

Appendix B: Case file of Compromised Intelligence Operations, 1985 - April 2020

SNOWDEN DISCLOSURES

001-SNOWDEN: Australian SIGINT against Indonesia	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
('bugging' of President and First Lady's phones), 2013 ¹		Despite Indonesia's size (and future prospects) it is considerably less economically and militarily
		advantaged than its neighbour.
Australia // Indonesia	Relationship	COMPLICATED
		Relationship regularly disrupted (eg during Timorese independence, live cattle exports scandal,
Snowden disclosures reveal Defence Signals Directorate		over Australian returning of illegal maritime arrivals to Indonesian waters). Relations tend to swing
(DSD - now ASD) coverage of communications of		from well-intentioned cooperation to wild misunderstandings. SBY otherwise very positive towards
Indonesian leadership, notably President Yudhoyono and		Australia (and thus this revelation seen as personal 'betrayal').
his wife (dated 2009). ² This significantly escalates the	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
fallout from earlier reporting, based on Snowden		In context of broader Snowden relations, and in extensive media coverage in both countries. Still
disclosures, about STATEROOM (see below).		referred to in today's coverage of intelligence issues.
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
The result was a prolonged suspension of bilateral	,	Given particular subject ensures intimacy (especially coverage of First Lady).
security and intelligence cooperation, including on the	Timing	NOTABLE
(high priority to Australia) issue of illegal maritime		In context of broader Snowden disclosures storm
arrivals from Indonesian territory. Recall of Indonesian Ambassador from Canberra. Direct Indonesian criticism		Revelations came at end of final term for SBY and commencement of election for his replacement.
	Response	UNREPENTANT (initially) followed by APOLOGY
of Australia and Prime Minister Abbott. Australia	•	On the day the allegations were first made public, 18 November 2013, Prime Minister Abbott told
compelled to sign 'code of conduct' agreement on future		the House of Representatives "The Australian Government uses all the resources at its disposal,
intelligence activity.		including information, to help our friends and our allies, not to harm them". This prompted
		President Yudhoyono to excoriate Abbott on Twitter, describing Australia's alleged actions as a
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: CRITICAL ³		"betrayal"4 See left for ultimate change in response.
	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
	target	Indonesians very sensitive about sovereignty and acutely conscious of power dynamic. And
		conscious of own authoritarian governments' internal surveillance practices (pre-1998).
	L	1
	Power Dynamic	China: MORE POWERFUL

¹ Supriyanto 2013; Barton 2013; Laughland & Anjani 2013; MacAskill & Taylor 2013; Barton 2013-B; Borger 2013

² South Korean and Singaporean support to FVEY intelligence activities targeting Indonesia was also implied. Leading to both the South Korean and Singaporean Ambassadors being called in (despite protestations their countries were not involved). See Laughland & Anjani 2013.

³ Borger (2013) goes so far as to describe "a collapse of relations between the countries". For an alternative assessment, highlighting the extent to which Australian concessionary responses (including the agreed 'Joint Understanding of a Code of Conduct') did not reflect a substantive ultimate change in the status quo, see Bachelard 2014.

⁴ Bachelard 2014



002-SNOWDEN: Revelation of Australian STATEROOM		Others: LESS POWERFUL
interception capability, 2013 ⁵	Relationship	China: COMPLICATED
		PNG: FRIENDLY
Australia // Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, East Timor,		Others: NEUTRAL
Malaysia, PNG & China	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Snowden disclosures, published first in <i>Der Spiegel</i> , reveal	Timing	NOTABLE
Defence Signals Directorate (DSD - now ASD) use of		In context of broader Snowden disclosures storm
Australian diplomatic premises for SIGINT operations	Response	NEUTRAL tending to UNREPENTANT
directed at host countries – including Indonesia and		The initial reaction, from the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs & Trade, was "It is the long-
China. ⁶		standing practice of Australian governments not to comment on intelligence matters."12
China's Foreign Ministry reacted angrily to the allegation:		[<u>.</u>
"We demand that foreign entities and personnel in China		Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbot made a series of comments in relation to the allegations (nb
strictly abide by [the Vienna Conventions] and other		before the developments involving President Yudhoyono, including that: "All countries, all
international treaties, and they must not, in any form,		governments gather information. That's hardly a surprise. It's hardly a shock."
engage in activities that are incompatible with their	Pre-disposition of	Indonesia, Malaysia, East Timor: MORE SENSITIVE
position and status and that are harmful to China's	target	Given past sensitivities to Australian 'interference' (and lingering Indonesian suspicions of
national security and interests."7 The Foreign Ministry	turget	Australian intentions towards the integrity of the Indonesian state)
also made specific reference to Australia, noting that		restrained interitoris towards the integrity of the indonesian state)
China and Australia had a consensus to increase		China, Thailand, Vietnam, PNG: NEUTRAL
cooperation, and "we hope and expect that Australia can		
work hard with China in this regard."8		
The Indonesian reaction prefigured the escalation noted		
above. Vice President Boediono stated that that the		
Indonesian public was "concerned" about the spying		
allegations and "I think we must look forward to come to		
some arrangement which guarantees that intelligence information from each side is not used against the		
other There must be a system."9		
other There must be a system.		
The Malaysian Home Affairs Minister said his government		
took the reports seriously and was trying to confirm		
them: "It is a sensitive issue since it involves several		
countries". ¹⁰		

⁵ MacAskill & Taylor 2013; Wan 2013; Perlez 2013; Dorling 2013-B

⁶ Similar allegations had been made about Australian diplomatic facilities in PNG, Indonesia and Thailand back in the 1980s. See Dorling 2013-B.

⁷ Quoted in Perlez 2013

⁸ Quoted in Perlez 2013

⁹ Quoted in MacAskill & Taylor 2013

¹⁰ Quoted in Wan 2013

¹² Quoted in Dorling 2013-B



While the Secretary-General of Thailand's National		
Security Council said that "we believe that Thailand and		
the U.S. still enjoy good and cordial relations." 11		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFEINDER. SIGNIFICANT		
003-SNOWDEN: Operation SOCIALIST: alleged GCHQ	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
hacking of Belgacom 2013 & 2018 ¹³	Relationship	ALLIED
nacking of beigacom 2013 & 2010	Kelationsinp	Both are NATO and EU member states.
UK // Belgium	D 1:1:-11	
OK // Belgium	Publicity	PUBLIC
In worth to wordt of Consulting displacement (and worth)		Publicity in Europe and internationally in 2013 and then again in 2018.
In part as result of Snowden disclosures (and partly	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
separate Belgian inquiries) public allegation of British	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
intelligence (ie GCHQ) hacking of Belgian telecom		While originating from Snowden disclosures this instance has tended to not be associated with the
'Belgacom' (now 'Proximus') in 2011-12. An unpublished		broader storm
Belgian prosecutors' investigative report was released in	Response	NEUTRAL
2018.		UK has refused to comment on the allegations
	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
No public allegations made by Belgium directly at UK but	target	
considerable unofficial backgrounding in 2018. In October	langer	
2013 (a month after Snowden disclosures revealed		
SOCIALIST), UK hosted a 'Belgian-British Conference' in		
London (at Foreign Secretary level) – outcomes unknown		
publicly. Two weeks later the British Ambassador to		
Brussels met with Belgian Chief Prosecutor. (nb in 2016		
the Belgian Communications Minister mused about		
•		
whether Belgian intelligence might have actually		
facilitated British hacking.)		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
OOA CNOW/DEN. NEA anarations against Furnitary	Douge Dunamic	LECC DOWEDEN
004-SNOWDEN: NSA operations against European	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
Union ¹⁴	Relationship	ALLIED
1104 //51//: 1 /: 1 / 1 / 2 / 3		Given NATO memberships
USA // EU (including member states Germany, France,	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
Greece, Italy)		Leading news story internationally, and especially in Europe, for many months.
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
In June 2013 German media reported, based on Snowden		In so far as the operations included close access to EU diplomatic premises and systems, as well as
disclosures, the details of NSA operations against the EU		the Justus Lipsius building in Brussels (housing the EU Council of Ministers and Council of Europe).

¹¹ Quoted in Wan 2013

¹³ Boffey 21 September 2018 and 25 October 2018; Gallagher 2018; Corfield 2018; Paganini 2018

¹⁴ Poitras, Rosenbach, Schmid & Stark 2013; Poitras, Rosenbach & Stark 2013, MacAskill & Borger 2013



within the US (including at UN Headquarters) and in		The latter was allegedly targeted from US-controlled facilities within the NATO headquarters
Europe.		campus.
Lurope.	Timing	NOTABLE
French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius described the	Tilling	In context of broader Snowden disclosures storm
alleged NSA operations as "absolutely unacceptable". 15		The context of broader showdern disclosures storm
The German Justice Minister, Sabine Leutheusser-	Response	NEUTRAL
Schnarrenberger, demanded an explanation, saying that	nesponse	A White House spokeswoman told <i>Der Spiegel</i> that the US would respond to the allegations "via
if confirmed, US behaviour "was reminiscent of the		diplomatic channels," adding: "We have made it clear that we gather intelligence abroad just like
actions of enemies during the cold war". 16		any other nation." ¹¹⁸
An EU delegation was sent to Washington to confront the		
US Government.	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
Other EU figures threatened to suspend free trade talks	target	EU member states discomfort with American power and intentions (arguably confirmed by these
with the US.		revelations).
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT ¹⁷		
	T	
005-SNOWDEN: NSA targeting of Chancellor Merkel's	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
communications ¹⁹	Relationship	ALLIED
// -		Given joint NATO membership
USA // Germany	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
		Leading news story internationally, and especially in Germany, for many months. Still referred to in
In October 2013 German and other international media	_	today's coverage of intelligence issues.
reported, based by Snowden disclosures, that the NSA	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
(and other FVEY SIGINT agencies) targeted the		Per President Yudhoyono example, this reflects nature of target, not/not mode of collection.
communications of world leaders – including Chancellor	Timing	NOTABLE
Angela Merkel, allegedly since 2002.		In context of broader Snowden disclosures storm
Vary strong public and political criticism of NCA and UC	Response	NEUTRAL (initially) followed by an implicit APOLOGY
Very strong public and political criticism of NSA and US		While the US would officially neither confirm nor deny the allegations - and in fact a NSA
Government (and to include German intelligence agencies) – including apparently sincere expressions of		spokeswoman stated in October that "As we have made clear, the United States gathers foreign
shock from Chancellor herself. ("This is like the Stasi". ²⁰)		intelligence of the type gathered by all nations" - President Obama did publicly announce that he
	1	had instructed the NSA to cease any activity targeting Chancellor Merkel. 25 In addition there were

¹⁵ Quoted in Poitras, Rosenbach & Stark 2013. While also noting that the French reaction to the Snowden disclosures was lesser than the German reaction – a difference Hayes (2014) attributes (based on background comments from French diplomats) to: "the French public know[ing] France has an expansive intelligence establishment, the revelations about American spying were seen as part of what [sic] modern state does in international affairs today". Hayes also noted the indifference of (otherwise engaged with an austerity crisis) Greeks to the Snowden disclosures.

¹⁶ Quoted in MacAskill & Borger 2013

¹⁷This case raises the issue of international costs beyond the bilateral (and multilateral) relationships concerned. Chinese officials cited the reporting of surveillance of European Governments when calling cybersecurity "a matter of sovereignty" and announcing plans to join Russia in seeking a UN proposal to address reports of US surveillance activities. (Wan 2013)

¹⁸ Quoted in Poitras, Rosenbach & Stark 2013

¹⁹ Bryant 2013; Clapper 2019 pp. 257-258; Reuters 2014; Sanger 2014; Sanger 2018 pp. 61, 75; Open Technology Institute 2014 p. 24; Lewis 2014; Faiola 2014; Landler 2014; Borger 2013. Sanger makes the case (p. 75) that the Merkel revelation document may have in fact come from another insider leak – rather than from Snowden's trove. Sanger also notes "[t]he Snowden revelations forever changed the way Germany thought about its post-World War II ally."

²⁰ Sanger 2018 p. 75

²⁵ But it was also made clear that there would not be other limits on US intelligence in this regard. Quoting Sanger 2018: "Susan Rice has been very clear to us,' one senior German official told me at the time, referring to the US national security adviser. 'The US is not going to set a precedent' by vowing not to spy on an allied government." (p. 76)



communications. German moves to develop 'Schengen' routing system for European data security – but not ultimately pursued. Significantly impacted German (and other European) willingness to cooperate on intelligence matters. ²¹ German parliament opened up inquiry into US intelligence activities directed at Germany. ²² In April 2014 the German Interior Minister, a close ally of Merkel, said that the US had failed to provide sufficient assurances that it was not spying on Germany and he downplayed expectations of success for future engagement on the topic with the Americans. ²³ CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: CRITICAL ²⁴	get	Bitter memories of East German internal surveillance – especially on part of Chancellor Merkel herself. ²⁹
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	wer Dynamic lationship	LESS POWERFUL FRIENDLY

²¹ Quoting Sanger 2018: "[1]t became clear that [then NSA Director Mike Rogers] worried about one more long-standing effect of the disclosures: they could, he said, take an unseen toll on the willingness of allies to work with the United States and share what they learned about the world... Rogers's fear was that the need for leaders in those countries to publicly condemn American overreach would have a corrosive effect on future cooperation." (pp. 74-75)

²² Faiola 2014

²³ Reuters 2014

²⁴ Writing in 2014 Wolfgang Krieger (p. 801) observed: "Yet the Snowden affair continues to burden German-American relations. Pessimists even think it could wreck them for good. Not since the missile crisis of the 1980s has the German-American partnership had so little public support among Germans. To be sure, most of the harsh criticism of NSA snooping comes from the far left, particularly from neo-communists, who have a strong electoral foothold in the former communist parts of Germany. But the harm done by the NSA affair reaches very far into the mainstream of the political spectrum, including Chancellor Merkel's own political party."

²⁶ See Memmott 2013

²⁷ Quoted in Lewis 2014

²⁸ Late 2013 polling by the German Marshall Fund indicated that 72% of Germans opposed "collecting the telephone and internet data of citizens in other allied countries as part of the effort to protect national security". (Fullilove 2014). See also Deeks 2013 and Haves 2014..

²⁹ Former US Director of National Intelligence Jim Clapper made the case in his memoirs (2018, pp. 257-258): "So, for [Merkel], the Stasi wasn't a mythical bogeyman. She had grown up under its oppression, and for that reason, I believe she *never* [emphasis in original] trusted intelligence organizations – hers or anyone else's. She didn't know and didn't want to know what her intelligence services were doing, and the reports from *Der Spiegel* that said the BND was helping NSA spy on her and on German citizens recalled the real-life experiences of her childhood and young adult life all too well. Even worse, her experiences and biases were not – and are not – outliers among German politicians." Borger (2013) quotes a German commentator: "Spying on an important partner like Germany and not only on an anonymous group but on Mutti [Mummy, Merkel's nickname] herself, is very different for Germany".

