIPA requests, or civil litigation files.
  - a. *Main Entity Records* – created for individuals or non-individuals who are the subjects or the focus of an investigation
  - b. *Reference Entity Records*- created for individuals or non-individuals who are associated with a case but are not known subjects or the focus of an investigation
- (ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.
- (iii) **Foreseeable Harm Standard.** As amended in 2016, the Freedom of Information Act provides that a federal agency may withhold responsive records only if: (1) the agency reasonably foresees that disclosure would harm an interest protected by one of the nine exemptions that FOIA enumerates, or (2) disclosure is prohibited by law (5 United States Code, Section 552(a)(8)(A)(i)). The FBI considers this foreseeable harm standard in the processing of its requests.
- (iv) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheet. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative “FBI file.” An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at [www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks](http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks). Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at [www.edo.cjis.gov](http://www.edo.cjis.gov). For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.

**EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS**

**SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552**

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information ( A ) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, ( B ) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, ( D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

**SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a**

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1420576-000

Total Deleted Page(s) = 7  
Page 57 ~ b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;  
Page 58 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;  
Page 109 ~ b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;  
Page 153 ~ b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;  
Page 154 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;  
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Page 156 ~ Duplicate;

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# EX-MOUNTIE SPY SAYS



Former RCMP undercover agent Warren Hart, circled, at Toronto International Airport in 1975 with black activists Angela Davis, third from right, and Rosie Douglas, in glasses.

# 'I BUGGED ALLMAND'

***Bitter after deportation, former agent speaks out — pages 3, 44, 45***





**He was an officer  
with Black Panthers**

"Captain" Warren Hart of the Black Panthers, left, stands outside a Panther building in Baltimore with two fellow officers, Lieutenants Charles Butler, right, and Zeke Boyd. Hart, at the time working for the FBI, later dispatched Butler and Boyd to Montreal to work with the FLQ.



WARREN HART with the "bugged" car Mounties provided him.



WARREN ALLMAND  
Bugged by Hart



JOHN RODRIGUEZ  
Another victim



**RADICAL'S AIDE... PROMOTED CARIBBEAN UNREST... BUGGED RCMP BOSS... THEN DEPO**

# **A Mountie spy's bizarre history**



# 'Mounties used FBI man to bug Allmand'

OTTAWA (CP-Special) — An American FBI agent working for the RCMP bugged former solicitor-general Warren Allmand and another MP and infiltrated radical groups across the country, documents released yesterday by Tory MP Elmer MacKay say.

According to the documents detailed in a letter and interview transcript MacKay tabled in the House:

"The RCMP didn't like Mr. Allmand... Most of the RCMP was under the

impression that Mr. Allmand is a communist."

No government source confirmed the allegations that Warren Hart, 49, bugged Allmand and New Democrat John Rodriguez under orders from the Mounties' security service. Prime Minister Trudeau said they were being studied.

It was not clear why the RCMP wanted to bug Rodriguez, MP for Nickel Belt.

MacKay said Hart has submitted his allegations to the federal probe into

the RCMP headed by Judge David McDonald and should be called as a witness.

MacKay tabled a petition asking the House to investigate the allegations made by Hart, an American citizen who was used by the FBI and the RCMP for 4½ years to infiltrate radical groups in Canada, the U.S. and the Caribbean.

Hart claimed he later told Allmand about the buggings and taping conversations in Allmand's Montreal office and a college basement, but the cabinet minister didn't seem surprised.

A spokesman for Allmand said yesterday he remembers Hart, but cannot remember any details of their conversations. Allmand was to make a statement today.

Rodriguez identified Hart from a photo MacKay showed him.

Hart's statement said he infiltrated the Black Caucus in Toronto and Montreal, the Canadian Socialist party in Toronto and Vancouver, the Indian Movement in Toronto, Vancouver and Lethbridge, Oxfam Platoon in Toronto, the Rastafarians in Toronto, West Indian groups, Polimo and Ga Chinese group "known as something like the 'Red Guard.'"



ELMER MacKAY



By **ROBERT MacDONALD**  
 Staff Writer  
 Copyright 1978

WASHINGTON — "I was approached by special agent Gerald Davis of the FBI and was told Mr. Joe Degan, in charge of the FBI radical section, wanted to see me at the Holiday Inn.

"On April 11, 1971, I met Mr. Joe Degan there, and there was another gentleman in the room. He was introduced to me as Sergeant I.D. Brown, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police."

And so began one of the most bizarre stories in Canadian, U.S. and Caribbean intelligence history.

The man speaking was Warren Hart, then a 41-year-old black undercover agent for the FBI who had penetrated the Black Panther Party in the U.S. and eventually became Stokely Carmichael's bodyguard. To the Black Panthers, he was Captain Hart.

