Air India Flight 182 A Canadian Tragedy

VOLUME FOUR Aviation Security

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VOLUME FOUR AVIATION SECURITY

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The terms of reference for the Commission require the Commissioner to make findings and recommendations with respect to "...whether further changes in practice or legislation are required to address the specific aviation security breaches associated with the Air India Flight 182 bombing, particularly those relating to the screening of passengers and their baggage."

Despite knowledge of existing threats and of the need for protective security measures, Canada was ill-prepared to defend itself against aviation terrorism in 1985. The bombing of Air India Flight 182 on June 23, 1985, revealed major shortcomings in the country's aviation security regime. Although Canada responded immediately and has since made numerous improvements to security, many deficiencies exposed in the wake of the bombing remain unaddressed.

It became clear to the Commission early on in its work that a broad interpretation of this aspect of its mandate was required. Although the bombing resulted directly from an unaccompanied bag that infiltrated the airline system and was then interlined to the Air India flight in Toronto, a narrow focus by the Commission on passenger and baggage security would not have provided assurance that all the security deficiencies that led to the bombing had been examined. Breaches in aviation security do not often occur in isolation. The security deficiencies that led to the bombing were widespread and interdependent, ranging from poor threat communication to lax aircraft and airport security.²

Aircraft and airport environments are attractive targets for terrorists because they offer the potential of a large number of victims in a contained area, along with a virtual guarantee of widespread public attention after an attack. Air travel is comparatively safe, since aircraft have one of the lowest accident rates of any mode of transportation.³ Nevertheless, when accidents or terrorism incidents occur, the consequences can be profound and their high visibility generates much public concern. Terrorists specifically target civil aviation because they have expectations of a high propaganda return from a successful attack.⁴

Terms of Reference, P.C. 2006-293, para. b(vii).

See Volume Two: Part 1, Pre-Bombing, Sections 1.9, 2.4, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.7 for a detailed analysis of the security breaches associated with the bombing of Air India Flight 182.

³ Exhibit P-169, p. 15 of 202.

⁴ Exhibit P-169, p. 15 of 202.

Since the 1960s, aviation has witnessed an increase in the deadliness of terrorist attacks, from simple aircraft seizures with the purpose of escaping political oppression in the 1960s to the use of aircraft as guided missiles in suicide attacks, as on September 11, 2001. Included on this continuum was the era of sabotage involving the unaccompanied, infiltrated bag – the *modus operandi* of the Air India bombers.

A careful examination of the history of civil aviation security reveals patterns that experts say give predictability to air terrorism. As Rodney Wallis, one of the Commission's key experts in civil aviation security, observed, "...There is very little that is new in threat[s] or in aviation security generally. What is changing is the ability to respond."⁵

In many ways, civil aviation security in Canada has made great strides since 1985. A stronger regulatory regime and oversight mechanism exist today. Threat communication and screening technology have vastly improved and a new government agency, the Canadian Air Transport Security Authority (CATSA), has been established exclusively to screen passengers, their baggage and non-passengers seeking access to restricted areas of airports. Still, important security deficiencies remain, despite recognition of these very deficiencies in the immediate aftermath of the bombing of Air India Flight 182.

As suggested by Wallis, the Commission has not found many new weaknesses in civil aviation security, but the fact that many deficiencies persist more than two decades after they first surfaced is of great concern. Earlier reviews of civil aviation security in Canada, notably those of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence (Senate Committee) and an independent review panel, the CATSA Act Review Advisory Panel (CATSA Advisory Panel), also called attention to many of these deficiencies, but they remain unaddressed.

Specifically, the Commission learned that there are several methods of sabotage besides those involving passengers and baggage. One of the most significant vulnerabilities is air cargo, which, though largely unscreened, travels in the hold of passenger aircraft. Persons and vehicles accessing airside and restricted areas of airports are also inadequately screened. In addition, the General Aviation (GA) sector and Fixed Base Operations (FBOs) have not been designated for CATSA screening. As a consequence, some passengers and their baggage are not screened at all, and the facilities used by the GA sector and FBOs are often not well secured. Flights from these facilities sometimes land at one of 89 "designated" airports in Canada, and their passengers may then transfer to connecting flights without ever being screened. In addition, a number of FBOs are located at the periphery of designated airports and permit direct access to restricted areas that normally require passing through levels of security

Testimony of Rodney Wallis, vol. 41, June 6, 2007, p. 5009.