³⁰ MEMRI 2018; Clapper 2019 pp. 256-257; Trinkunas 2013; Open Technology Institute 2014 pp. 24-25; Payton 2013-A; Boadle 2013



USA // Brazil		Noting that since 2010 the Rousseff and Obama administrations had pursued an ambitious bilateral agenda. Rousseff believed she had built a bilateral relationship of considerably greater
USA // BIUZII		closeness than that of her predecessor da Silva.
Revelations by Snowden included that both NSA and CSE	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
(see below) regularly conducted SIGINT collection against	,	Notable news story internationally for many months. Still referred to in today's coverage of
Brazil, including spying on the personal communications		intelligence issues.
of President Rousseff and the activities of Brazilian state	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
oil company PETROBRAS. In addition the focus of these	reactive of receivity	Again per Merkel et al, this reflects the targeting of the President herself
efforts reflected the role of Brazil as major	Timing	NOTABLE
telecommunications hub in Latin America.	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Impending planned visit by President Rousseff to Washington. Rousseff's popularity was at a
		particularly low point (31% in early 2013) and with 2014 as critical election year. In addition June
Brazil announced an investigation of private firms in		2013 was marked by mass social unrest in the lead-up to the 2014 World Cup.
Brazil believed to have acted as conduits for the NSA;		Also, in context of broader Snowden disclosures storm.
pursued initiatives such as mandated data storage within	Response	NEUTRAL
Brazil and mooted development of an encrypted email	Nesponse	See US response left.
system to be run by the Brazilian Post Office; as well as	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
talks with Argentina on joint cyber security efforts	target	The Brazilian public, and leading politicians like Rousseff, associated intelligence with the
directed against the US. Boeing's proposed supply of F/A-	turget	surveillance practices and repressive activities of Brazil's former military junta (1964-1988). ³³ In
18 E/F's to Brazil was also thrown into doubt. Adoption of		addition there was/is considerable sensitivity on the part of the Brazilian public and politicians
specific bilateral US-Brazilian security initiatives (Defense		regarding Brazil's vaunted greatness ('grandeza') and it's realities – particularly vis a vis the USA.
Cooperation Agreement and General Security of Military		regarding brazil's vadificed greatiless (grandeza) and it's realities – particularly vis a visitile OSA.
Information Agreements) were similarly imperilled.		
Brazil expressed fury at the reports, including publicly		
from President Rousseff. President Rousseff tweeted that		
"The United States and its allies must immediately stop		
their spying activity once and for all. This is unacceptable		
between countries that are supposed to be partners. We		
repudiate this cyberwarfare."31		
Rousseff refused to undertake a planned state visit to the		
USA (was to be first Brazilian President visit in 20 years		
and was first time known that a state dinner invite to a		
foreign leader was rejected). White House forced to		
comment that "that [Obama] understands and regrets		
the concerns disclosures of alleged U.S. intelligence		
activities have generated in Brazil and made clear that he		
is committed to working together with President Rousseff		
and her government in diplomatic channels to move		
beyond this issue as a source of tension in our bilateral		

³¹ Quoted in Payton 2013-A.

³³ "One legacy of this period is that Brazil's constitution and legislation strictly regulates government eavesdropping on the communications of private citizens, and this practice is officially only allowed as a last resort in criminal investigations with prior judicial approval." – Trinkunas 2013



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relationship". ³² In bilateral meetings Brazil demanded		
answers from US interlocutors to questions. Nonetheless		
Clapper makes case that by the Rio Olympics in 2016 the		
US-Brazil intelligence relationship had stabilized.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OTTENBER. SIGNIFICANT		
007-SNOWDEN: FVEY coverage of Brazil by Canada ³⁴	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
OUT SHOWELL I VET COVERAGE OF BRIZER BY CARACA	Relationship	FRIENDLY
Canada // Brazil	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
Canada // Brazii	Publicity	As above.
Revelations by Snowden included that both NSA and CSE	Alata a CAati ii	
regularly conducted SIGINT collection against Brazil. In	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
addition to NSA's activities above, CSE's compromised	- · ·	Given the direct association with the NSA coverage (per above).
activities focussed on intrusion into the Brazilian Ministry	Timing	NOTABLE
<u> </u>		Impending planned visit by President Rousseff to Washington. Rousseff's popularity was at a
of Mines & Energy.		particularly low point (31% in early 2013) and with 2014 as critical election year. In addition June
Consider Annih annih annih Branilla annih all'a fanta		2013 was marked by mass social unrest in the lead-up to the 2014 World Cup.
Canada's Ambassador to Brasilia was called in for a		Also, in context of broader Snowden disclosures storm.
demarche by the Brazilian Foreign Minister. President	Response	NEUTRAL
Rousseff tweeted that "The United States and its allies		Canadian authorities refused to comment on the allegations, beyond citing the legal obligations of
must immediately stop their spying activity once and for		CSEC.
all. This is unacceptable between countries that are	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
supposed to be partners. We repudiate this	target	As above.
cyberwarfare."35 Rousseff also suggested that because of		
the significant degree of Canadian investment in Brazilian		
mining the alleged intelligence activities constituted		
industrial espionage.		
As of 2015 it was said that Canada's bilateral relationship		
had yet to recover. ³⁶ Suspicions aroused in Brazil may		
have tempered an enthusiasm for Canadian investment		
there. But it might also be assessed that Brazil's relations		
with Canada were strained, but not necessarily more so		
than in specifically trade related disputes (such as 2016		
Canadian ban on Brazilian beef imports).		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL

³² Quoted from White House 2014

³⁴ Heinbecker & Livermore 2015; Payton 2013-A; Ormiston 2013

³⁵ Quoted in Payton 2013-A

³⁶ See Heinbecker & Livermore 2015



008-SNOWDEN: NSA monitoring of Mexican Presidents ³⁷	Relationship	FRIENDLY
•	Publicity	PUBLIC
US // Mexico	,	
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
Further to general reference to NSA coverage of Mexico		Again per Merkel et al.
in earlier Snowden disclosures, in September 2013 Der	Timing	NOTABLE
Spiegel alleged that the NSA had accessed the private		In context of broader Snowden disclosures storm.
email account of Mexican President Enrique Peña Nieto	Response	NEUTRAL
(when he was a presidential candidate). In addition the	'	The NSA responded as follows: "We are not going to comment publicly on every specific alleged
NSA had also spied on former President Felipe Calderón.		intelligence activity, and as a matter of policy we have made clear that the United States gathers
		foreign intelligence of the type gathered by all nations. As the President said in his speech at the
In reaction to the initial Snowden disclosures, President		UN General Assembly, we've begun to review the way that we gather intelligence, so that we
Peña Nieto had said publicly that President Obama had		properly balance the legitimate security concerns of our citizens and allies with the privacy
undertaken "to investigate the accusations and to punish		concerns that all people share."41
those responsible, if it was found that misdeeds had		
taken place."38	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
	target	In his November 2013 analysis the Wilson Center's David Shirk noted a new maturity and self-
In September 2013 the Mexican Foreign Ministry said it		confidence in Mexican approaches to the relationship with the US – and reflected in the low-key
had no further comment to make on the allegations, but		reaction to the revelations. ⁴²
"categorically rejects and condemns any kind of spying		
against Mexican citizens in breach of international law."		
Furthermore "Mexico's foreign ministry has summoned		
the U.S. ambassador to express its clear dismay and to		
demand that [a US internal] investigation be carried		
out." ³⁹		
However within two months the issue had effectively		
been glossed over by both the US and Mexican		
governments. ⁴⁰		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
009-SNOWDEN: FVEY spying on G8 and G20 summits ⁴³	Power Dynamic	VARIED
003-3NO WDEN. FVET Spying on do and d20 summits	FOWEI DYNUMIC	Across the memberships of both organisations
US, UK & Canada // G8 and G20 attendee states	Relationship	VARIED
(especially South Africa and Turkey)		
(especially south Africa and Farkey)	Publicity	PUBLIC

³⁷ Glüsing, Poitras, Rosenbach & Stark 2013; Boadle 2013; Ford 2013; Shirk 2013; Simpson 2013; Louv 2014

³⁸ Glüsing, Poitras, Rosenbach & Stark 2013

³⁹ Quoted in Boadle 2013

⁴⁰ Shirk 2013

⁴¹ Quoted in Glüsing, Poitras, Rosenbach & Stark 2013

⁴² Shirk 2013

⁴³ MacAskill et al 2013; Manning 2013; Evening Standard 2013; Hennessy 2013; France 24; Simpson & Ohlheiser; Botelho 2013; Weston 2013; Payton 2013-B



In June 2013 media outlets reported, based on Snowden disclosures, that NSA and GCHQ (assisted by MI6) had spied on attendees at the 2009 G20 summit (and associated meetings) in London. Agencies had used a variety of remote surveillance and close access techniques to carry out the coverage, and cited	Nature of Activity Timing	The issue dominated Russian press coverage of the 2013 G8 summit, with claims that it "cast a cloud" over the event. 46 NEUTRAL Given the pervasiveness of the approaches. Specific coverage of Russian President is MORE EGREGIOUS NOTABLE The revelation concerning the G20 was timed to accur days before the LIK bested the 2013 G8
documents indicated that the operation had been carried out with the agreement of then Prime Minister Gordon		The revelation concerning the G20 was timed to occur days before the UK hosted the 2013 G8 summit in Northern Ireland. Also in context of broader Snowden disclosures storm.
Brown's government and that British Ministers had received the take. Particular targets cited in the reporting included Russia, South Africa and Turkey. Coverage of Russia specifically included efforts to break into Russian President Medvedev's communications.	Response	NEUTRAL UK Prime Minister David Cameron stated: "We never comment on security or intelligence issues and I am not about to start now. I don't make comments on security or intelligence issues – that would be breaking something that no government has previously done." 47
In November 2013 separate reporting based on the Snowden disclosures revealed that NSA and CSEC had spied on attendees at the 2010 G8 and G20 summits in Toronto. Unlike the reporting on the operation in the UK this reporting on the summits in Canada did not specify any particular national targets. The Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry directly raised the allegations with the UK Ambassador in Ankara (albeit by phone call; with the FCO specifically stating publicly that the Ambassador had not been called in – in person – by the Turks). Nonetheless the Turkish Government described a NATO ally spying on another NATO ally as		The US State Department issued the following statement following the allegations made about the G8 and G20 in Canada: The US "recognizes the importance of privacy to its citizens and people around the world. The President has directed a review that looks across the board at our intelligence gathering to ensure that we are properly accounting for both the security of our citizens and our allies, and the privacy concerns shared by Americans and citizens around the world. This review is being led by the White House, and includes agencies from across the government. There are also important efforts underway that will enable others to review how we strike the right balance, including the Review Group on Intelligence and Communications Technology and the Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board. While we are not going to comment publicly on every specific alleged intelligence activity, as a matter of policy we have made clear that the United States gathers foreign intelligence of the type gathered by all nations. Canada's Defence Minister and the head of CSEC refused to comment on the allegations, beyond pointing to the legal obligations of CSEC. **Granda's Defence Minister and the head of CSEC refused to comment on the allegations, beyond pointing to the legal obligations of CSEC. **Granda's Defence Minister and the head of CSEC refused to comment on the allegations.**
"scandalous".44 Turkey, South Africa and Russia all formally demanded explanations from the UK Government.	Pre-disposition of target	VARIED
While keeping a straight face, former Russian FSB chief Nikolai Kovalev commented "To avoid diplomatic and international scandal security agencies are forbidden from doing this. And usually they don't do it." 45		

⁴⁴ Quoted in Hennessy 2013

⁴⁵ Quoted in Hennessy 2013

⁴⁶ Quoted in Hennessy 2013

⁴⁷ Quoted in Hennessy 2013

⁴⁸ Quoted in Weston 2013

⁴⁹ See Payton 2013-B



CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
010-SNOWDEN: FVEY access to Indian diplomatic and	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
missile secrets ⁵⁰	Relationship	FRIENDLY
	Publicity	LIMITED
US (& Australia) // India		Coverage largely limited to brief patch in September 2013.
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
In September 2013 Indian media reported that	Timing	NOTABLE
information in the Snowden disclosures indicated that	_	In context of broader Snowden disclosures storm.
the NSA had targeted the Indian embassy in Washington	Response	NEUTRAL
and the Indian mission to the UN in an attempt to access		The response of the US ODNI to the September 2013 allegation was: "The U.S. government will
diplomatic secrets.		respond through diplomatic channels to our partners and allies. While we are not going to
		comment publicly on every specific alleged intelligence activity, as a matter of policy we have
The Indian External Affairs Ministry declined to comment		made clear that the United States gathers foreign intelligence of the type gathered by all nations.
on the allegation, as did the Indian mission to the UN.		We value our cooperation with all countries on issues of mutual concern."55
The embassy commented that "Our government has	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
expressed concerns over the reports of monitoring of the	target	Despite certain sensitivities concerning sovereignty, India's own official attitude to espionage and
Indian Embassy in Washington, D.C. by U.S. agencies, and		surveillance as carried out by India externally and internally is strongly supportive. 56
the Embassy in Washington D.C. has raised these		
concerns with the U.S. government."51		
Other commentators were even more phlegmatic, one		
former senior diplomat remarking "Everybody spies on		
everyone else. Some just have better gadgets. If we had		
their facilities, I'm sure we would do it too. The US-Indian		
relationship is good and stable and if they feel India		
merits so much attention then good for us." ⁵² Although		
The Hindu itself editorialised against the NSA's actions,		
suggesting they made a lie of the burgeoning US-Indian		
relationship. And an anonymous Indian diplomat told The		
Hindu that, if true, the penetration of Indian diplomatic		
communications could have done "extensive damage" to		
Indian interests. ⁵³		
This followed an initial reaction to the original Snowden		
disclosures by the Indian External Affairs Minister Salman		
Khurshid: "It is not actually snooping This is not scrutiny		

 50 Saxena 2013; Burke 2013; Bajoria 2014; Lee, Williams & Cooper 2017; *Hindustan Times* 2017 51 Quoted in Saxena 2013

⁵² Quoted in Burke 2013

⁵³ Quoted in Saxena 2013

Quoted iii Saxeiia 201.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Saxena 2013

⁵⁶ As observed by the Open Technology Institute (2014, p. 24) this attitude played out in the muted Indian response to the original Snowden disclosures, including those related to spying on India. See also Bajoria 2014.



and access to actual messages. It is only computer analysis of patterns of calls and emails that are being		
sent. It is not actually snooping on specifically on content		
of anybody's message or conversation Some of the		
information they got out of their scrutiny, they were able		
to use it to prevent serious terrorist attacks in several		
countries." ⁵⁴		
In September 2017 The Intercept, publishing further		
internal NSA documents from the Snowden disclosures,		
revealed that NSA, using an Australian collection site (and		
NSA sites in Thailand), obtained secret information		
concerning Indian missile developments – including the		
Sagarika submarine-launched ballistic missile system.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
011-SNOWDEN: Alleged spying by GCSB on the Solomon	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
Islands ⁵⁷	Relationship	FRIENDLY
	Publicity	LIMITED
New Zealand // Solomon Islands		Little coverage beyond initial report.
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In March 2015 NZ media reported on information from		PMO communications, rather than specific reference to Prime Minister personally.
the Snowden disclosures indicating that NZ's Government	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) spied on the		Outside of the 2013 Snowden disclosures storm
Prime Minister's Office in the Solomon Islands and other	Response	NEUTRAL
governmental and non-governmental figures there.		The NZ Foreign Minister downplayed the allegations: "I'm sure that politicians in the Solomon
		Islands, as elsewhere in the Pacific, are smart enough not to believe what they read in New
While Solomon Islanders outside of government		Zealand newspapers But, anything that they want to ask us we will be happy to discuss with
(including those who had been targeted while serving in		them, and obviously if we have got anything to say to them then I will do them the courtesy of
previous administrations) were publicly outraged by the		saying it directly rather than through the news media." He also praised Pacific leaders for their
allegations, the response from the government in Honiara itself was muted. ⁵⁸		measured response to Snowden disclosures concerning NZ and Australian intelligence operations
noniara itseir was muted.~		in the Pacific: "We are in the fortunate position that political leaders in Pacific countries, as in New
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		Zealand, treat carefully statements that are made in the New Zealand news media And we have
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFEINDER: WIINOR		been pleased to see the measured reactions that have been evident."59
		The official statement from the NZ government was "The Covernment will get be government."
		The official statement from the NZ government was: "The Government will not be responding to
	1	claims made from documents stolen by Edward Snowden. The Snowden documents were taken

⁵⁴ Quoted in The Hindu 2013

⁵⁷ Radio New Zealand 2015; Fisher 2015

⁵⁸ See Radio New Zealand 2015 for analysis by Prof. Steven Ratuva of Canterbury University noting the consistent reluctance of Pacific Island Countries to criticise Australia and New Zealand for alleged intelligence activities and attributing that reluctance to their dependence on Australian New Zealand aid.