In a two-day series of interviews, Hart — now 49 and bitter about his later treatment by Canadian authorities — told the Sun in detail about how he came to Canada and infiltrated radical leftist movements.

For 4 1/2 years, as a paid undercover agent of the RCMP, he lived a double and even triple life.

To black activist Rosie Douglas and other radicals, he was a tried and true "black brother" who became "General" Hart — bodyguard to Douglas and a specialist in guerrilla warfare. He came here "on the run" from U.S. authorities.

To the radicals, he was also known as a guy with Mafia connections and crime income who drove a flashy Marquis and, later, a 1975 Lincoln Continental.

## Controlled by RCMP

Throughout, however, Hart was controlled by his employers — the RCMP Security Service.

Through the use of an RCMP-equipped car, plus bugged apartments, bugging "body packs," and mail openings, he assisted the Mounties in penetrating many Canadian radical groups.

However, he also claimed he used his bugged car and a body-pack to secretly tape a meeting between Douglas and the British Columbia NDP caucus in Victoria, and even a meeting between Douglas and Warren Allmand, then solicitor general, Prime Minister Trudeau's cabinet boss of the RCMP.

And, under RCMP orders, he accompanied Douglas on several organizing tours of the Caribbean, in which he claimed the goal was to ferment revolution and install socialist governments in 32 of the islands.

On two trips, RCMP officers secretly moved through the Caribbean with him to give orders and hear his reports.

"And in some instances, they almost got me killed by some stupid moves," said Hart.

On his return from the Caribbean, Hart said he was "debriefed" by the CIA — and most of his reports to the Mounties also were relayed back to the U.S. via an FBI officer in Ottawa.

Now, the 5-foot-8 Hart — who weighs at 210 — feels his life is endangered by his speaking out.

But I want some semblance of justice — I wouldn't have said anything if I wasn't rated so badly," he said.

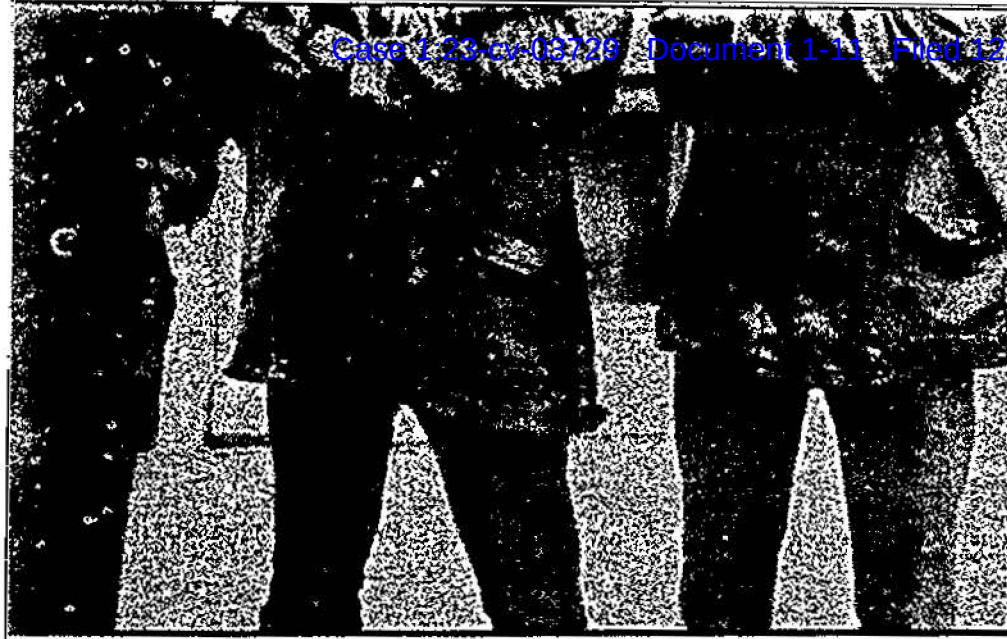
"I was promised by the RCMP that I would be allowed to remain in Canada and live here when my work was done — they even said my two sons could one day join the RCMP."

"Instead, they had me deported — and neither Prime Minister Trudeau or Warren Allmand would go to bat for me," he said.

"Only (Conservative MP) Elmer MacKay would listen to my story — I happened to see his name in the Baltimore Sun regarding the RCMP, so I wrote him a letter last fall," recalled Hart.

Hart told the Sun Sgt. Brown offered him his FBI salary — \$900 a month — plus \$100 for travelling expenses. He and his wife talked it over — and he accepted.

As instructed by FBI agent Davis, Hart said he was given \$45 and a travel warrant to Toronto — boarding the plane at 7:45 p.m. on April 14.



an officer  
 k Panthers

"Captain" Warren Hart of the Black Panthers, left, stands outside a Panther building in Baltimore with two fellow officers, Lieutenants Charles Butler, right, and Zeke Boyd. Hart, at the time working for the FBI, later dispatched Butler and Boyd to Montreal to work with the FLQ.