See Exhibits P-169, P-171 and P-172; see also Appendices C, D and E for a listing of the recommendations of these reports.

See Section 3.8.1, which provides a detailed analysis of the current deficiencies in air cargo security.

See Section 3.8.2, which provides a detailed analysis of the current deficiencies in airport security.

screening that FBOs do not offer.⁹ These security weaknesses in the GA sector and FBOs leave the aviation system as a whole vulnerable to attack. Bombs can still find their way onto passenger aircraft.

A key lesson of the Air India bombing is that security measures must be applied in mutually reinforcing layers that address all vulnerabilities. Each layer on its own is not foolproof, as no measure on its own can ever be. Redundancy helps ensure that, if one measure fails, another will cover the gap. Effective security requires that all gaps be covered.

In 1985, the Government of Canada itself recognized that a broad-based examination of aviation security was required in response to the bombing. Shortly after, the Government commissioned a comprehensive review, which resulted in the "Seaborn Report." In many respects, this report is as relevant today as it was in 1985. It recommended sweeping changes to aviation security to better manage the threat of sabotage. Transport Canada implemented some, but not many, of the report's recommendations. Many weaknesses identified in the Seaborn Report are now the focus of this volume of the Commission's own report.

Annex 17 to the *Convention on International Civil Aviation ("Chicago Convention")*, a treaty governing civil aviation, outlines the minimum security standards. ¹¹ As a signatory, Canada is obliged to comply with the Convention, but the Commission finds that it has not done so.

Besides calling for a multi-layered, holistic approach to security, aviation security experts and officials from Transport Canada identified several other underlying principles to strengthen defences against terrorists. Many of these principles are rooted in the lessons learned from the bombing of Air India Flight 182. Security measures must be developed to anticipate threats,¹² provide for flexibility and performance-based measures where suitable,¹³ and foster a culture of security awareness. The security regime must be constantly scrutinized for its effectiveness. Since there are few security measures available to prevent harm once an aircraft is aloft, effective security must be provided on the ground. As well, technology, even if properly used, should rarely be seen as the final answer. It is merely one tool that may assist in providing security.

Transport Canada reported that it is developing proposals to address many of the security gaps that were the focus of the Commission – primarily air cargo security, airport security and FBO and GA security. It has also undertaken a comprehensive review of its regulatory regime. The Commission strongly urges

⁹ See Section 3.8.3, which provides a detailed analysis of the current deficiencies at FBOs and in the GA

Exhibit P-101 CAF0039; see also Appendix B, which provides a list of the recommendations.

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), Convention on International Civil Aviation ("Chicago Convention"), 7 December 1944, (1994) 15 U.N.T.S. 295; Exhibit P-181.

Testimony of Reg Whitaker, vol. 38, June 1, 2007, p. 4646.

¹³ Exhibit P-169, +pp. 92-93 of 202.

Transport Canada to ensure that it honours all of its Annex 17 obligations, and to exceed them where possible by looking to international best practices. Almost 25 years after the bombing of Air India Flight 182, the time for reflection is long past. Action is now required.

There is also a need for independent oversight of security measures. For this reason, the Commission recommends a regular five-year review by an independent panel of experts to ensure that Canada is addressing threats as effectively as possible. The Commission strongly encourages the Senate Committee and the Auditor General of Canada to continue to inform the public about the state of civil aviation security in Canada.

The Commission was greatly assisted in its work, not only by the members of the independent CATSA Advisory Panel, the Senate Committee, including its Chair, Senator Colin Kenny, and the Auditor General of Canada, but also by members of the Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada, including the Privacy Commissioner, Jennifer Stoddart, and the many industry representatives and Transport Canada officials who appeared at the hearings. The Commission extends its thanks as well to its civil aviation security experts, including Moses Aléman, Dr. Peter St. John and Dr. Kathleen Sweet, and its expert in risk management, Dr. William Leiss, who assisted in navigating this technical field. The Commission wishes to extend its deep gratitude, in particular, to Rodney Wallis, whose knowledge and expertise in civil aviation security provided essential guidance throughout the hearings and during the preparation of this volume.