⁵⁹ Quoted in Fisher 2015



	some time ago and many are old, out of date, and we can't discount that some of what is being put forward may even be fabricated."60
Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
target	

⁶⁰ Quoted in Radio New Zealand 2015



BODY OF CASES

Australia⁶¹

012-Allegations made in ABC TV's 'Code Name Mantra' Four Corners episode, 1994 ⁶²	Power Dynamic	China: AS POWERFUL (* approx., this was as at 1994) Others: LESS POWERFUL
Tour corners episoue, 1994	Relationship	China, Kuwait, Argentina, Egypt, Pakistan: NEUTRAL
Australia // Philippines; Argentina; China; Kuwait (and	Neidelonsinp	Iraq: HOSTILE
others); Egypt; Irag; Pakistan	Publicity	PUBLIC
others), 19, pt, 1144), 1 amotum	Tublicity	The broadcast in Australia would help prompt the Samuels-Codd judicial inquiry into the
On 21 February 1994 ABC TV's Four Corners program		management of ASIS, which reported in 1995. Allegations received little publicity outside of
broadcast allegations about the Australian Secret		Australia except in the Philippines where there was some negative public comment by individual
Intelligence Service (ASIS), including that it had:		Philippine politicians.
Run an agent inside the RAM movement in the	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Philippines in 1987, including while RAM was	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
attempting a coup against the Aquino		
Government	Response	NEUTRAL
Operated a covert communications link out of		Australian Government would neither confirm nor deny the allegations.
the Australian Embassy in Buenos Aires in	Pre-disposition of	VARIED
1982, in support of MI6 operations against	target	
Argentina		
Provided secondees to MI6 who undertook		
technical operations against the Chinese in		
Hong Kong from 1989, and separately against		
Kuwait's negotiations with foreign partners on		
9 ,		
reconstruction post-1991 (in support of UK		
commercial interests)		
Run a covert station in Cairo in 1985 (and had		
been discovered by the Egyptians)		
Mishandled the defection of an Iraqi		
intelligence officer in New Delhi in 1989,		
leading to the defector's likely capture and		
execution		
Organised the 1989 defection and		
resettlement in Australia of an Afghan		
communist official responsible for terrorist		
attacks against Pakistan		
CONCEOUENCE FOR OFFENDER MECHAINE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

⁶¹ For the results of a 2014 Lowy Institute survey of Australian public attitudes to spying (that is, Australian spying on others) see Fullilove 2014. Of note, 7/10 of those polled said it was acceptable for Australia to spy on nations with which it did not have good relations and 5/10 said it was acceptable even when those relations were good (this included 51% of respondents supporting Australian spying on New Zealand!).

⁶² ABC TV, 21 February 1994



013-Alleged bugging of Chinese Embassy in Canberra	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL (* approx., this was as at 1995)
1995 ⁶³	Relationship	NEUTRAL
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Australia (and US) // China	,	Allegations made in Australian media and then repeated in US media. 65 Publicity in China unknown.
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
In 1995 Australian media revealed that Australian and US	, ,	Given the alleged emplacement within Chinese sovereign territory.
intelligence had jointly bugged the Chinese embassy	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
during its construction. (The new embassy was first	Response	NEUTRAL
occupied in 1990.)	,	Australian Government would not comment and took considerable legal steps to (unsuccessfully)
		prevent the broadcast and publication of the allegations.
The Chinese refused to comment on the allegations when	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
aired. ⁶⁴	target	(But from a sovereignty perspective MORE SENSITIVE , albeit not as pronounced as a similar instance
	3	would be today.)
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
014-Defections of Chen Yonglin and Hao Fengjun 2005 ⁶⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
Australia // China	Publicity	LIMITED
		Little coverage beyond initial event.
A diplomat at the consulate in Sydney, Chen sought	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
asylum in Australia, deeply embarrassing the Chinese		It was plain that Australia had done little to stimulate the defections or aggravate the situation.
Ambassador and Government.	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
		(For Chinese. For a reluctant Australia, the timing was inopportune given trade and other economic
Hao, an officer of the Tianjin 610 Office, attempted to		overtures to Beijing.)
defect to Australia in February 2005, while visiting	Response	NEUTRAL
Australia. Feeling he was not getting traction with		All public indicators are that the Australian Government was as unaccommodating as it dared to be
Australian intelligence he went public in July 2005. He		in relation to the defectors. ⁶⁸
was subsequently interviewed by ASIO, to whom he		
passed information about anti-dissident surveillance and	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
other intelligence activities.	target	
TI 61: 1 1 1 16 11 1: 1 1 1		
The Chinese laughed off allegations made by the		
defectors about espionage in Australia. ⁶⁷		
CONCEOUENCE FOR OFFINDER MECHANIS		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	1	

⁶³ Foligut 2019 p. 321; Corcoran 2013

⁶⁴ Yi Wang 2016, p. 1; Spielmann 1995. In fact the only critical public comment came from Australian commentators who alleged that NSA control of the operational take from an Australian operation (also allegedly extracted via a relay in the neighbouring British High Commission) advantaged US over Australian economic interests with China.

⁶⁵ Milliken 1995; Rohde 1995; Spielmann 1995

⁶⁶ Fuligot 2019 pp. 304-305, 310

⁶⁷ Most notably in public comments by Ambassador Fu Ying (CNN 8 June 2005).

⁶⁸ Chen was eventually, and quietly, granted asylum by Australia – see Myers & Cave 2019



Nb. questionable as to whether this should be viewed in reverse given the allegations of Chinese espionage in Australia made by the defectors.		
015 La La DiO de la casa de la ca		L MODE DOWERFU
015-Leaked DIO documents suggest Japan is Australian intelligence target, June 2008 ⁶⁹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
intelligence target, June 2008	Relationship	FRIENDLY
Australia // Japan	Publicity	LIMITED Limited only to the original reporting
On 14 June 2008 the <i>Canberra Times</i> reported on leaked	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS No specific intelligence activities cited, just identification of Japan as a target
defence intelligence briefing materials which suggested	Timing	NOTABLE
Japan was the subject of focus by the Defence Intelligence Organisation.	,g	The article appeared shortly after Prime Minister Rudd's visit to Tokyo and call on Japanese support
intelligence Organisation.		for Australian disarmament initiatives.
No apparent response from Japanese Government.	Response	NEUTRAL Australian Government avoided commenting.
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
016-'Witness K', 2013 – 2022 ⁷⁰	Damas Dinamaia	LESS POWERFUL
016- Witness K , 2013 – 2022 ·	Power Dynamic	Timor very much weaker economically and militarily. Reliant on Australian foreign aid and security.
Australia// East Timor	Relationship	FRIENDLY
According to media reporting the Australian Secret		Close neighbours but not formally allied. WW2 history. Australian intervention factor in Timorese independence. Ongoing security support.
Intelligence Service (ASIS) allegedly conducted technical	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
operation in Dili in 2004 to support Australian position in		Wide ranging and highly critical media coverage in both countries for over many years.
bilateral maritime boundary negotiations. Claimed by	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
former ASIS officer ('Witness K') in affidavit on behalf of		Allegedly involved technical operation carried out in heart of Timorese government offices.
Timorese Government for use in international legal proceedings between the two countries.	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
	Response	DENIAL followed by NEUTRAL
Ongoing impact, including as result of attempted		Allegedly Australia made initial, private denials to East Timor (pre-media reporting and in response
Australian prosecution of 'Witness K' and their lawyer.		to demarche by East Timor in December 2012). On 3 May 2013 Australian Government
Adverse International Court of Justice findings against		acknowledged Timorese claims of espionage while stating it had carried out the negotiations in good
Australia and led to renegotiation of treaty in question		faith. ⁷² Subsequent refusal to confirm or deny.
(to significant economic cost for Australia). Strained	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
bilateral relations but no expulsions.	target	Timor just having recovered from Indonesian occupation 1975-99. Most Timorese leadership spent
		pre-1999 lives under surveillance.

⁶⁹ Dorling 2008

⁷⁰ Dorling 2013

⁷² These claims reported in McGrath 2020. See also Barlow 2013 and Harrison 2013.



CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: CRITICAL ⁷¹		
017-Defection of alleged Chinese 'spy' Wang Liqiang,	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
2019 ⁷³	Relationship	NEUTRAL
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Australia // China	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Wang (aka William Wang) sought asylum in Australia in October 2019, claiming to be a Chinese intelligence operative involved in foreign interference activities in Hong Kong and Taiwan. Wang met with ASIO but then made his claims public in November. ASIO subsequently stated they were taking Wang's claims seriously - without yet agreeing to their validity. Wang's claims — disputed by	Timing	NOT NOTABLE (But notable for Taiwan, the public claims were made only weeks before presidential election there And for Australia given a crescendo of allegations concerning Chinese espionage and political interference throughout 2019.)
	Response	NEUTRAL All public indicators are that the Australian Government was as unaccommodating as it dared to be in relation to the defector. (With regard to the Chinese, see left.)
China and queried by sceptics – would later be discredited by inquiries in Taiwan and in Australia.	Pre-disposition of target	NEUTRAL
At the time, the Chinese claimed that Wang was a convicted fraudster, wanted in Shanghai in relation to separate criminal matters, and denied all his claims. It also released what it claimed to be footage of Wang's 2016 fraud trial. The CCP's Global Times attacked Australian reporting on Wang as a "sheer lie". 74 Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Hua Chunying repudiated Wang's claims and described reports of Chinese espionage and interference as a "shoddy soap opera".75		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
Nb. this could be viewed in reverse given the allegations of Chinese espionage in Taiwan made by Wang.		

China (not directed at USA)

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
018-'Monsieur Butterfly' case 1986 ⁷⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL

⁷¹ Critical rating is (as much reflective of adverse international legal consequences as strictly bilateral effects.

⁷³ McGowan 2019; Myers & Cave 2019; Knaus & Doherty 2019; Wu 2019; Walker 2019; Eftimiades 2019; China Daily 2019; Power 2019; Chubb 2019; Greene & Fang 2019. See also Monk 2019. Updates at Ip 2023 and Southwell 2023.

⁷⁴ Wu 2019. See also *China Daily* 2019.

⁷⁵ Power 2019

⁷⁶ Trahair & Miller 2012 p. 82; Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 213-214; Faligot 2019 pp. 131-140



		(In 1986)
China // France	Relationship	NEUTRAL
	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
In 1986 Chinese national (and [likely co-opted] MPS		Given the salacious details of the case
agent) Shi Peipu and a French diplomat whom he had	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
recruited, Bernard Boursicot, were each sentenced to 6	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
years imprisonment for espionage. While posted to	Response	UNKNOWN
Beijing Boursicot had fallen in love with the transsexual Shi, who Boursicot had mistakenly believed to be a woman (and, later, apparent mother of his child), and thereafter served as a Chinese agent from 1964 until the pair's arrest in Paris in 1983 (including while Boursicot was posted to the French missions in China, Mongolia and in Southeast Asia). Boursicot maintained that all the classified material he provided to the Chinese was in relation to the Soviets and other nations and not to French national interests. In 1987 both men were pardoned by President Mitterand (in an effort to reduce Franco-Sino tensions). CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
019-Li Zhihao 1999 ⁷⁷	Power Dynamic	LESS POWEFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Taiwan	Publicity	PUBLIC
	, adminity	Publicity largely associated with the link to the November 2015 leaders' talks in Singapore.
Li defected to Taiwan in the late 1980s, at the direction of	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
the Guangdong State Security Bureau, and was later	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
recruited by Taiwanese intelligence (from whence he	Response	UNKNOWN
reported back to China). Arrested in 1999 he was		China did not comment on original arrest.
sentenced to life imprisonment.	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
	target	
Li was deported to China in 2015 after an apparent		
prisoner exchange (for two Taiwanese intelligence		
officers kidnapped by China from Vietnam in 2006). This		
exchange was followed by talks between the Chinese and Taiwanese Presidents in Singapore. 78		
	ĺ	

⁷⁷ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 236; Reuters 2015; *Taipei Times* 2015; BBC 2015-B; Fitsanakis 2015

 $^{^{78}}$ A connection between the two releases has been disputed by the Taiwanese Government -see Taipei Times 2015



The Taiwanese President's office stated that the		
resolution was "based on a mutual goodwill gesture		
delivered by the Ma-Xi meeting". 79		
denvered by the majorimeeting .		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
020-Valentin Danilov 2001-2012 ⁸⁰	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
		In 2001-2004.
China // Russia	Relationship	FRIENDLY
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Danilov, a scientist at the Krasnoyark Space Research		Danilov's trial and imprisonment was somewhat of a cause celebre, especially with Human Rights
Institute in Siberia was arrested by the FSB in 2001 after		observers of Russia.
providing technical information to a Chinese company on	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Russian satellite technology. After an initial trial at which		Danilov maintained that the information he passed to the Chinese was in fact unclassified at the
he was acquitted, he was convicted at a second trial and		time of the offence. The direct recipient was a Chinese company.
sentenced to 14 years imprisonment, being released on	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
parole in 2012.	Response	UNKNOWN
		No Chinese public response recorded.
Muted Russian response beyond the prosecution of	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
Danilov.	target	
CONCEQUENCE FOR OFFINDER, NECLICIPLE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
021-Suicide of Japanese code clerk and related	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
investigation 2004-681	, one, by name	As at 2004-6
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Japan	Publicity	PUBLIC
,	,	This may be an incident where media coverage did drive target response (see left).
Unnamed Japanese communicator at Shanghai consulate committed suicide in May 2004 after blackmail attempt	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	Timing	NOTABLE
(and related pitch) by Shanghai State Security Bureau	9	At the time of the media reporting of the incident (December 2005) Japan and China were in dispute
(SSSB) beginning the previous year. The demands levied		over gas fields in the East China Sea and historical controversy over WW2. In addition Japan's
by the SSSB included details of consulate staff and		Foreign Minister had described Chinese military build-up as a "considerable threat". 84

⁷⁹ Quoted in Reuters 2015

⁸⁰ Foligut 2019 p. 264; Human Rights Watch 2003; BBC 2012-D

⁸¹ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 223; MOFA Japan 2015; Nakata 2006; Chinese Foreign Ministry 2006; McCurry 2005; Yoshida 2005

⁸⁴ Quoted in McMurry 2005



contacts, and schedule for transport of Japanese diplomatic pouches. The Japanese Government did not address the issue publicly until it was revealed in the Japanese media in December 2005. Forced to confront the issue Japan said it had "lodged strong protests" (four in total, including at the time of the incident) and blamed "impermissible acts by the Chinese" for the clerk's death. Furthermore "The host country is expected to treat a consul with due respect and to take every measure to prevent any breach of the consul's physical freedom and dignity."82 A specific protest was delivered to the Chinese Ambassador in Tokyo. Japan also claimed publicly that the Chinese actions had violated the Vienna Conventions. In April 2006 the Japanese Government announced its findings from an investigation into the incident. The Chief Cabinet Secretary stated that: "As a result of our investigation, we found that the direct cause of the (diplomat's) suicide was an extraordinary threat, intimidation and similar actions by Chinese intelligence officersWe acknowledged that it was a very cruel and inhuman threat, and was intimidation."83	Pre-disposition of target	On 31 December 2005 the Chinese Foreign Ministry claimed in a public statement that Japanese officials had agreed that the clerk had committed suicide due to overwork. Furthermore the statement claimed that "this incident has nothing to do with Chinese government personnel." In response the Japanese MOFA contradicted the claims made by the Chinese and insisted that China owed Japan an explanation for the behaviour of its officials. The Chinese then retorted "We express our strong indignation at the Japanese Government's disregard of the facts and their further move to purposely smear the image of China." EESS SENSITIVE
022-Macheksport Affair 2005 ⁸⁷	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL In 2005
China // Russia	Relationship	FRIENDLY
	Publicity	LIMITED
In November 2005 the principal of the Macheksport		Very little coverage of, or information available about, the incident.
company, Igor Rechetin, was arrested by the FSB, along	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
with two other executives. Macheksport was alleged to	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
be acting on behalf of the MSS to illegally acquire and	Response	NEUTRAL
export to China space technologies applicable to missile		No response recorded from Russians (see left).
development.	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
1		

⁸² All quotes from McCurry 2005.