WARREN ALLMAND  
 Bugged by Hart



JOHN RODRIGUEZ  
 Another victim

with the "bugged" car Mounties provided him.



As instructed, he registered at the Ford Hotel in Toronto and phoned Brown. The latter picked him up near the hotel at 11:45 p.m., handed him \$900, and took him on a tour of places in the city's black neighborhoods, he said.

One was the United Negro International Association on College Street, which he later visited after obtaining a room on Howland Avenue.

"I started visiting the UNIA hall — meeting various people — and telling them I was a former Panther member who was in Canada for a while. I was Captain Warren Hart of the Black Panthers."

Soon, he met June Ward, the girl friend of Rosie Douglas.

"I said 'I'm here to help Rosie if I possibly can.'" At the time Douglas was in jail and Hart said he offered to put up bail for him.

Hart's ace in gaining access to Douglas was a letter he wrote to Stokely Carmichael in Africa, telling the black radical that he was on the run. The result was a letter from Carmichael to Douglas "saying I was his personal bodyguard and could be instrumental in the black movement."

During 1971, Douglas invited Hart to be his bodyguard and a "demolitions expert" on a tour of the Caribbean. Black radical Horace Campbell, a West Indian, went along for part of the tour, but then went on to Africa.

"He was overshadowed by Rosie — but also tried to cast suspicion on me that I was a CIA or FBI," he recalled. "But I was Rosie's man."

"The RCMP was quite elated at my success in getting in with Rosie Douglas — they didn't think it was possible," he said. He had been given \$2,000 in expenses for his Caribbean trip.

"Rosie was under the impression I was getting money from the Mafia."

To help this image, Hart was financed by the Mounties to buy a large Mercury Marquis car — which they proceeded to equip with equipment to allow the driver (Hart) to secretly record any conversation in the vehicle, he said. The microphones were in the ceiling.

Later, he bought a 1975 Lincoln Continental, which also was equipped with bugs. Hart said the equipping procedure involved him leaving it on a parking lot near the RCMP headquarters on Jarvis Street, and picking it up the next day.

One of those recorded in conversation this way was NDP MP John Rodriguez.

A man the RCMP undercover agent wiretapped

more than once was Allmand.

"Mr. Allmand used to attend various black political meetings, especially the black caucus that was stationed in Montreal," said Hart.

"On Saturdays, Mr. Allmand would come to the meetings and make his presence known — on occasion he would get up and make his little speeches.

"On one occasion, Rosie Douglas was invited to his office and I accompanied Rosie Douglas, and I had been instructed by the RCMP to wear a body tape with the mike exposed right under my tie to tape the conversation between Mr. Warren Allmand and Rosie Douglas."

Asked why the RCMP wanted Allmand taped, Hart said:

"I was told that Mr. Warren Allmand did not like the RCMP, — he is socialist, and that they don't need the son-of-a-bitch in there...pardon me.

"They guaranteed that Mr. Allmand would offer Rosie Douglas a job, which he did."

Allmand's attitude towards Douglas was that he wanted to do all he could for the immigrant blacks, said Hart.

Later, when the RCMP had informed Hart his time had come to leave Canada — that his job was finished — he went to Allmand for help.

He confessed to taping the Allmand-Douglas conversations for the RCMP.

## He wasn't surprised

"Mr. Allmand shocked me because he didn't appear to be surprised — why, I don't know."

Allmand gave Hart a list of his private telephone numbers — but did nothing to help him stay in Canada.

On another occasion, Hart said he used the "body pack" taping equipment to record a meeting Douglas had with the NDP caucus at the British Columbia legislature.

Sgt. Brown was apparently operating under direct orders from the Ottawa RCMP headquarters when he hired Hart. However, when he began to work in the Toronto area, Hart found that another Mountie superior to Brown — Jim Warl — appeared "not too happy" with the arrangement.

Friction developed over the months and years — particularly since Hart felt he "had to be able to function as a street person to be effective and to stay live."



SUN REPORTER Robert MacDonald talks to Warren Hart in Washington.





**FORMER MOUNTIE AGENT WARREN HART**  
 "I want some semblance of justice"

This meant allowing Hart to project his tough-guy image as a Mafia-connected person.

An opportunity for this came when it was decided late in 1971 to arrest both Douglas and Hart in an effort to deport Douglas.

While they were in the Don Jail, Hart met some local Mafia connected persons and made friends with them. He was later to associate with them and even do some "jobs" with RCMP approval in order to improve his credibility, he said.

The result was a "phoney" deportation of Hart to the U.S. The Mounties told him to take a month's trip around the country and slip back into Canada. He was then to gradually come back into circulation after hiding out in the back of a Gerrard Street barber shop.