⁸³ Quoted in Nakata 2006

⁸⁵ Quoted in MOFA Japan 2015

⁸⁶ Quoted in Chinese Foreign Ministry 2006

⁸⁷ Foligut 2019 p. 265



Dath Dussia and China activaly appropriate of		
Both Russia and China actively suppressed knowledge of		
the affair and while Rechetin and his two executives were		
charged, their MSS contacts were simply asked to quietly		
leave Russia. (Reflecting pre-existing level of intelligence		
cooperation between Russia and China.)		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
023-2PLA hacking of German Chancellery systems,	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
2007 ⁸⁸	Tower Bynamic	In 2007.
2007	Relationship	FRIENDLY
China // Germany	Relationship	Contemporary German media noted the disappointment that the allegations had engendered in
Clinia // Germany		German officials given Germany's long-term overtures to Beijing. ⁸⁹
On 27 August 2007 Prime Minister Wen Jiabo expressed	Publicity	PUBLIC
his regrets to visiting German Chancellor Angela Merkel	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
about China-originating hacking of computer systems at	Timing	NOTABLE
the German Chancellery and other ministries. This	Timing	110111
followed a story the previous day published in Der		Given the Merkel visit to Beijing.
Spiegel, which attributed these trojan attacks to 2PLA.	Response	DENIAL followed by NEUTRAL
opreger, which are barea these trojan areadio to 2. 2 ii		The Chinese Embassy in Berlin castigated the allegations, describing them as "irresponsible
The Chancellor's visit proceeded successfully, with new		speculation without a shred of evidence". 90
Sino-German economic cooperation announced at its		However, during Merkel's visit to Beijing, Prime Minister Wen Jiabao "assured Merkel that measures
end.	Due dienesitien ef	would be taken to "rule out hacking attacks"".91 MORE SENSITIVE
	Pre-disposition of	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	target	Bitter memories of East German internal surveillance – including on part of Chancellor Merkel herself.
		Luces polygonia
024-Ho Chih-chiang 2010 & Wang Hung-ju (aka Wang	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
Hongru) 2017 ⁹²	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Tairra	Publicity	PUBLIC
China // Taiwan	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Ho was a China-based Taiwanese businessman recruited	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
by Chinese intelligence in 2007 as a talent-spotter. He	Response	UNKNOWN
was arrested in 2010 after a failed pitch to a Taiwanese	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
·	target	
National Security Bureau officer (in which he sought		
information on NSB operations, satellite communications,		
and Taiwanese foreign policy). Ho's co-conspirator Wang		1

⁸⁸ Foligut 2019 p. 334; *Der Spiegel* 2007

⁸⁹ Der Spiegel 2007

⁹⁰ Der Spiegel 2007

⁹¹ Der Spiegel 2007

⁹² Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 231, 242; Yang 2017; Chen 2017-A; Bristow 2017; Mattis 2017



was a former Taiwanese NSB officer and bodyguard to		
Vice President Annette Lu. After retirement in 2003 Wang		
resided in China. In 2009 the Shanghai State Security		
Bureau recruited Wang to work alongside Taiwanese		
businessman. It was not until 2017 that Wang was		
arrested, when he also unsuccessfully tried to pitch a NSB		
officer.		
Taiwan's Defence Ministry commented that it "has		
counterintelligence measures in place and warns active		
and soon-to-be-retired soldiers and officers against		
spying for China".93. Rhetorical protest limited to		
Taiwanese Members of Parliament.94		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR ON ENDERN REGERALE		
025 Della Malla et 204095	I a a	LECC DOMESTIN
025-Baibur Maihesuti 2010 ⁹⁵	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
China II Canada	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // Sweden	Publicity	PUBLIC
A Coundish sitings of High on books and A Asih souti one		Reports across 2009 and 2010, including trial and appeal.
A Swedish citizen of Uighur background, Maihesuti was	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
recruited by the MSS in 2008 to report on Uighur	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
activities, primarily in Europe. He was run by MSS officers	Response	UNKNOWN
working under cover of the Chinese Embassy in	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
Stockholm. Arrested in April 2009, in 2010 he was	target	
sentenced to 16 months in prison (increased to 22		
months on appeal.).		
A Chinese diplomat was expelled from Sweden in early		
2009 for spying on political refugees (including in relation		
to the Maihesuti case).		
·		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
	<u> </u>	
026-Lo Hsien-che 2011 ⁹⁶	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Taiwan	Publicity	PUBLIC
		NEUTRAL

⁹³ Chen 2017

⁹⁴ See, for example, Bristow 2017

⁹⁵ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 238; *The Local* 2009-A and *The Local* 2009-B; Reuters 2010-A; *The Local* 2010

⁹⁶ Trahair & Miller 2012 p. 83; Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 237; BBC 2011-A and BBC 2011-B; *Taiwan Today* 2011; Chang 2011



Taiwanese Brigadier General Lo Hsien-che was recruited by the 2PLA while posted as DA in Thailand in 2004. Lo was subsequently run by a female Chinese-Australian handler resident in Thailand. He was arrested in February 2011 and charged with leaking military secrets (including in relation to air defences) to China. His confession meant he was sentenced to life imprisonment rather than death. Lo claimed that US authorities confronted him in August 2010 during a visit to the USA and that after refusing to act as a double agent a video-taped confession was handed by the US to Taiwan. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Timing Response Pre-disposition of target	Noting that Lo Hsien-che was the most senior Taiwanese official convicted of espionage since the 1960s. He may also have compromised he the Po Sheng joint Taiwanese-US military command and control system. NOT NOTABLE UNKNOWN MORE SENSITIVE
027-Murder of Neil Heywood 2011 ⁹⁷	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // UK	Publicity	PUBLIC
	·	Covered in salacious detail in Chinese, less so in Western media.
The vicious contest between Mayor of Chongqing, and	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
rising CCP figure, Bo Xilai, and presumptive President Xi	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Jinping was the context for the death in November 2011 of British expatriate (and rumoured MI6 affiliate) Neil Heywood. Heywood had been a close associate of Bo, and was said to be the paramour of Bo's wife Gu Kailai. It was Gu who is believed to have poisoned Heywood in	Response	NEUTRAL Senior Chinese officials stated: "China is a socialist country ruled by law, and the sanctity and authority of law shall not be tramped. Whoever has broken the law will be handled in accordance with law and will not be tolerated, no matter who is involved." 100
order to contain the emerging scandal of Heywood's intelligence links – and Bo's own corruption. This affair was also tied to the ultimately unsuccessful attempt by Bo's supporter Zhou Yongkang, senior security minister, to launch a coup against Xi.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
The decisive factor in Xi's triumph, and the fall of Bo and Zhou, was the actions of senior Chongqing MSS officer Wang Lijun in February 2012, who first tried to defect to the US, fearing for his life due to his knowledge of Bo and Gu's actions, before being taken into the protection of the MSS leadership in Beijing.		
The British Consulate in Chonqing initially refused to		

comment, as did the British Embassy.98

⁹⁷ Foligut 2019 pp. 367-374; Walker 2012; Xinhua News 2012; BBC 2012-B and BBC 2012-C; Sudworth 2012; Buckey 2012; Ruwitch 2012

⁹⁸ Walker 2012

¹⁰⁰ From Xinhua News 2012



		-
In response to news that the Chinese had commenced an investigation Prime Minister David Cameron stated: "We did ask the Chinese to hold an investigation and we are pleased that they are now doing that. It is very important we get to the truth of what happened in this very disturbing case, this very tragic case."99 CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
000 01 111 1 0 11 1 1 0 001 0010 101	Ι	I
028-Chen Wen-jen & Yuan Hsiao-feng 2011-2012 ¹⁰¹	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
China // Tribana	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Taiwan	Publicity	PUBLIC
Former Taiwanese airforce officer recruited by 2PLA	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
while resident in China, Chen then recruited active duty	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
colleague Yuan Hsiao-feng into providing classified	Response	UNKNOWN
information. Attempts to recruit other serving airforce	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
officers sparked an investigation in 2011, leading to their	target	
arrests in 2012. In 2013 Chen was sentenced to 20 years		
imprisonment. Yuan was sentenced to 12 life sentences!		
No evident action taken against China by Taiwan.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
		T
029-Allegations of Chinese hacking of ASIO	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
Headquarters building plans, 2013 ¹⁰²	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Australia	Publicity	PUBLIC
China // Australia	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In May 2012 Australian modia reporting alloged that		Had Chinese intelligence succeeded in carrying out what was purported then it would have been a
In May 2013 Australian media reporting alleged that building plans (allegedly including power and	-· ·	great coup, and done considerable damage to Australian interests.
communications wiring diagrams) for the newly	Timing	NOTABLE
constructed headquarters of the Australian Security		Reporting came towards end of the mammoth ASIO HQ building project, which had been reported
Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) had been stolen in a		as having significant problems and cost overruns. The report also came at a time of intelligence-
intelligence organisation (ASIO) had been stolen in a		related tensions between Australia and China, following the 2012 Australian decision to prohibit

⁹⁹ BBC 2012-B

¹⁰¹ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 226, 242; Cole 2013; Al Jazeera 2014

¹⁰² Taylor 2013; ABC 2013; Nadin 2013; Grubb 2013; Legge 2013, Wright 2013; Butterly 2013; Godfrey 2013; Barton 2013-A. Wright and Butterly make the case that the operation was 'payback' for Australia-US bugging of the Chinese Embassy in Canberra (see above).



		"
Chinese cyber-attack directed at a building contractor.		Huawei from participating in construction of its National Broadband Network, reportedly on security
The media reports also alleged other Chinese cyber-		grounds.
attacks on Australian Government agencies and on		The allegation also came shortly after a softening of Australian attitudes to China, with the
Australian companies.		publication of the 2013 Defence White Paper, which did not explicitly identify China as a threat. 105
	Response	DENIAL
Then Australian Foreign Minister Bob Carr (in later		A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman commented in relation to the allegation: "China pays high
retirement a prominent advocate for improved		attention to cybersecurity issues, and is firmly opposed to all forms of hacker attacks Groundless
Australian-Chinese relations) downplayed the allegations,		accusations will not help solve this issue."106
stating: "We have enormous areas of cooperation with	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
China. I won't comment on whether the Chinese have	target	
done what is being alleged or not". 103 Separately Carr		
stated: "I won't comment on matters of intelligence and		
security for the obvious reason: we don't want to share		
with the world and potential aggressors what we know		
about what they might be doing, and how they might be		
doing it." ¹⁰⁴		
CONCEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER MECHANIS		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
030-Lu Chun-chun, Chien Ching-kuo & Chang Chih-hsin	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
2013 ¹⁰⁷	Relationship	COMPLICATED
2013	Publicity	PUBLIC
China // Taiwan	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Cima // Tulvan	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Retired Taiwanese military officer, Lu was recruited by		UNKNOWN
Chinese intelligence in the mid-2000s. Lu subsequently	Response	
introduced fellow retiree Chien Ching-kuo to his handlers.	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
Lu and Chien then similarly recruited Chang Chih-hsin, a	target	
soon to retire military officer. Arrested in 2012, the		
following year Lu was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment		
(wholly suspended), Chien to 3 years, and Chang to 15		
years.		
Muted Taiwanese response.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

¹⁰³ Quoted in Taylor 2013

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Legge 2013

¹⁰⁵ Godfrey 2013

¹⁰⁶ Legge 2013, quoting *The Guardian*

¹⁰⁷ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 224-225, 226; Mattis 2014; Central News Agency 2014; AFP 2014



		Ir
031-Ko Cheng-sheng 2013 ¹⁰⁸	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Taiwan	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Deputy commander of the Taiwanese Navy from 2000-		Reflecting Ko's senior position in Taiwanese armed forces.
2003, Ko had been recruited by Chinese intelligence in	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
1998, as facilitated by Australian-Taiwanese businessman	Response	UNKNOWN
Shen Ping-kang. Ko retired in 2003 after which he sought	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
to recruit several younger officers. After his arrest in	target	
2013, Ko was sentenced in 2014 to 14 months in prison		
(believed to have taken into account Ko's advanced age).		
Shen is believed to have worked to 2PLA instructions, and		
he was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment in 2014.		
Muted Taiwanese response.		
iviated raiwanese response.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR ON ENSEM NECESCISE		
	l .	
032-Chen Chu-fan & Chen Shu-lung 2013-2014 ¹⁰⁹	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
_	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Taiwan	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Retired senior Taiwanese military officer (and KMT		Reflecting Chen Chu-fan's profile within Taiwanese politics and military.
official) Chen was an agent for the Shanghai State	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Security Bureau from 2004 until his arrest. Chen helped	Response	UNKNOWN
SSSB build a broader spy network, including through	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
introduction to former military intelligence officer Chen	target	
Shu-lung. Chen Chu-fan was convicted in 2013 and		
sentenced to 20 months in prison but his sentence was		
overturned on appeal in 2016. Chen Shu-lung provided		
identities of fellow Taiwanese intelligence officers to the		
SSSB, leading to the detention and interrogation of one such officer in Shanghai in 2007. Chen Shu-lung was		
sentenced to 8 years in prison, reduced to 5 years on		
appeal in 2014.		
аррсан III 2014.		
Muted Taiwanese response.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
	ĺ	

¹⁰⁸ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 233, 240; Dorling 2014; Chen 2017-B

¹⁰⁹ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 225-226; AFP 2013; Pan 2016



033-Zhen Xiaojiang Spy Ring 2015 ¹¹⁰	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
000 Eneri Alaojiang Spy Ming 2010	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Taiwan	Publicity	PUBLIC
Clina // Talwan		
Zhen Xiaojiang was a former PLA officer who ran a	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Taiwan-based spy ring between 2005 and 2015, probably	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
as a cooptee of Chinese military intelligence. Zhen was	Response	UNKNOWN
arrested in 2015 and sentenced to 4 years imprisonment.	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
He was then deported to China (via Hong Kong) in 2018.	target	
Zhen's recruits included Taiwanese airforce officers		
providing classified information on Taiwanese military		
capabilities: Major General Hsu Nai-chuan who was		
arrested in 2015 and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment,		
reduced to 2 months on appeal (on basis that his own		
efforts within the spy ring were unsuccessful). Airforce		
officer Chou Chih-li arrested 2015. Airforce officer Ko Chi-		
hsien sentenced in 2017 to 3-10 years in prison. Retired		
airforce officer Liu Chi-ju served as an intermediary for		
Zhen and other members. Liu was indicted in 2015 but		
remains in China.		
Muted Taiwanese response.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
034-Attempt to recruit German Member of Parliament	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
via LinkedIn, and subsequent BfV investigative report,	Relationship	NEUTRAL
2016 ¹¹¹	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
China // Germany	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
La (analhana) a mana 2016 an aide difficil 6	Response	DENIAL
In (northern) summer 2016 an unidentified German MP		In December 2017 the Chinese Ministry for Foreign Affairs called the investigation "complete
was pitched (on-line via LinkedIn) via a cut-out found to be linked back to the MSS. The relationship ended after		hearsay and groundless". 113 Also, "All I can say is that the allegations from the German organization
the intervention of German security (BfV) officials.		in question are baseless We hope the relevant German organizations, particularly government
the intervention of definal security (biv) officials.		departments, can speak and act more responsibly and not do things that aren't beneficial to the
In December 2017 the BfV publicly released a report on		development of bilateral relations." ¹¹⁴
Chinese use of social media to attempt to spy on German	- " "	
MPs and policymakers. With Hans-Georg Maaßen,	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
ivii 3 and policymakers. With mans-deorg ividalsen,	target	

¹¹⁰ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 227, 232, 233-234, 236-237, 243; Straits Times 2015; Pan 2015; Jensen 2017; Strong 2018

¹¹¹ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 223; Burgess 2017; CGTN 2017, *The Local* 2018, Deutsche Welle 2018

¹¹³ Quoted in Burgess 2017

¹¹⁴ Quoted in CGTN 2017



commenting publicly: "Chinese intelligence services are active on networks like LinkedIn and have been trying for a while to extract information and find intelligence sources in this way." Followed in July 2018 by more detailed German media reporting on Chinese social media and other efforts to spy on the Bundestag. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
035-Hsieh Chia-kang & Hsin Peng-sheng 2017 ¹¹⁵	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Taiwan	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Hsin was a retired Taiwanese military officer recruited in	, ,	Noting Hsieh's access to missile defence secrets.
2006. He subsequently introduced Major General Hsieh, a	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
former colleague, who was recruited in 2009-10. At the	Response	UNKNOWN
time the investigation of this pair began Hsieh was commander of Taiwan's missile defence command.	Pre-disposition of target	MORE SENSITIVE
Taiwan's Defence Ministry specifically identified China as the offending party in this case, but without criticism. No other Taiwanese reaction apparent.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
036-Zhou Hongxu 2017 ¹¹⁶	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Taiwan	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
In March 2017 Chinese national Zhou was arrested for spying by the Taiwanese after attempting to pitch a junior Foreign Ministry official. Zhou had previously been a graduate student in Taiwan and was alleged to be	Timing	NOT NOTABLE President Tsai Ing-wen and her traditionally pro-Taiwanese autonomy Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) took office in May 2017.
operating under direction from China's Taiwan Affairs Office. He was also later linked to a prominent pro-China Taiwanese politician.	Response	DENIAL The Chinese Taiwan Affairs Office stated at the time of the arrest: "The allegation by Taiwan against our office is obviously fabricated and aimed at creating dispute." The TAO also suggested that the

¹¹² Quoted in Burgess 2017

¹¹⁵ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 231-232; Mattis 2017; The Statesman 2017; Pan 2017; Strong 2017. Note that Mattis & Brazil twice gives the date of Hsin's recruitment as "2016". This appears to be an error given Hsin subsequently facilitated the recruitment of Hsieh in 2009-10.

¹¹⁶ Chung 2017; AFP 2017; *Straits Times* 2018; Yang 2018; Pan 2018; Global Times 2019; Hioe 2018



	arrest was linked to moves within the Taiwan Parliament to legislate for tougher penalties for Chinese espionage. 119
	After returning to China Zhou gave an interview to China's <i>Global Times</i> in which he said he had been pressured into falsely pleading guilty. He also claimed to have experienced discrimination and bullying while a student, and implied that this had made him a target – and that the charges against him were fabricated by Taiwanese intelligence on behalf of the pro-Taiwanese autonomy government. He also claimed to have been mistreated while in Taiwanese custody. 120 China also launched a counter-offensive (at least partly motivated by Zhou case) suggesting that Taiwanese students were engaged in mass-scale espionage inside China. 121
target	MORE SENSITIVE
T-	_
	LESS POWERFUL
	NEUTRAL ¹²⁵
	PUBLIC
Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Response	UNKNOWN
Pre-disposition of target	MORE SENSITIVE
	Power Dynamic Relationship Publicity Nature of Activity Timing Response Pre-disposition of

¹¹⁷ Chung 2017

¹¹⁸ Straits Times 2018

¹¹⁹ Quoted in Chung 2017

¹²⁰ Global Times 2019

¹²¹ Hioe 2019

¹²² Jennings & Reid 2017 (updated 2020); Phillips 2017; Nippert 2019; Walters 2019; Finnigan & Noakes 2019; Christian 2020; Sachdeva 2020

¹²⁵ For a very useful account of the myriad positives and negatives of the bilateral relationship see Finnigan & Noakes 2019.



but denied questioning of his loyalty to NZ and claimed		
that the allegations were defamatory and racist (Yang		
was later subject to some racist attacks on his property).		
Although Yang did confirm that he had taught students how to intercept and decipher communications but not to engage in "the physical act of spying". "If you define those cadets or students as spies, then yes, I was teaching spies," he said. "[But] I don't think [they were spies] I just think they are collecting information through communication in China." 123 In 2019-20 the issue was re-raised when Yang accompanied and controversially arranged for a fellow National MP to meet with Chinese Minister for Public Security Guo Shengkun. 124		
Vana una una la stad hu tha National Boutuia 2020		
Yang was reselected by the National Party in 2020.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
038-Dorjee Gyantsan 2018 ¹²⁶	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // Sweden	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Gyantsan provided information on other Tibetan exiles to	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Chinese intelligence while working at a pro-Tibet radio	Response	NEUTRAL
station in Sweden. Swedish investigators concluded that		The Chinese Foreign Ministry denied any knowledge of the case when asked about Gyantsan at the
Gyantsan's handlers included a Chinese diplomat based		time he was charged. 127
in Poland and Chinese journalist in Sweden. Gyantsan	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRALL
in Poland and Chinese journalist in Sweden. Gyantsan was sentenced to 22 months imprisonment.	Pre-disposition of target	NEUTRALL
was sentenced to 22 months imprisonment.		NEUTRALL
was sentenced to 22 months imprisonment. Muted Swedish response, although details of the China		NEUTRALL
was sentenced to 22 months imprisonment.		NEUTRALL
was sentenced to 22 months imprisonment. Muted Swedish response, although details of the China contacts were included in the indictment of Gyantsan.		NEUTRALL
was sentenced to 22 months imprisonment. Muted Swedish response, although details of the China		NEUTRALL
was sentenced to 22 months imprisonment. Muted Swedish response, although details of the China contacts were included in the indictment of Gyantsan.		NEUTRALL

¹²³ Quoted in Phillips 2017

¹²⁴ Walters 2019; Christian 2020

¹²⁶ Chan 2018; AFP 2018-A; Hála & Lulu 2018; Poland In 2018

¹²⁷ Poland In 2018



039-DGSE officers arrested for spying for China 2017-	Relationship	NEUTRAL
2018128	Publicity	LIMITED
		Limited to the announcement of the charges in May 2018.
China // France	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
In December 2017 former DGSE officers Henri Manioc	Response	NEUTRAL
(former DGSE station chief in Beijing) and Pierre-Marie	·	The Chinese Foreign Ministry denied any knowledge of the case when asked in May 2018.
Winterat were arrested by French authorities for	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
espionage on behalf of China. These arrests were made	target	
public in France in May 2018. Manoic had effectively		
defected to China in 1998 before later returning to		
France.		
In July 2020 the pair (described by authorities as 'Henri		
M' and 'Pierre-Marie H') were sentenced to prison after a		
trial lasting less than a week. 129		
No known French response to the Chinese.		
CONSTOURNES FOR OFFINER MEGUCINIS		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
040-Alleged Chinese cyber-attacks against Australian	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
Parliament, 2019 ¹³⁰	Relationship	COMPLICATED
	The rate of the ra	Notably, in September 2019 news sources alleged that the Australian Government refusal to
China // Australia		officially attribute the attack to China (despite identifying direct Chinese responsibility before May
Sima // / tasti and		2019) was motivated by a wish to avoid jeopardising the close bilateral economic relationship. ¹³¹
In February 2019 the Australian Government publicly	Publicity	PUBLIC
announced that the computer systems of the Australian	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
Parliament (including files and correspondence of	Tracare of ricerrity	Given the targeting of the parliament.
Australian politicians) had been compromised by a state-	Timing	NOTABLE
sponsored cyber-attack.	9	The hack was detected just months before the Australian federal election, raising fears of electoral
		interference akin to the 2016 US Presidential Election.
While the Government officially declined to attribute	Response	DENIAL
responsibility, China was quickly identified by unofficial		In February 2019 Chinese foreign ministry spokesman denied any responsibility on the part of China,
reports as being responsible. Some further clarification of		accusing media of undermining China's relationship with Australia. "One should present abundant
damage was provided in Senate Estimates testimony in		evidence when investigating and determining the nature of a cyberspace activity, instead of making
November 2019. The attack on the Australian Parliament		baseless speculations and firing indiscriminate shots at others" and "Irresponsible reports,
followed closely after a similar hacking of data at the		accusations, pressurising and sanctions will only heighten tensions and confrontation in cyberspace
	1	and poison the atmosphere for cooperation." In line with standard Chinese responses the

¹²⁸ Foligut 2019 pp. 267, 394; France 24 2018

¹²⁹ France 24; Reuters 2020; Rogan 2020

¹³⁰ AAP 2019; Lawson 2019; Corfield 2019; Packham 2019; Kwai 2019

¹³¹ Packham 2019



		II.
Australian National University in Canberra, also attributed unofficially to China. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		spokesman also called on the international community to deal with cybersecurity threats through dialogue and cooperation on the basis of mutual respect. 132 Responding to the news reports of September 2019, the Chinese Foreign Ministry stated "When investigating and determining the nature of online incidents there must be full proof of the facts, otherwise it's just creating rumors and smearing others, pinning labels on people indiscriminately. We would like to stress that China is also a victim of internet attacks." And "China hopes that Australia can meet China halfway, and do more to benefit mutual trust and cooperation between the two countries." 133
	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
041-Death of Bo ('Nick') Zhao in Melbourne, 2019 ¹³⁴	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
041-Death of Bo (Nick) Zhao in Melbourne, 2013	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // Australia	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In November 2019 allegations were published in the Australian media that a young Chinese-Australian	Tracare of recurry	The apparent effort was unsuccessful but the alleged intention was the subervsion of Australian politics and if true may be linked to the death of Zhao.
businessman (Zhao) had informed ASIO earlier in the year that he had been recruited by business contacts (with	Timing	NOTABLE Occurred simultaneously with a number of other cases involving Australia and China.
links to Chinese intelligence) and offered AUD 1 million to run for election to the Australian Parliament. Zhao, who was experiencing financial difficulties, was found dead a few weeks after speaking to ASIO. A coronial inquiry into Zhao's death found his death was not suspicious ¹³⁵ . Australian Prime Minister Hon Scott Morrison MP said publicly: "I would caution anyone leaping to any conclusions about these matters I'm not. But I do find the allegations troubling and disturbing." ¹³⁶ CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Response Pre-disposition of target	DENIAL The Chinese Government strenuously denied there was any validity to the allegations made by Zhao. The Chinese Foreign Ministry stated that "some Australian politicians, institutions and media "have been highly tense on China-related issues". "Stories like 'Chinese espionage' or 'China's infiltration in Australia', with however bizarre plots and eye-catching details, are nothing but lies." Mr Geng urged Australian politicians, institutions and media to view China and China-Australia relations with "a healthy attitude" in the interest of bilateral relations as well as their "own physical and mental health". He added China was not interested in interfering in other countries' affairs." LESS SENSITIVE

CHINA (directed specifically at USA)

¹³² Quoted in AAP 2019

¹³³ Quoted in Packham 2019

¹³⁴ Knaus & Doherty 2019; Chubb 2019; Channel Nine News 2019; Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2019.

¹³⁵ McKenzie & Sakkal 2020

¹³⁶ Channel Nine News 2019

¹³⁷ From Australian Broadcasting Corporation 2019



042-Larry Wu-Tai Chin (aka Jin Wudai)138	Power Dynamic	MORE POWEFUL
	Relationship	FRIENDLY
China // USA	·	In 1985.
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Chin began work as a local employee of the State	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Department in Shanghai in 1948 before moving to the	Timing	NOTABLE
Hong Kong consulate in 1949, and then going on to a long		Chin's arrest came at a moment of delicate relations on behalf of both Washington and Beijing.
career with the CIA's Foreign Broadcast Information		There was a common cause in defeating the Soviets (including cooperation on supplying the Afghan
Service, retiring in 1981. Chin was operating under the		resistance).
control of the Chinese Ministry of Public Safety, possibly	Response	NEUTRAL
from as early as 1948. Chin's translation support to some		Chinese officials denied knowledge of Chin's case when asked at the time of his conviction.
CIA and other USG activities meant that he was able to,	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
for example, provide Beijing with forewarning of the	target	
Nixon Administration's rapprochement strategy towards		
the PRC. Chin also served as US translator during Deng		
Xiaoping's visit to the US in 1979. Chin confessed to FBI CI		
investigators in 1985 but took his own life in February		
1986 while awaiting sentencing. (There are suggestions		
this might have been at the instigation of the Chinese,		
including provision for his dependents.) Chin was		
identified by the FBI following the defection to the US of		
senior MSS officer Yu Zhensan.		
No known US response to China.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
043-Hou Desheng & Zang Weichu 1987 ¹³⁹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
et: //uga	Relationship	FRIENDLY
China // USA		In 1987.
China dialamat Hardania Barraka (207)	Publicity	PUBLIC
Chinese diplomat Hou detained December 1987 in	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Washington as result of FBI double agent operation (he	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
believed he was meeting source with access to NSA	Response	DENIAL
documents). Zang, a consular official in Chicago, also		The Chinese Foreign Ministry's official response to the expulsions was: "The charge made by the U.S.
detained.		side is a frame-up against the Chinese diplomats in the United States. We have lodged a strong
Bullium and Thomas and all 16 and 16 and 16		protest with the U.S. side against such action and reserved the right to make further reaction." ¹⁴²
Both Hou and Zhang were expelled from US (first such		China also lodged a formal complaint at the treatment of their two diplomats, claiming they had
expulsions since restoration of PRC-US diplomatic ties in		been framed.

¹³⁸ Olson 2019, pp. 182-190; Minnick 1992, p. 36-37; Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 120; Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 203-204; Faligot 2019 pp. 128-131; Engelberg 1986

¹³⁹ PERSEREC 2008; Thornton 1988; Associated Press 1987

¹⁴² Quoted in Associated Press 1987



1979). The US State Department "said the incident left U.SChinese relations unchanged, and that the administration considers the case closed." 140 Contemporary media reporting noted that the Chinese were treated much more sensitively than comparable Soviet spy cases (such as not publicising their identities) and that (based on sources within the State Department) this was done specifically to avoid damaging the relationship between the US and China. 141 CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
044-Paul Doumitt 1988 ¹⁴³	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	FRIENDLY
China // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
US Embassy Beijing communicator, Doumitt was	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
blackmailed and pitched by the MSS in 1988. The MSS	Response	UNKNOWN
was seeking details of the CIA station within the Embassy and Doumitt claims to have provided inconsequential information before confessing to the Embassy. He was sent home in disgrace.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
045 Van Man Van 10031M	Danier Director	MODE DOWERFUL
045-Yen Men Kao 1993 ¹⁴⁴	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
China // USA	Relationship	NEUTRAL DUDING
Cililiu // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
Chinese national involved in acquisition and illegal export	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
of sensitive US military equipment on behalf of Chinese	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
intelligence officials.	Response	UNKNOWN
meemberiee officials.	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
Arrested in 1993 but dealt with through immigration (rather than criminal) proceedings and deported (to Hong	target	
Kong) rather than being prosecuted. Contemporary		

¹⁴⁰ Associated Press 1987

¹⁴¹ Thornton 1988

¹⁴³ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 228

¹⁴⁴ PERSEREC 2008; McConnell 1994



media reporting suggested this this was done deliberately		
to avoid damaging US-China relations. 145		
to avoid damaging of china relations.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
•		
046-Eric Jenott 1996 ¹⁴⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
US soldier charged in 1996 with providing classified	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
information (including password for US classified	Response	UNKNOWN
computer system) to Chinese national who then returned to China prior to Jenott's arrest. Court-martialled and	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
found guilty of lesser offences but not espionage –	target	
sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.		
sentenced to 5 years imprisonment.		
US authorities declined to charge Qihang Liu, the Chinese		
national in question, given a lack of evidence but he was		
warned by the FBI not to return to the US. 147		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
	T	
047-Peter Lee 1997-1998 ¹⁴⁸	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
A Chinese-born (Taiwanese-US dual citizen) physicist at	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
the Los Alamos National Laboratory, Lee pleaded guilty in	Timing	NOTABLE
1998 to passing national defence information to China –		Coincided with American political controversy concerning Chinese political donations and influence
dating back to 1985 and relating to nuclear weapon	Documents	on the Clinton Admministration. UNKNOWN
design and submarine detection capabilities. Lee was	Response	LESS SENSITIVE
convicted but sentencing was surprisingly lenient. 149	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
No US sanctions against China apparent.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
		1

¹⁴⁵ McConnell 1994

¹⁴⁶ PERSEREC 2008; WRAL Channel 5 1996; Mooneyham 1996, UPI 1996

¹⁴⁷ UPI 1996

¹⁴⁸ Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 380; Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 164-165; Schmidt 2003

¹⁴⁹ Contemporary media reporting would later link the 'lenient' treatment (and flawed FBI investigation) of Lee with the Katrina Leung (and James Smith) case – see Schmidt 2003



	1	
048-Wen Ho Lee 2000 ¹⁵⁰	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // USA	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
		Case became a cause celebré.
In December 1999 Lee, a Taiwanese-American nuclear	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
weapons engineer, was indicted for illegally removing	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
classified data from Los Alamos National Laboratory. This	Response	UNKNOWN
followed a five year-long FBI investigation and his	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
dismissal for security reasons in March that year.	target	
Suspicion had fallen on Lee after information from a		
Chinese defector in 1995 linked Chinese nuclear weapons		
design to work with which Lee was associated. Lee		
pleaded guilty in September 2000 to a single charge of		
illegally removing data and was immediately freed,		
amidst political scandal in Washington associated with his		
case. Lee would receive a civil settlement from the US		
Government and was issued a public apology by		
President Clinton.		
Contemporary media reporting noted concerns aired by		
Secretary of Energy Bill Richardson that Chinese		
espionage directed at US nuclear secrets was straining		
bilateral relations. ¹⁵¹		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OTTENSER. NEGLIGISEE		
049-Katrina Leung 2003 ¹⁵²	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
A San Francisco-based double agent ostensibly reporting	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
to the FBI but actually working to directions from Chinese	Response	UNKNOWN
intelligence (MSS) from 1984 (including provision of	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
counter-intelligence information on the FBI), Leung was	target	
arrested (along with her FBI handler and lover James		
Smith) in April 2003. Leung would later be convicted of		
non-espionage (primarily taxation) offences and given 3		
months probation (in addition to other sanctions).		
Espionage charges were evidently not pursued because	ĺ	

¹⁵⁰ Polmar & Allen 2004 pp. 380-381; Carroll 1999

^{151&}quot;We are concerned that the Chinese are conducting espionage. . . we make no illusions about Chinese behaviour." – Carroll 1999

¹⁵² PERSEREC 2008; Polmar & Allen 2004 pp. 381-382; Trahair & Miller 2012 pp. 286-286; Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 235-236, 241.