The ruse worked, but it was later to be used in the real deportation of Hart in 1975. In order to support the first deportation, he told a hearing that he had been guilty of assault and battery some years before in the U.S. — making him ineligible to be a landed immigrant here.

That evidence was used against him in 1975.

In 1972, Hart and Douglas were in Caribbean again, with Hart assigned to train guerrillas in the use of explosives.

The undercover agent said he had some hair-raising experiences in Grenada during the uprising there. He was involved in assassination schemes "that never came off" and even was given \$7,000 by anti-government forces to buy arms.

When he got back to Antigua, Hart said he called his RCMP control in Toronto for instructions. The result was that they sent him a black Canadian constable — a man Hart said he refused to work with previously because he was not smart enough.

So another RCMP control man — Sgt. Jack Plummer — was sent. Hart claimed this man almost gave him away when he got out of an airport limousine and said: "Hey, buddy, what are you doing?"

"I said it's one of my Mafia members — man from the States that knows me — all the blacks paid a lot of attention to him," said Hart.

Later, when they met secretly in the hotel room, Plummer did not seem to have any solution for the arms purchasing predicament.

"I said, 'Look, I have all this damn money on me, what am I gonna do with it?' He said, 'Well, wait a minute — he went out and called someone in Toronto, apparently Warl.'"

"He said to spend the damn money. I said, 'What do you mean spend it?' — I said how am I gonna cover myself spending money from revolutionary forces?"

### **Puerto Rico binge**

The result was that a "deal" was worked out with the FBI in which Hart went to Puerto Rico after spending the arms money on some high living "under instructions."

The story later was taken back to Grenada that the FBI moved in on the deal in Puerto Rico and the arms were still buried there — after the purchase had been made.

In 1973, Hart had become discouraged with his double-triple life and went back to the U.S. home. However, Brown visited him there and persuaded him — with the promise of a raise — to return to Toronto, he said.

However, tensions with his superiors, Warl and Murray Sexsmith, increased until it was decided in 1975 that his role should end and he was deported.

"Some of the RCMP fellows I worked with even went to Ottawa in attempts to get them to change their minds — to ask them to keep their promise that I would be allowed to stay as a landed immigrant," said Hart.

"I think I earned the chance to live in Canada — and I certainly believe I would be a good citizen."



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# RCMP forced to go public on Hart role

By ROBERT SHEPPARD  
Globe and Mail Reporter

RCMP officers must testify publicly about their relationship with self-described former agent Warren Hart, the McDonald Commission directed yesterday in overruling the force's objections.

Calling it "a pragmatic solution," Mr. Justice David McDonald, the commission chairman, said the ruling is designed to balance the public's right to be assured about the conduct of high officials with the Mounties' concern about the protection of sources.

RCMP officers will probably take the stand today after cross-examination of Mr. Hart, who testified for three days last week, is concluded. They have been ordered to testify about 13 specific issues raised by Mr. Hart's testimony but have been granted exemptions from giving public evidence on such matters as the general way that sources are handled, all references to other individuals acting as sources, the force's relationship with foreign agencies and police forces, and the manner in which information from sources is disseminated.

RCMP lawyer Richard McGeau was granted an early adjournment yesterday to discuss the decision with his clients. If the Mounties decide to defy the McDonald Commission on this matter, which they feel involves a very important principle, they will have two choices: either have officers refuse to testify in public and risk contempt charges, or seek a court injunction to stop the testimony going forward in public, as the Montreal police did when the Keable Commission in Quebec began unmasking so-called police informers last month.

Judge McDonald said the commission's decision was based on jurisprudence and not on the fact that former solicitor-general Jean-Jacques Blais identified Mr. Hart as a police informer in the House of Commons in February, 1978.

The RCMP has neither confirmed nor denied that Mr. Hart was an informer as he claims during the period from 1971 until 1975.

A U. S. citizen, Mr. Hart says he was borrowed from the U. S. Justice Department at the request of the RCMP to infiltrate black radical groups in Canada during that period.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

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Was it only \$6,000?

# Hart disputes payments

*By The Canadian Press*

Former RCMP informer Warren Hart on Wednesday disputed the accuracy of RCMP documents which show he was paid more than \$9,700 to leave Canada in 1975 after working undercover for the force for 4½ years.

Hart told the McDonald royal commission investi-

gating RCMP activities the security service paid him only \$6,000 severance pay in cash and gave him two weeks to leave the country in November, 1975.

Hart could not explain why his signature appeared on an RCMP receipt for \$7,930 severance pay dated Nov. 13, 1975,

or on two other receipts dated Dec. 16, 1975, and totalling \$1,788.

He said he did not sign those receipts, adding they show "I would have received a total of almost \$10,000 which is not true."