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of the fear of revealing classified US information in court		
(and an initial dismissal on grounds of prosecutorial		
misconduct related to the plea deal offered Smith).		
No specific US action against China identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
050-Ronald Montaperto 2003 ¹⁵³	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Former DIA analyst admitted in late 2003 to having	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
provided classified US information to the Chinese	Response	UNKNOWN
between 1989 and 2001. Montaperto claimed to have	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
inadvertently provided this information during verbal	target	
briefings but also failed to report his meetings with those	ca. get	
officials. US authorities stated that, in addition,		
Montaperto had facilitated Chinese deception of US		
intelligence efforts. In 2006 Montaperto was sentenced		
to 3 months imprisonment (and other sanctions).		
No specific US action against China identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
	•	
051-Noshir Gowadia 2005-2011 ¹⁵⁴	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China / USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Former B2 designer Gowadia was indicted in November	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
2005 for selling US military secrets to China between	Response	UNKNOWN
2003 and 2005 (principally related to stealth capabilities).	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
Gowadia also travelled to China on multiple occasions to	target	
actively work with Chinese engineers on their related	301	
derivative designs. Convicted in 2010, and in 2011 he was		
sentenced to 32 years imprisonment (also for tax		
offences).		
No specific US action against China identified.		

¹⁵³ PERSEREC 2008; Clark 2015; Washington Times 2006

¹⁵⁴ Clark 2015; Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 155



CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
052-Chi Mak and Greg Chung 2005-2010 ¹⁵⁵	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China / USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Arrested in 2005 along with members of his family, Mak	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
provided sensitive military information to China (likely	Response	UNKNOWN
2PLA) while employed by a defence contractor (notably in relation to USN submarine capabilities). In 2007 he was sentenced to over 24 years imprisonment and other family members were also imprisoned. Chi Mak had also served as a go-between for another Chinese agent: Dongfan 'Greg' Chung, a Boeing engineer. Arrested in 2008, and convicted in 2009, in 2010 Chung was sentenced to more than 15 years imprisonment for passing space and military aviation secrets to China. No specific US action against China identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
053-James Fondren 2008-10 ¹⁵⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
China //JICA	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
Deputy Director of PACOM liaison in Washington, former	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
USAF officer Fondren was arrested in 2008, having first	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
been recruited by Chinese intelligence in the 1990s. Co- conspirator was Kuo Tsai-shen (see below), with whom Fondren shared classified material. Fondren was convicted in 2009 and the following year was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.	Response	DENIAL The Chinese Foreign Ministry vehemently denied any Chinese involvement in the case and claimed there were unspecified ulterior motives in attributing blame to China: "We urge the U.S. to discard its Cold War mentality and stop its groundless accusations against China We urge the U.S. to do more things to help enhance mutual trust and friendship between the two peoples." 157
No specific US action against China identified.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

¹⁵⁵ PERSEREC 2008; Olson 2019 pp. 132-137; Trahair & Miller 2012 pp. 82-83; Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 152, 238-239; Grier 2005; CBS News 2009; Associated Press 2010; Bhattacharjee 2014

¹⁵⁶ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 229; Ryan 2009; Associated Press 2009; NBC News 2009; CBS News 2009; CNN 2009

¹⁵⁷ Associated Press 2009



054-Kuo Tai-shen and Gregg Bergersen 2008 ¹⁵⁸	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
034-Ruo Tai-Sileii aliu Gregg Dergersen 2008	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
China // USA	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
While actually working to Chinese intelligence directions,		NOT NOTABLE
the New Orleans-based Kuo masqueraded as a Taiwanese	Timing	
agent in order to obtain classified information from US	Response	DENIAL The Chicago Facility Ministry decides Chicago in all acceptance with the control of the chicago in the control of the chicago in the c
defence analyst Gregg Bergersen concerning US military		The Chinese Foreign Ministry denied any Chinese involvement in the case, calling the allegations
sales to Taiwan, between March 2007 and February 2008.		groundless and saying that the charges were an attempt to foster a misperception of China as a threat to the West. 159
Kuo was sentenced to 16 years imprisonment in 2008,	Due dienesitien ef	1 11111 1 1 111
and Bergersen to 5 years. Separately a former USAF	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
officer James Fondren (see above) was also charged with	target	
giving classified information to Kuo.		
No specific US action against China identified.		
- -		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
055-Chao Tah-wei 2008-9 ¹⁶⁰	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Chinese national, attempted to illegally export thermal-	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
imaging cameras from US to China. Arrested with co-	Response	UNKNOWN
conspirator Guo Zhiyong in 2008 while at LAX. Ultimate	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
recipients identified as Chinese MPS and People's Armed	target	
Police. Chao pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 20 months imprisonment.		
months imprisonment.		
No specific US action against China identified.		
140 Specific 03 action against crima identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
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056-Kuok Chi-Tong 2009-2010 ¹⁶¹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
-	Relationship	NEUTRAL
China // USA (and NATO)	Publicity	PUBLIC

¹⁵⁸ PERSEREC 2008; Clark 2015; Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 224, 234; Voice of America 2009, Associated Press 2008; Gertz 2010

¹⁵⁹ Voice of America 2009

¹⁶⁰ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 149; Ryan 2008

¹⁶¹ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 162-163; *Washington Examiner* 2012; Song 2010; Poulsen 2010



Macau businessman Kuok was arrested in Atlanta in 2009	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
while transiting to Panama where he expected to meet	Response	DENIAL
Chinese intelligence. Kuok would later claim that,		The Chinese Embassy in Washington was reported by the Chinese state media as saying these
beginning in the early 2000s, he was coerced under		allegations of China conducting spying activities against the US are groundless and unwarranted
duress from a Chinese diplomatic official ('Zheng Kung-		(although the reference may have been broader than just the Kuok Chi-Tong case). 162
Pen') into attempting to acquire US and NATO military		
technologies (including encryption devices associated	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
with the US SIPRNET classified system). Initially convicted	target	
in 2009, in 2012 two of the four counts were overturned		
when a US Appeals Court accepted that he had been acting under duress.		
acting under duress.		
No specific US action against China identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
	T	
057-Gao ('Helen') Xiaoming 2010 ¹⁶³	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
A contractor translator Con use arranged by Chirona	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
A contractor translator, Gao was approached by Chinese intelligence in 2007 prior to commencing work for the	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
State Department in 2010. She is also suspected of	Response	UNKNOWN
passing information on US diplomatic facilities as a result	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
of her association with a State Department architect.	target	
Detained in 2010, Gao was not ultimately prosecuted.		
betained in 2010, Guo was not ultimately prosecuted.		
No specific US action against China identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
058-Glenn Shriver 2010-2011 ¹⁶⁴	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
After alredies with in Ostehen 2010 in les 1 2011	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
After pleading guilty in October 2010, in January 2011		While nonetheless deeply concerning to (and influential within) the US Intelligence Community.
Shriver was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment after	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
being recruited to spy for the Shanghai State Security	Response	DENIAL

¹⁶² Song 2010

¹⁶³ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 229; Herridge 2015

¹⁶⁴ Clark 2015; Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 240-241; Stein 2010; Mattis 2010; Pelofsky 2010; Golden 2010 (Chapter 5: 'Shanghaied')



Bureau while resident as a student in Shanghai in 2004. Shriver was directed by his handlers to apply for positions in the USIC but was detected after a CIA polygraph examination. No specific US action against China identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	At the time of Shriver's guilty plea the Chinese Embassy in Washington stated that China: "never engages itself in activities that'll harm other countries' national interests, and it's sincere in developing Sino-U.S. relations of mutual benefit Any attempts to defame China with fabricated allegations will prove futile." 165 LESS SENSITIVE
059-Jin Hanjuan 2007-2012 ¹⁶⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL to COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Naturalised US citizen Jin was arrested in February 2007	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
while transporting Motorola company secrets to China	Response	UNKNOWN
(where the Motorola employee intended to establish her own company). Jin was also associated with a Chinese supplier to the PLA, Sun Kaisens. In Jin's possession were specific PLA requirements for future telecommunications projects. Jin was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment (and three years of court supervision, ended early in 2018). No specific US action against China identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
060-Benjamin Bishop 2014 ¹⁶⁷	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
A former US Army officer and contractor at PACOM,	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Bishop became romantically involved with Chinese	Response	UNKNOWN
national Claudia He in 2011. Bishop commenced providing He with classified information which Bishop believed was to be used for her studies. In actuality she was in contact with the MSS, who paid He to provide them with papers on security issues derived from the information provided by Bishop. In 2014 Bishop was sentenced to 7 years in prison.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE

¹⁶⁵ Quoted in Pelofsky 2010

¹⁶⁶ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 161-162; Goudie & Markoff 2018; Kelleher 2012

¹⁶⁷ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 224, 231; South China Morning Post 2014; NBC News 2014; CBS News 2014; Martin 2013; CNN 2013



No specific US action against China identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
061-Indictment of Unit 61398 in 2014 ¹⁶⁸	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
In May 2014 the US DoJ indicted five individuals identified as members of a Chinese SIGINT unit ('Unit	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL Estimates of the economic value/damage of Chinese cyberespionage at the time vary by hundreds of billions of dollars. See also the indictment itself. 172
61398') for hacking into US companies (including Westinghouse, US Steel and Alcoa, SolarWorld AG and Allegheny Technologies), as well as the Allied Industrial & Service Workers International Union. Individuals were Huang Zhenyu, Gu Chunhui, Sun Kailiang, Wang Dong and Wen Xinyu. This was the first time the DOJ had indicted statesponsored hackers and represented a form of 'attribution by indictment'. ¹⁶⁹ The following year the US threatened China with related economic sanctions, resulting in a late 2015 joint agreement not to engage in economic	Timing	NOTABLE Contemporary media reporting noted that the US indictments were launched while the 2013 Snowden disclosures continued to colour global perceptions of US cyberespionage. Chinese authorities made the same point. 173
	Response	DENIAL At the time of the indictment the Chinese Foreign Ministry demanded that the charges be withdrawn: "The Chinese government, the Chinese military and their relevant personnel have never engaged or participated in cyber theft of trade secrets," Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Qin Gang said in a statement. "The U.S. accusation against Chinese personnel is purely ungrounded and absurd." Chinese officials also threated to suspend participation in the China-U.S. Cyber Working Group, established in 2013. ¹⁷⁴
espionage. ¹⁷⁰ (During a September 2015 visit to Washington President Xi Jinping pledged that China would not conduct cyberespionage for commercial purposes: "China strongly opposes and combats the theft of commercial secrets and other kinds of hacking attacks." ¹⁷¹	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		

¹⁶⁸ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 161, 180, 181, 183; Greenberg 2016; Nakashima 2015-B; Council on Foreign Relations 2014; Phelps & Makinen 2014; Li 2014; Ackerman & Kaiman 2014; Dews 2014; Simon 2017; Culafi 2020

¹⁶⁹ See Assistant Attorney General John Carlin's comments at the Brookings Institution (Dews 2014).

¹⁷⁰ Greenberg 2016 notes comments from US cyber-security firms suggesting that Chinese cyber-attacks targeting US firms subsequently declined by up to 90%. See also Nakashima 2015-B, Simon 2017 and Culafi 2020

¹⁷¹ Quoted in Nakashima 2015

¹⁷² US Department of Justice 2014

¹⁷³ Phelps & Makinen 2014. "For a long time, American authorities have conducted large-scale, organized cyber-theft and cyber-espionage activities against foreign dignitaries, companies and individuals... This is already common knowledge." – Chinese Foreign Ministry quoted in Ackerman & Kaiman 2014

¹⁷⁴ Quoted in Phelps & Makinen 2014



062-Shen Huisheng & Chang ('Alice') Huanling 2014 ¹⁷⁵	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Taiwanese nationals Chang and Shen attempted to	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
acquire sensitive defence technology on behalf of a	Response	UNKNOWN
Chinese intelligence service, during a sting operated by	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
the FBI. In 2012 they specifically sought information on	target	
US military aircraft and missiles. Furthermore they		
transferred to their undercover FBI interlocutors a		
codebook to protect future communications. They were		
arrested in 2012 and at at a 2014-2015 trial Chang pleaded guilty and received time served. Shen also		
. • ,		
pleaded guilty but received 49 months imprisonment.		
No specific US action against China identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
063-Chinese hack of the US Office of Personnel	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
Management, 2015 ¹⁷⁶	Relationship	COMPLICATED
,	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
China // USA	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	,	Although the data stolen was 'unclassified' it was extremely sensitive and the quantity stolen was
In April 2015 the US Office of Personnel Management		massive. In addition to the security damage done to the US (likely enduring for decades), the
(OPM) discovered that large quantities of sensitive		economic cost was also significant. While law suits against the USG by affected employees remain in
a a a a a a a l information from a case a UC Correction		
personnel information from across US Government		appeals stage following a dismissal in 2017, the cost of required additional services such as credit
(totalling 21.5 million personal files) had been stolen		appeals stage following a dismissal in 2017, the cost of required additional services such as credit checks and monitoring is estimated to be up to a USD 1 billion over the long term.
(totalling 21.5 million personal files) had been stolen from its holdings. This attack then became public	Timing	
(totalling 21.5 million personal files) had been stolen from its holdings. This attack then became public knowledge in the US in June – as was direct attribution to	Timing Response	checks and monitoring is estimated to be up to a USD 1 billion over the long term. NOT NOTABLE DENIAL
(totalling 21.5 million personal files) had been stolen from its holdings. This attack then became public knowledge in the US in June – as was direct attribution to China. It is now understood that the hacking intrusions,		checks and monitoring is estimated to be up to a USD 1 billion over the long term. NOT NOTABLE DENIAL China denied any responsibility for the attack, claiming that the allegations made by US officials
(totalling 21.5 million personal files) had been stolen from its holdings. This attack then became public knowledge in the US in June – as was direct attribution to China. It is now understood that the hacking intrusions, originating in China, first began in 2013 and were in fact		checks and monitoring is estimated to be up to a USD 1 billion over the long term. NOT NOTABLE DENIAL China denied any responsibility for the attack, claiming that the allegations made by US officials were irresponsible. In the immediate wake of the public revelations, a Chinese Foreign Ministry
(totalling 21.5 million personal files) had been stolen from its holdings. This attack then became public knowledge in the US in June – as was direct attribution to China. It is now understood that the hacking intrusions, originating in China, first began in 2013 and were in fact detected by OPM in 2014, initiating a system-wide reset		checks and monitoring is estimated to be up to a USD 1 billion over the long term. NOT NOTABLE DENIAL China denied any responsibility for the attack, claiming that the allegations made by US officials were irresponsible. In the immediate wake of the public revelations, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman stated: "China itself is also a victim of cyberattacks" and "China resolutely tackles
(totalling 21.5 million personal files) had been stolen from its holdings. This attack then became public knowledge in the US in June – as was direct attribution to China. It is now understood that the hacking intrusions, originating in China, first began in 2013 and were in fact detected by OPM in 2014, initiating a system-wide reset in July, intended to purge the intruders. As it turns out		checks and monitoring is estimated to be up to a USD 1 billion over the long term. NOT NOTABLE DENIAL China denied any responsibility for the attack, claiming that the allegations made by US officials were irresponsible. In the immediate wake of the public revelations, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman stated: "China itself is also a victim of cyberattacks" and "China resolutely tackles cyberattack activities in all forms." Also, China in fact desired more global cooperation "to build a
(totalling 21.5 million personal files) had been stolen from its holdings. This attack then became public knowledge in the US in June – as was direct attribution to China. It is now understood that the hacking intrusions, originating in China, first began in 2013 and were in fact detected by OPM in 2014, initiating a system-wide reset in July, intended to purge the intruders. As it turns out this failed and in fact the bulk of the data theft then		checks and monitoring is estimated to be up to a USD 1 billion over the long term. NOT NOTABLE DENIAL China denied any responsibility for the attack, claiming that the allegations made by US officials were irresponsible. In the immediate wake of the public revelations, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman stated: "China itself is also a victim of cyberattacks" and "China resolutely tackles cyberattack activities in all forms." Also, China in fact desired more global cooperation "to build a peaceful and safe, open and collaborative cyberspace." Furthermore he also called on the US not to
(totalling 21.5 million personal files) had been stolen from its holdings. This attack then became public knowledge in the US in June – as was direct attribution to China. It is now understood that the hacking intrusions, originating in China, first began in 2013 and were in fact detected by OPM in 2014, initiating a system-wide reset in July, intended to purge the intruders. As it turns out		checks and monitoring is estimated to be up to a USD 1 billion over the long term. NOT NOTABLE DENIAL China denied any responsibility for the attack, claiming that the allegations made by US officials were irresponsible. In the immediate wake of the public revelations, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman stated: "China itself is also a victim of cyberattacks" and "China resolutely tackles cyberattack activities in all forms." Also, China in fact desired more global cooperation "to build a

¹⁷⁵ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 148, 177; Esposito & Ferran 2012; Lowther 2012

¹⁷⁶ Quoting Sanger 2018: "China paid no price for stealing the most private details of about 21 million Americans." (p. xix); Giglio 2019; Fruhlinger 2020; Boyd 2016; Perez 2017; Liptak et al 2015; Koerner 2016; Nakashima 2015-A



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A congressional investigation of OPM was launched, and		of attacks is difficult to identify. Jumping to conclusions and making (a) hypothetical accusation is
top OPM executives were forced to resign.		not responsible and counterproductive."177
	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
In August 2017 Chinese national Yu Pingan was arrested	target	
by the FBI while visiting the US, on charges later linked to		
the hack. In September 2018 then US National Security		
Adviser John Bolton explicitly blamed China for the		
attack. In February 2020 US authorities charged four		
Chinese nationals associated with the Chinese military		
with the similar hacking of Equifax, and that attack was		
tied by US authorities to the attack on the OPM.		
That US authorities formally charged offshore foreign		
intelligence operatives arguably reflects the seriousness		
with which this attack was regarded.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
064-Wenxia ('Wency') Man 2015-2016 ¹⁷⁸	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Man was a California-based businesswoman who	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
conspired with Zhang Xinsheng (described by Man as a	Response	NEUTRAL
PLA 'technology spy') to illegally acquire and export US jet	,	The Chinese Embassy in Washington declined to comment at the time of Man's sentencing. 179 Nor
engines and other defence technology. Man's firm was		did the Chinese Foreign Ministry respond at the time of her conviction. 180
linked to Xifei Aviation Components Company, a supplier	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
to the PLA. Arrested in 2015, in 2016 Man was sentenced	target	
to 4 years in prison.		
No specific US action against China identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
065-Kun Shan ('Joey') Chun 2016-2017 ¹⁸¹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL

¹⁷⁷ Quoted in Liptak *et al* 2015

^{. 178} Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 171-172, 191-192; Macchi 2016; Yan 2016; Choi 2016

¹⁷⁹ Macchi 2016

¹⁸⁰ Yan 2016

¹⁸¹ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 227; Giglio 2019; Whitehouse 2017; Raymond & Pierson 2017; Westcott & Berlinger 2016; Lewontin 2016; Goldman 2016



An electronic technician for the FBI, between 2006 and 2011 Chun undertook consulting work for Chinese associates before being introduced to an intelligence officer in 2011 and tasked with providing counter-intelligence information on the FBI. After his arrest in 2016 Chun pleaded gullty to being an unregistered agent of a foreign power and was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment in 2017. No specific Us action against China identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE Power Dynamic Relationship Combination of Activity Neurous will be upporting her son, resident in China, (no histeriandhal writes that the Paregiet Usagets - the SBS is a bureau within the MSS.) Arrested in 2017 and, after pleading gullty to a (lesser but related) charge of defraiding the USG, in 2019 she was sentenced to 40 months in prison and a \$40,000 fine. Power Dynamic Relationship Combination of the SB that he had been pitched and Response United William (Public In 2017 and 3 after pleading guilty to a (lesser but related) charge of defrainding the USG, in 2019 she was sentenced to 40 months in prison and a \$40,000 fine. Power Dynamic Relationship Combination of the SB that he had been pitched and Response User Dynamic Not Nortable Response United William (Public In 2017 and 5 and		l: ·	
associates before being introduced to an intelligence information on the FBI. After his arrest in 2016 Chun pleaded guilty to being an unregistered agent of a foreign power and was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment in 2017. No specific US action against China identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE Power Dynamic Relotionship A State Department office manager, Claiborne was approached by the Shanghai State Security Bureau while posted to the Shanghai consulate from 2003-2005. SSS acquired leverage over Claiborne while supporting her son, resident in China (in brivisendahi writes that the "Friendly Mr Wu" and his colleague "Mr Yangi" were MSS agents — the SSS is a bureau within the MSS.) Arstesd in 2017 and, after pleading guilty to a (lesser but related) charge of defraiding the USG, in 2019 she was sentenced to 40 months in prison and a \$40,000 fine. No specific US action against China identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE Pre-disposition of torget Pre-disposition of the Power Pynamic Response A to 10 July 2019 press conference a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denied any knowledge of the Claiborne case. All 10 July 2019 press conference as Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denied any knowledge of the Claiborne case. All 10 July 2019 press conference as Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denied any knowledge of the Claiborne case. All 10 July 2019 press conference a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denied any knowledge of the Claiborne case. All 10 July 2019 press conference as Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denied any knowledge of the Claiborne case. All 10 July 2019 press conference as Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denied any knowledge of the Claiborne case. All 10 July 2019 press conference a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denied any knowledge of the Claiborne case. All 10 July 2019 press conference a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denied any knowledge of the Claiborne case. All 10 July 2019 press conference a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman denied any kn			
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CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE 067-Ron Hansen 2018-2019 ¹⁸⁴ China // USA Power Dynamic MORE POWERFUL Relationship COMPLICATED Publicity PUBLIC Nature of Activity NEUTRAL Timing NOT NOTABLE	to 40 months in prison and a \$40,000 fine.		
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Relationship COMPLICATED China // USA Publicity PUBLIC Nature of Activity NEUTRAL Former DIA officer Hansen was arrested in June 2018, Timing NOT NOTABLE			
China // USA Publicity PUBLIC Nature of Activity NEUTRAL Timing NOT NOTABLE	067-Ron Hansen 2018-2019 ¹⁸⁴	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
Former DIA officer Hansen was arrested in June 2018, Timing NOT NOTABLE Nature of Activity NEUTRAL Timing NOT NOTABLE		Relationship	COMPLICATED
Former DIA officer Hansen was arrested in June 2018, Timing NOT NOTABLE	China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
of the admitting to the CDI that he had been gitted add		Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
after admitting to the FBI that he had been pitched and Response UNKNOWN	*	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
	after admitting to the FBI that he had been pitched and	Response	UNKNOWN

¹⁸² Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 227-228; Hvistendahl 2020; Giglio 2019; Swaine 2017; Hsu 2019; Chinese Foreign Ministry 2019

¹⁸³ Chinese Foreign Ministry 2019

¹⁸⁴ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 230-231; Giglio 2019; Yilek 2019; Associated Press 2019



recruited in 2014 by the MSS and had subsequently provided information on former colleagues, analysis based on classified information, and export-controlled forensics equipment. Hansen had also persistently attempted to re-join the USIC. In September 2019 Hansen was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. No specific US action against China identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
OCO la distance et of liance of Chata Committee Department	Danier Dinamin	MODE DOWERFUL
068-Indictment of Jiangsu State Security Department 2018 ¹⁸⁵	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
2018	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
China// OSA	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In September and October 2018 the US DoJ released indictments of Jiangsu SSD for its efforts to illegally	Timing	NOTABLE Indictment and Xu Yanjun's extradition occurred during escalated trade and other tensions between China and the Trump Administration.
acquire US aircraft engine technology from 2010 to 2015. The JSSD apparently used both recruitments inside aerospace companies and hacking to pursue this	Response	DENIAL The Chinese Foreign Ministry said the charges were groundless: "The relevant accusations are pure fiction and totally fabricated." 186
technology. The US lured an implicated JSSD officer (Xu Yanjun) to Belgium in October 2018 where he was arrested and extradited to the US.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
	L	
069-Jerry Chun Shing Lee 2018 ¹⁸⁷	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Former CIA case officer Lee retired in 2007 and in 2010	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
was recruited by the MSS's Guangdong State Security	Response	UNKNOWN
Department. Lee was tasked to collect on CIA and national defence information. In 2012 Lee's belongings were searched while visiting the US and notebooks detailing CIA information found in his possession. Lee also appears to have provided information to the MSS that led	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
to a separate approach to a CIA case officer in 2013. Lee		

¹⁸⁵ Mattis & Brazil 2019 pp. 232-233; Nakashima 2018-A and 2018-B; The Guardian 2018; Delaney 2018

¹⁸⁶ Delaney 2018

¹⁸⁷ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 235; Giglio 2019; Haas 2018; Weiner & Harris 2019; Booker 2019



was arrested in January 2018. After pleading guilty he was sentenced to 19 years imprisonment in November 2019. No specific US action against China identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
070-Kevin Mallory 2017-19 ¹⁸⁸	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
0.0 Norm manory 2017 13	Relationship	COMPLICATED
China // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
A defence contactor, and former CIA and State	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Department officer, Mallory was recruited in 2017 by the Shanghai State Security Department, to whom he sold classified documents and for whom he wrote research papers. The recruitment was carried out under guise of an academic exchange and Mallory was run via covert	Response	DENIAL When Mallory was arrested the Chinese Foreign Ministry denied any Chinese involvement in the case: "We never do such things as interference or infiltration That is definitely not Chinese style." 189
communications methods. In June 2018 Mallory was convicted of lying to investigators and providing defense information to a foreign government. He was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment in 2019.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
No specific US action against China identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER. NEGLIGIBLE		

Cuba

071-The Red Wasp Network ('La Red Avispa' aka 'The	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
Cuban Five'), Cuban spy ring in south Florida, 1998-	Relationship	ADVERSE
2001 ¹⁹⁰	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
		The case became a cause celebre in international left-wing circles.
Cuba // USA	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	Timing	NOTABLE
Ten members of this ring were arrested in September		The trial occurred soon after the national controversy concerning Elian Gonzalez's repatriation to
1998 – with their trial only concluding in December 2001.		Cuba.
(Subsequently the number of arrests increased to 14.)	Response	UNREPENTANT

¹⁸⁸ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 239; AFP 20 May 2019; Giglio 2019; McKelvery 2019; Dilanian 2019; Jackman 2019

¹⁸⁹ McKelvery 2019

¹⁹⁰ PERSEREC 2008; Clark 2015; Roig-Franzia 2006; Campbell 2008; Latin American Herald Tribune 2010; Labott 2014



The ring (run for at least six years) was recruited by		The 'Cuban Five' were lauded as folk heroes by the Cuban Government for two decades. With the
Cuban intelligence to penetrate US-based Cuban exile		President of the Cuban National Assembly vowing that Cuba would send more agents to the US to
groups and report on US military activities in Florida.		combat 'terrorism'. ¹⁹²
Gerardo Hernandez, a captain in Cuban military		The Cuban Government has indeed since acknowledged that the five were Cuban intelligence agents
intelligence, was the ring-leader. He, along with Fernando		but insisted their mission was legitimate as it was directed at the Cuban exile community and not
Gonzalez and Ramon Labanino (also a Cuban intelligence		the US Government. ¹⁹³
officer), was in direct contact with Cuban intelligence.	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
Red Wasp Network case also became enmeshed with the	target	
fatal shooting down in February 1996 of four pilots from		
the anti-Castro 'Brothers to the Rescue' group based in		
the USA.		
In 2014 the release of the remaining three of the five		
(two having previously served their sentences and		
returned to Cuba) occurred in a spy exchange, and was		
hailed as a positive thawing in relations between the two		
countries. ¹⁹¹		
No constitution of the transfer of		
No specific US action against Cuba identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER. NEGLIGIBLE		
	l	
072-Mariano Faget 2000-02 ¹⁹⁴	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
Cuba // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
A senior US Immigration & Naturalization Service official,	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Faget was arrested in 2000 for supplying classified	Response	DENIAL
information to Cuban intelligence. Under FBI suspicion		Cuba forcefully rejected the accusation that their diplomat was involved in espionage and made this
since 1999, Faget was provided access to fake		a cause celebre for over a month. 195
information concerning an impending Cuban defection to the US and then detected immediately communicating		
,	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
this to a cut-out. Sentenced to 5 years imprisonment in 2001.	target	
2001.		
1	1	

¹⁹¹ Labott 2014

¹⁹² Roig-Franzia 2006

¹⁹³ Latin American Herald Tribune 2010

¹⁹⁴ PERSEREC 2008; Clark 2015

¹⁹⁵ The Cuban Interests Section in the USA claimed the "total falseness" of the accusations directed at their official (Second Secretary Jose Imperatori). Furthermore Cuba refused to remove Imperatori from his posting – to the considerable chagrin of the US. Imperatori was subsequently taken into custody by the FBI on 26 February 2000 and forcibly deported to Canada. Imperatori then went on a public hunger strike at the Cuban Embassy in Ottawa. He was subsequently expelled by the Canadian Government and returned to a hero's welcome in Havana on 2 March 2000.