RCMP officers who dealt with Hart when he infiltrated black radical

groups have been ordered to testify in public later this week and will be asked to explain the apparent discrepancy.

The Mounties will also be asked why they dropped Hart — an American citizen who said he was on loan from the U.S. justice department — so suddenly and ordered him to leave

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# RCMP breaks silence, admits employing Hart as informer on blacks

By ROBERT SHEPPARD,

Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — A senior RCMP officer broke two weeks of legal stalemate yesterday, finally acknowledging that Warren Hart was recruited and used by the force for undercover work against black radical groups in Canada.

Chief Supt. Gustav Begalki, ordered to testify by the McDonald Commission, also acknowledged that he had indeed discussed the possibility of finding Mr. Hart a permanent job with the force after his undercover days were over, as Mr. Hart has testified, although he denied there was a firm job offer.

It was indicated at one point during the hearing that the force may have a type of pension plan for informers with 10 years' service, but as soon as this subject was broached it was quickly referred to a later private hearing. Also to be heard in private are the reasons Mr. Hart's services were terminated after nearly 4½ years as an informer.

A U.S. citizen, Mr. Hart has testified that he was recruited through U.S. Justice Department officials in 1971 and then ejected from Canada with only two weeks' notice in 1975. He has not been allowed to re-enter Canada since then, except under a special minister's permit to testify at the current hearings of the federal inquiry into RCMP operations.

Supt. Begalki testified yesterday that Mr. Hart's RCMP "handlers" in Toronto had requested that he be allowed to remain in Canada until at least after the Montreal Olympics in 1976, but this was vetoed by senior officers in Ottawa "for operational reasons."

"He would draw his own conclusions from the information I supplied."

The RCMP had been refusing for two weeks at the hearings to confirm or deny that Mr. Hart was a police informer, on grounds that the protection of sources goes to the root of its policies.

However, shortly before the first Mountie was to testify yesterday, RCMP lawyer Richard Mongeau requested a long adjournment for a number of rea-

sons, one of which was that two former officers slated to testify, I. D. Brown and Jack Plummer, now want to be represented by their own lawyer. They say there is the possibility of conflict of interest if they are represented by the RCMP lawyer, as they have been until now.

Over strenuous objections from commission counsel Bruno Pateras and from the lawyer for Mr. Hart, Barry Wortzman, Mr. Justice David McDonald granted an adjournment.

He said he complimented Mr. Hart on his work, but denied that at a 1973 meeting he made a firm job offer. "I'm sure I told him that it depended on vacancies and the force's needs matching with his qualifications" at some point in the future, Supt. Begalki said.

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# Mounties may refuse to testify about ex-informer

By ROBERT SHEPPARD  
Globe and Mail Reporter.

OTTAWA — The RCMP may defy the McDonald Commission by having its

officers refuse to testify about their relationship with informer Warren Hart, whose activities included bugging a federal solicitor-general.

RCMP lawyer Richard Mongeau told the commission yesterday at the start of a new round of public hearings that the force will "neither confirm nor deny"

that Mr. Hart was its agent in the mid-1970s because it is a long-standing principle not to discuss informants.

Mr. Hart, brought to Canada in 1971 from the

United States to infiltrate black radical groups, has been seeking a public hearing for some time because he feels wronged by the RCMP, which he says promised him a permanent job but had him ejected from the country in 1975.

He testified yesterday that the "apex" of his career as an agent was the bugging of conversations between black radical Roosevelt Douglas and various politicians in 1974, including the solicitor-general of the day, Warren Allmand.

The taping was carried out without the knowledge of Mr. Douglas or Mr. Allmand but with the apparent gleeful concurrence of Mr. Hart's RCMP handlers, who regarded their political boss as "a Communist with leftist leanings," Mr. Hart testified.

The RCMP lawyer said outside the hearings that he had not yet decided whether to counsel the officers involved to refuse to testify completely, to refuse to testify in public, or to testify after a specific statement that this is an exceptional case. Testifying after such a statement would be the easiest way out, he said, but could jeopardize the Mounties' legal position before the Keable commission in Quebec, where the unmasking of police informers has become a touchy legal issue.

Mr. Mongeau agreed that the Hart affair is unusual because the informant is not seeking protection but rather wants publicity, and because it has already been acknowledged in the Commons, by former solicitor-general Jean-Jacques Blais and former immigra-

tion minister Bud Cullen in 1978, that Mr. Hart was on the RCMP payroll.

But it is still "the police position" not to discuss informants.

Bruno Pateras, counsel for the federal commission into RCMP activities, said he intends to call various Mounties to the stand to corroborate Mr. Hart's evidence. (At least four have already been served subpoenas.)

Mr. Pateras said at yesterday's hearing that Mr. Hart's evidence will show how agents are recruited and controlled by the force, and deal with infringements of immigration laws, the Criminal Code, tax laws and privileges of MPs.

The 51-year-old Mr. Hart said he infiltrated the Black Panther movement for the U.S. Justice Department in the late 1960s, and was recruited by the RCMP in Washington. After 4½ years eavesdropping on Mr. Douglas as his bodyguard and chauffeur, during which he also gave seminars on weapons to various radical groups across the country and reported on all this to the RCMP, he said, he was ejected with only two weeks notice.

He said he also entered apartments to remove mail for photographing, and was involved with the Toronto Mafia at the RCMP's encouragement, to establish a cover for his high lifestyle.

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# Victim of vendetta, claims ex-undercover agent

By Iain Hunter  
Citizen national editor

The job suited Warren Hart just fine.

For four years beginning in 1971 the RCMP undercover agent posed as chief of staff to black radical leader Roosevelt Douglas in Canada.

He like being called "the general" by black activists. He liked the limousine he drove Douglas around in.

He didn't mind the frequent trips he had to make to the Caribbean to talk to radical groups in the islands there.

He didn't mind lugging around practically every credit card issued in Canada or the body pack which he used to bug Douglas and Canadian politicians, including then-solicitor-general Warren Allmand.

Four years after being assigned to infiltrate black radical groups in Canada, Hart was proud of his record.

He was looking forward to a permanent job at the end of his assignment — as civilian member of the RCMP, with an office in a motel on the outskirts of Ottawa where he would co-ordinate information gathered by Mountie undercover agents.

He dreamt of permanent landed status in Canada, of his son becoming a member of the force.

But in 1975 he found he wasn't wanted in this country any longer. He was cut off from his Mountie friends even though Douglas was still working in Canada.

He wrote many letters to Ottawa — even to then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau — begging to be allowed back.

But the only answer he got was a notification of the number of debts he had incurred with the credit cards issued him by the RCMP.

Hart was before the McDonald Commission investigating RCMP wrongdoing Tuesday, claiming he was the victim of a personal vendetta by a senior member of the force.

He denied appearing before the commission to lodge a complaint, but said he wanted to prevent the Mounties from making vague promises to their undercover agents which they don't intend to keep and from "stepping on" the sources they use.

Hart acknowledged being given \$6,000 as severance pay in 1975, but even so, insisted "I was treated unfairly."

Virtually all of his testimony Tuesday he had given in press and TV interviews earlier.

Recruited by the RCMP while he was working undercover with the U.S. justice department in 1971, Hart had become chauffeur, bodyguard and confidante of Douglas within a month of coming to Canada.

Douglas at this time was fighting a deportation order for his part in the smashing of a \$2 million computer at Sir George Williams College — now Concordia University — in Montreal.

"I was accepted at all levels but one," he told the commission proudly, "and that was because of jealousy."

He was in on preliminary planning for the assassination of two Sir George Williams professors using weapons supplied by the Front de Libération du Québec — a plan which

was never implemented. He "set up" Douglas for his arrest in December, 1971, and was deported himself.

To make sure of his deportation, on instructions by the RCMP, he lied at an immigration hearing by saying he was a "revolutionary" with a criminal record in the U.S.

It was this false testimony which the Canadian government used in 1975 as grounds for denying him re-admission to this country.

But, within two months

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of his initial deportation in 1971, Hart was back in Canada working for the RCMP, and when Douglas got out of Don Jail in Toronto, he teamed up with him again.

He made several trips to the Caribbean at the invi-

tation of radical groups there as an expert in munitions and weapons. Both there and in Canada he handled stolen weapons.

He attended meetings between Douglas and other radical groups, including Arab and native In-

dian activists in this country.

In all these activities he worked closely with RCMP officers who "debriefed" him after each trip.

He had his "butt chewed out" on one occasion for turning over to the force stolen cheques instead of disposing of them himself. Radicals had given them to him to sell at cut rates to the Mafia with whom he pretended to be connected on instructions of the RCMP.

He removed mail from Douglas' and other activists' residences and helped the Mounties photograph and steam open some letters.

It was in 1973, the undercover agent testified, that he was promised a job as a civilian employee of the RCMP when the Douglas assignment was over.

But in November of 1975, he testified, he was given \$6,000 as severance pay and was sent back to the U.S.







CP Laserphoto

Former RCMP informer Warren Hart (right) at the hearing



# Black radicals plotted to murder Montreal professors, probe told

OTTAWA — (UPC) — A small group of black radicals conspired in 1971 to assassinate two Montreal university professors, the McDonald royal commission was told yesterday.

Warren Hart, 51, an American black who claims to have been an Royal Canadian Mounted Police undercover agent between 1971-75, told the commission, which is investigating RCMP activities, that two professors at Sir George Williams University were to be killed by an unknown male from the U.S. for a fee of \$100 for each assassination.

In testimony yesterday, Hart said as bodyguard and chauffeur to black radical Roosevelt (Rosie) Douglas, he bugged conversations indicating the insurgents wanted to kill the Montreal pro-

fessors.

Reading from transcripts of bugged conversations he had with the radicals, Hart said professors Perry Anderson and John O'Brien were the objects of an assassination plot for their role in convicting the radicals in the 1969 rampage at the university's computer complex.

At that time, black radicals entered the computer centre of the university (now called Concordia University) and destroyed the \$2-million complex.

In the taped conversations, Hart said, Douglas informed him that the assassination could cost him about \$100 (and) they will have to find a man to do it.

Hart said the radicals considered the use of bombs to kill Anderson and O'Brien but but rejected the idea be-



WARREN HART  
Bombs were rejected

cause it could fatally harm some black students at the university.

"A bomb would be danger-

ous with so many students in the school," Hart said, reading from the tape transcripts. "A lot of them are black students."

Despite the plans to kill the teachers, Hart said, the radicals did not know what Anderson and O'Brien looked like and needed a university yearbook to identify them. There were also problems obtaining a suitable gun, with a silencer.

In testimony Tuesday, Hart told the commission headed by Justice David McDonald that he was recruited in 1971 by the RCMP to infiltrate black radical groups and that he once bugged Warren Allmand, who was then the solicitor general.

As a reward, he said, the RCMP deported him in 1975 with only two weeks notice

despite a promise of a full-time job from the federal force.

He said he was paid \$900 a month in cash, later raised to \$1,300, plus expenses. The RCMP, to keep him under cover, had him move his residence in Toronto many times.

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# Hart: the unsecret secret agent

By ROBERT SHEPPARD  
Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — Like its counterparts in the United States, the RCMP proved last week how rattled it can get when one of its spies comes in from the cold.

The Mounties launched a barrage of legal arguments before the McDonald Commission in an attempt to prevent the commission from publicly producing documents from RCMP files that would link the force to a self-described former agent, Warren Hart.

Mr. Justice David McDonald and his two fellow commissioners will rule tomorrow on this point, the first of a series of legal skirmishes in a battle to determine whether the particular Mounties, who were Mr. Hart's "handlers" for the 1½ years he was in Canada, will testify in public, or testify at all.

The man at the centre of this controversy — Warren Hart, a 51-year-old U.S. citizen — is no Kim Philby or Phillip Agee, the veteran CIA agent whose revelations about agency plots rocked U.S. public opinion in the early 1970s.

Although he styles himself as an "agent" rather than an informer, Mr. Hart is more of a police freelancer who likes to cultivate a tough-guy image, connections with the underworld and an air of mystery, not unlike Gordon Liddy, the Watergate "plumber" with the hazy CIA background.

He would not, for example, swear under oath before the commission that the birthdate shown on his U.S. passport was a true one, and he flatly refused to discuss many aspects of his past, including the 18 months he spent recently with Space Research Corp., a firm under investigation by both the RCMP and a federal grand jury in the United States, concerning arms sales to South Africa.

The director of security for Space Research is a former Mountie, Donald McCleery, who felt he was wrongfully dismissed from the force and whose revelations about RCMP wrongdoing in 1977 led to the establishment of the McDonald Commission.

After suffering an injury while in the U.S. Army during the Korean War, Mr. Hart seems to have drifted into undercover for the U.S. Justice Department in Maryland, infiltrating the Black Panthers there because of his knowledge of explosives. He says he was on loan to the Justice Department from the army but there was no job for him there when he was bounced from Canada in 1975.

Mr. Hart says he was told that he was the first person in the history of the Justice Department to be lent to another country. If true, it raises the question of why the Mounties would so blatantly disregard an international obligation of this kind by renegeing on the promise of a full-time job and deport

Mr. Hart with only two weeks notice so he would not be able to return, as he charges.

In many respects, a product of the excesses of police intelligence operations in the United States in the sixties, Mr. Hart is a strong anti-Communist who, although a U.S. citizen, justified illegal acts he performed for the RCMP on grounds of patriotism.

"I call it serving my country. Or serving a country that I was assigned to, an ally country. I would no way ever serve a Communist country. But if my country which assigned me to Canada told me to go there, which they did, I'd serve this country. I would my own, then I feel that I was justified in doing what I was ordered to do."

His evidence indicates the degree to which the RCMP were eager to enunciate their U.S. counterparts. After being recruited in 1971, Mr. Hart was assigned to ingratiate himself with Roosevelt Douglas, a leading black radical at the time.

Mr. Hart testified he opened other people's mail, tapped phones without warrants, possessed stolen merchandise and illegal weapons and bugged conversations with politicians without their knowledge, all on the instructions of the RCMP. Mr. Hart also revelled in the technological gadgetry of his profession, including cars and tape machines. One such device, a tape recorder in a boot, was abandoned after repeatedly short-circuiting in wet weather.

"You can't be an angelic person or a Boy Scout," he said of his role.

His biggest thrill was taping a conversation between Mr. Douglas and Warren Allmand, then solicitor-general. But he also "flipped the switch" on NDP MP John Rodriguez and the B.C. provincial NDP caucus.

"Hey, even for me that was big. I was pleased by it and I assumed they (the RCMP) were as well," Mr. Hart said.

(He says all this taping was done on the implicit, in some cases explicit, direction of the RCMP, using the force's equipment. The only time he used his own equipment was when he taped the conversation between himself and one of his RCMP handlers when he was being warned that higher-ups wanted him out of the country. For reasons he has never explained, he left the tape of that conversation behind in Maryland.)

The Mounties say they can't publicly discuss Mr. Hart's case because of the principle of protection of sources, which is akin to "a code of honor among police forces," the lawyer acting for the RCMP argued last week.

The RCMP are worried that informants will stop coming forward if they think their identities could become the subject of pub-

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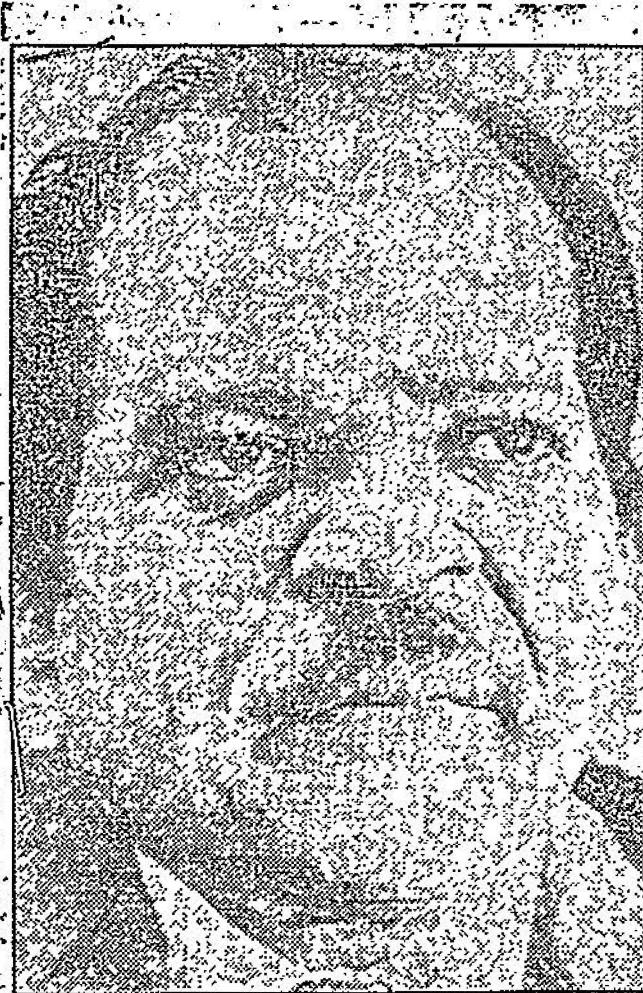
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Warren Hart at RCMP inquiry last week

lic hearings, lawyer Richard Mongeau said, adding, "It is very important that the RCMP be seen as acting and making representations very strongly in order to protect its sources."

However, the force's obsession for secrecy in this case seems odd in that Warren Hart has come forward on his own seeking publicity and redress, not protection. As well, he was

identified as an RCMP informant by former Solicitor-General Jean-Jacques Blais in the House of Commons in 1978.

When Mr. Hart's story first emerged two years ago — through Tory MP Elmer MacKay — he said he wanted to emigrate to Canada because his second wife and child were Canadian. On the witness stand last week, he said the purpose of his coming forward was to

change RCMP procedures regarding informers. But he admitted under cross-examination last week that he had at one time sought money from the RCMP.

If Mr. Hart's story goes unchallenged, why would future informers want to volunteer their services if they see they are going to be unceremoniously heaved out once their services are no longer required.

The legal battle lines have been drawn over what seems an absurd and minor point — a receipt for expenses — the production of which, RCMP lawyers argue, could go to the heart of the force's informant system.

But the RCMP is using the McDonald Commission at this point to set precedents in some of its other legal battles. The force not only fears some of its sources may dry up if they think their identities are not being adequately protected. It is also concerned about weakening its legal position before the Quebec police probe — the Keable Commission — which has been unmasking police informers during the era of the FLQ crisis, as well as before the Supreme Court of Canada in a case about identifying sources which stems from Ontario's Krevier Commission into the confidentiality of health records.

Lawyers for the RCMP did not object when a Mountie informer identified himself and testified before the Laycraft inquiry in Alberta in 1978. His evidence corroborated the alibi of an officer whose conduct was under question.