A member of the Cuban diplomatic mission, who had		
been a contact for Faget, was expelled from the USA.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
073-Ana Montes 2001-4 ¹⁹⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
Cuba // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC Although her arrest was overshadowed by the events of 9/11.
DIA analyst Montes was arrested in 2001 having spied for	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
the Cuban Directorate of Intelligence since at least 1985.	, , , , , ,	Given Montes' extraordinary access and influence on Latin American issues within the US national
Montes both provided extensive classified information to		security community.
Cuba and served as an agent of influence in the	Timing	NOTABLE
development of US intelligence assessments and policy.		In reverse (that is, in dampening coverage), see above.
In 2002 she was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. In	Response	UNKNOWN
2004 Marta Velazquez, former State Department lawyer and friend of Montes, was indicted on the basis of having introduced Montes to Cuban intelligence and aided Montes in joining the DIA. Velzquez remains resident in Sweden, having fled the USA in 2002. Montes was released in 2023 and now resides in Puerto Rico. No specific US action against Cuba identified. At various times the proposal has been floated that Montes should be part of spy swaps between the US and Cuba, to no result. ¹⁹⁷ (It is understood that a Cuban intelligence officer released to the US in exchange for remaining members of the Cuban 5 – see above – was involved in the unmasking of Montes by US authorities.) ¹⁹⁸ CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
074-Carlos Alvarez ¹⁹⁹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
Cuba // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Former university professor Alvarez was arrested in 2006	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
for spying on the Cuban exile community on behalf of	Response	UNKNOWN

¹⁹⁶ PERSEREC 2008; Clark 2015; Olson 2019 pp. 137-143; Polmar & Allen 2004 pp. 429-430; Popkin 2013; Latell 2014; McCoy 2014; Patterson 2018

¹⁹⁷ Patterson 2018

¹⁹⁸ McCoy 2014

¹⁹⁹ Clark 2015; Martin & Johnston 2017; CNN 2006; Chardy 2016; Bell 2006



Cuban intelligence, in a relationship stretching back to 1977. He was ultimately charged with being an unregistered agent of a foreign power, and pleaded guilty. Alvarez's wife was also charged. He received five years in prison, she received three years. No specific US action against Cuba identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
075-Walter & Gwendolyn Myers ²⁰⁰	Power Dynamic Relationship	MORE POWERFUL ADVERSE
Former State Department official Walter Myers and his wife Gwendolyn were arrested in June 2009 for having	Publicity Nature of Activity	PUBLIC NEUTRAL
spied for Cuban intelligence for nearly 30 years. They communicated with Cuban intelligence officers via shortwave radio, and in meetings in Latin America. The Myers also met with Fidel Castro in 1995 to thank them for their service to Cuba. Walter was sentenced to life	Timing	NOTABLE The charges against the Myers came amidst a fledgling opening up to Cuba by the new Obama Administration. ²⁰¹ President Castro also called into question the timing of the FBI's 'entrapment' of the Myers, occurring a day after the OAS voted to lift the suspension of Cuba's membership. ²⁰²
imprisonment in 2010 while Gwendolyn was imprisoned for over 6 years.	Response	DENIAL President Castro claimed that the charges against the Myers were a "ridiculous tale", while also praising their actions as honourable. 203
No specific US action against Cuba identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE

Ecuador

076-Frederick Hamilton ²⁰⁴	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
Ecuador // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In 1991 Hamilton, a then DIA official based at the US	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Embassy in Lima, passed classified information (primarily	Response	UNKNOWN
on Peruvian military but including sensitive details of US	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
intelligence capabilities and sources) to Ecuadorian	target	

²⁰⁰ Clark 2015; Trahair & Miller 2012 p. 98, pp. 331-332; Gerstein 2009; Wilber & Sheridan 2009; *The Independent* 2009; Harnden 2009; Ryan 2010

²⁰¹ Wilber & Sheridan 2009

²⁰² Trahair & Miller 2012 p. 332

²⁰³ Quoted in Trahair & Miller 2012 p. 332; see also *The Independent* 2009

²⁰⁴ PERSEREC 2008; Bates 1993



officials. At his trial in 1993 he was sentenced to 37 months imprisonment.	
No specific US action against Ecuador identified.	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	

El Salvador

077-Phillip Seldon ²⁰⁵	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	FRIENDLY
El Salvador // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Seldon passed classified documents to the Salvadorean	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
military from November 1992 to July 1993, while	Response	UNKNOWN
stationed as a US army officer in El Salvador. Seldon's actions were detected during a polygraph when later seeking employment with the CIA. In 1996 he was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
No specific US action against El Salvador identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

France

078-Operation SATANIC 1985 ²⁰⁶	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	FRIENDLY
France // New Zealand (and Switzerland)	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
		Major global news story for weeks.
On 10 July 1985 a DGSE sabotage operation targeting the	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
vessel Rainbow Warrior in Auckland harbor accidentally		Involving sabotage and a resulting death.
killed a Greenpeace crew member. DGSE officers Alain	Timing	NOTABLE
Mafart and Dominique Prieur, travelling on fake Swiss		In that it occurred during broader disquiet in the Pacific against French nuclear testing (the intention
passports, were detained while trying to leave New		of the operation being – ironically – to prevent further bad publicity and interference in tests).
Zealand. DGSE officer Christine-Huguette Cabon was	Response	DENIAL
identified as a mole within Greenpeace itself (including		Initially DGSE tried to run a disinformation campaign blaming the KGB for the attack (in order to
reporting on the organisation's plans to protest French		allegedly embarrass France). Then at the end of August 1985 an official French Government report
nuclear testing).		tried to claim it had never been intended to damage the Rainbow Warrior – a claim panned by the
		French media and soon followed by Hernu and Lacoste's resignations.

²⁰⁵ PERSEREC 2008; Hall 1996

²⁰⁶ Minnick 1992 p. 144; Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 529; Trahair & Miller 2012 384-386



The head of DCCC Diamed Leavete was forward to various as	Due dienesitien of	MODE CENCITIVE
The head of DGSE, Pierre Lacoste, was forced to resign, as	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
was Minister of Defence Charles Hernu. Mafart and Prieur	target	Given New Zealand concerns about sovereignty and a nuclear-free Pacific (which had adversely
were sentenced to 10 years imprisonment – later		affected NZ's own security relationships – ie with the USA and by extension Australia).
transferred to French custody in the Pacific as part of a		
broader settlement between France and the victims of		
the bombing. Both were later transferred back to France		
in circumstances that led to a UN tribunal ruling that		
France had acted in bad faith and should pay USD 2		
million in compensation. (Both Prieur and Mafart were		
later promoted by the DGSE.) In 1995 the officer who had		
commanded the bombing team, Major General Jean-		
Claude Lesquer, was awarded the Legion of Honour.		
Despite public outrage in New Zealand and Australia,		
there was relatively muted public concern about the bombing in France.		
bombing in France.		
The operation caused a decades-long schism between		
France and New Zealand.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: CRITICAL		
079-Paris Air Show 1993 ²⁰⁷	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
079-Paris Air Snow 1993		ALLIED
France // USA	Relationship	
France // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
In 1993 the CIA warned US aircraft firms to beware of	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
French spying at the annual Paris Air Show. This was	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
based on evidence that DGSE had plotted to covertly	Response	DENIAL followed by UNREPENTANT
acquire technical information from 40 such firms who had		Anonymous French Government officials briefed the media that the whole farrago was confected by
registered for the show. Although some commentators		US intelligence. ²⁰⁹
suggested the matter was a misunderstanding by US		Silberzahn defended DGSE tactics, insisting that (post Cold War) espionage was "essentially
officials. ²⁰⁸	D # 11 5	economic, scientific, technological and financial". 210
orneras.	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
The US Government confronted the French Government	target	
about the allegations, but refused to comment on the		
1	1	
talks publicly.		

²⁰⁷ Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 186; *New York Times* 1993; Mintz 1993; Cue 1993

²⁰⁸ Mintz 1993

²⁰⁹ Mintz 1993 and Cue 1993

²¹⁰ Quoted in Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 186



In a tacit admission, DGSE head Claude Silberzahn, who		
was said to have decided to target US industry, was		
removed by the French Government.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
	1	
080-DGSE targeting of US industry 1990s ²¹¹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
- 44	Relationship	ALLIED
France // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In addition to the Paris Air Show incident, FBI officials	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
have claimed that in the 1990s French intelligence was	Response	NEUTRAL
actively targeting US industrial secrets. This included		See left.
DGSE placing agents inside IBM, Texas Instruments and	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
Corning in 1992. In addition DGSE was alleged to have	target	
bugged Air France flights used by US businessmen and French consular officials in Texas were identified		
searching the trash of US executives. The objectives of these activities were particularly in support of French bids		
for Indian fighter aircraft contracts (in competition with		
US manufacturers) and to benefit Airbus's competition		
with Boeing's 747-400 aircraft. US financial institutions		
and the Los Alamos National Laboratory were also alleged		
to have been targeted by French intelligence during this		
period.		
periou.		
US and French intelligence had come to a 'gentleman's		
agreement' in 1990 relation to commercial espionage		
(and a French commitment to cease such activities) –		
choosing to keep the issue within intelligence channels.		
US officials would later claim this was infringed by the		
French, while the French claimed that French businesses		
had been targeted by US authorities without hard		
evidence of espionage. 212 A further gentleman's		
agreement was reached after the 'tit for tat' compromise		
of CIA activity in France in 1995. ²¹³		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		

²¹¹ Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 186-187, p. 316; Cue 1993

²¹² Cuo 1993

²¹³ Risen 1995



Germany

081-Andrei Dumenkov case ²¹⁴	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
Germany // Russia	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
On 23 August 2006 Russian national Dumenkov was	Timing	NOTABLE
sentenced to 12 years imprisonment for attempting to		Occurred roughly same time as other (but British) espionage activities targeting Russia, including the
sell state secrets (apparently on missile technology and		Sergei Skripal case and 'spy rock'. Russia likely delayed its public actions against Skripal and
overseas intelligence activities) to Germany. Dumenkov		Dumenkov until after the hosting of the July G8 meeting in St Petersburg.
had been arrested in August 2005 while attempting to	Response	UNKNOWN
flee to Germany.	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
Dumenkov was subsequently cited on several occasions as a possible exchange with Russian spies held in the West. ²¹⁵	target	
No specific Russian action against Germany identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

Ghana

082-Sharon Scranage ²¹⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
Ghana // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Scranage was a CIA support officer posted to Ghana who		Given the apparent death of a CIA informant in Ghana. ²¹⁷
provided US classified information (including details of	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
CIA operations and agents) to Ghanian intelligence via her	Response	NEUTRAL
lover/handler, Michael Soussoudis, from December 1983		"Ghana's state-run radio said today that C.I.A. activities were a flagrant interference in Ghana's
until her arrest in May 1985. In 1985 she was sentenced		affairs, but the Government has appealed to the public not to use violence against Americans
to 5 years imprisonment (later reduced to 2 years).		there." ²¹⁸
		Soussoudis was greeted as a national hero on his return to Ghana in November 1985. 219

²¹⁴ Bigg 2006; Eckel 2006; Von Twickel 2012; AFP 'NATO Source' 2013

²¹⁵ Von Twickel 2012; AFP 'NATO Source' 2013

²¹⁶ Minnick 1992 pp. 201-202 Clark 2015; Olson 2019 pp. 116-121; Engelberg 1985; Hager & Ostrow 1985; Scripps-Howard News Service 1985; Studies in Intelligence 1990; For a unique Ghanaian view see Ogbamey 2003

²¹⁷ Engelberg 1985

²¹⁸ Engelberg 1985

²¹⁹ Studies in Intelligence 1990, p. 36



Soussoudis, who had been lured to the US by the FBI, was	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
sentenced to 20 years imprisonment but was swapped	target	
(apparently facilitated by Togo) for eight of the CIA's		
Ghanian agents who had been detained by Ghana.		
Subsequent resettlement of those agents in the US is		
estimated to have cost USD 13 million.		
Many within the USIC believe that the information		
provided to Ghana was subsequently passed on to the		
Soviets and their allies.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		

Greece

083-Steven Lalas 1993-94 ²²⁰	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	ALLIED
Greece // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Lalas spied for Greek intelligence from 1977 until his	Timing	NOTABLE
arrest in 1993, as a US soldier and later as a State		Greek media claimed that the arrest of Lalas was related to Greek support for Serbia in the then
Department communications officer at the US Embassy in		running Balkan Wars. ²²²
Athens. Classified information provided by Lalas included	Response	DENIAL
details of CIA activities and agents, military assessments,		At the time of Lalas' arrest the Greek Embassy in Washington responded that the charge against
and details of US intelligence operations in the Balkans.		Lalas "does concern us" but "We have no details about his actions we do not know if there is any
Pleaded guilty, cooperated with the FBI and was		connection other than that the name sounds Greek."223
sentenced to 14 years imprisonment in September 1994.		The Greek Foreign Minister cast doubts on the case, suggesting Lalas had been framed, while the
An unrepentant Lalas went to live in Greece upon his release from prison. 221		Prime Minister ordered an investigation into the case. ²²⁴
	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
Some US officials expressed concerns that Greece might	target	
have traded some of the information provided by Lalas to		
the Soviets (and later, Russians).		
No specific US action against Greece identified.		
and appeared to a second against Groups (well the continuous)		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

²²⁰ PERSEREC 2008; Polmar & Allen 2004 pp. 373-374; Bates 1993; US Department of State 2007 (via Wikileaks); Konstandaras 1993; Miller 1993

²²¹ For insights into Lalas' reception in Greece see US Department of State cable 2007 (ironically via Wikileaks)

²²² Konstandaras 1993

²²³ Bates 1993

²²⁴ Konstandaras 1993



India

084-Sarabjit Singh, alleged RAW spy in Pakistan, 1990-	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
2013 ²²⁵	Relationship	ADVERSE
	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
India // Pakistan	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
		At least in terms of what Singh was accused of doing.
In 1990 Indian national Singh was tried and convicted by	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
a Pakistani court for carrying out terrorist bombings in		
Pakistan on behalf of Indian intelligence. Singh claimed to	Response	NEUTRAL
be a poor farmer who had strayed across the border into		
Pakistan. Sentenced to death in 1991 Singh remained	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
imprisoned until 2013 when he was murdered in custody,	target	Towards its arch-rival India.
allegedly by fellow inmates (and apparently as retaliation		
for the Indian execution of a Pakistani terrorist).		
Singh's case continued to be a constant irritant in		
bilateral relations until his death, yet no specific Pakistani		
sanctions towards India as a direct result of the case have		
been identified.		
been identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
085-Kulbhushan Jadhav ²²⁶	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
India // Pakistan	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In March 2016 former Indian naval officer Jadhav was	,	
arrested in Baluchistan, Pakistan, as a spy for the Indian	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
RAW. He was subsequently sentenced to death by the		
Pakistani courts for espionage and sabotage against	Response	DENIAL
Pakistan.	·	India has claimed that Jadhav is innocent and repeatedly denounced Pakistan, claiming that he was
		kidnapped from Iran by Pakistani officials. This has included a series of demarches threatening the
Pakistan has release several tapes of what it claims are		state of bilateral relations, as well as specific protests at the death sentence hand down.
filmed confessions by Jadhav.		
	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
In 2019 the International Court of Justice ordered	target	Towards its arch-rival India, and especially given the separatist dimension associated with espionage
Pakistan to review the death sentence for Jadhav and		in Baluchistan province
criticised Islamabad for denying him consular access from		
India.		

²²⁵ BBC 2013

²²⁶ Times of India 2017-A and B; India Today 2017; NDTV 2017; Dawn 2018; BBC 2019; Al Jazeera 2019



Despite the threats exchanged by both sides there has	
been little additional effect on bilateral relations – rather	
a more general diminution in the relationship.	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR	

Indonesia

086-Former Indonesian spy chief boasts that Indonesia	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
spied on Australia, 2004 ²²⁷	Relationship	COMPLICATED
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Indonesia // Australia	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
	Timing	NOTABLE
Former BIN chief General Hendropriyono claimed in a		Seen as riposte to Snowden disclosures of Australian activity against Indonesia.
2004 interview on Australian television that during the 1999 East Timor crisis BIN had intercepted Australian Government and military communications, and –	Response	NEUTRAL Indonesian Government neither confirmed nor denied specific allegation (made by one of own former officials).
separately - had tried unsuccessfully to recruit Australians as spies.	Pre-disposition of target	NEUTRAL
No public consequences and Australian Government		
shied away from commenting on the allegations.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

Iran

087-Former US Air Force intelligence officer defects to	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
Iran in 2013 ²²⁸	Relationship	ADVERSE
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Iran // USA	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Monica Witt defected to Iran in 2013 and apparently	Response	UNKNOWN
provided Iranian intelligence (likely IRGC Quds Force) with identities of US counter-intelligence officers who were then targeted in Iranian cyber attacks. She is also said to have revealed US collection capabilities to the Iranians. In February 2019 an indictment of Witt, along with individuals identified in relation to the cyber attacks, was unsealed. Witt also produced propaganda for Iran.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE

²²⁷ Packham 2013; *The Age* 2004

²²⁸ Borger 2019; Zapotosky 2019; BBC 2019-B



No specific action taken by US against Iran.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
088-Former Israeli Minister Gonen Segev arrested for	Payer Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
spying for Iran, 2018 ²²⁹	Power Dynamic Relationship	ADVERSE
spying for frait, 2018	Publicity	PUBLIC
Iran // Israel	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In February 2019 former Israeli Energy Minister Segev was sentenced to 11 years imprisonment after pleading guilty to spying for Iran. Segev allegedly met with, and briefed, Iranian intelligence officers for six years. He had		The recruitment of a former Minister suggests a more intimate nature, despite the Minister's disgraced circumstances. At the time of Segev's arrest Israeli police were quoted anonymously as stating that it was "one of the most severe security breaches the country has known". 230 However other commentators questioned whether a person in Segev's position would actually have had access to sensitive, contemporary information.
also allegedly tried to entice other Israelis into meeting	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
with Iranian intelligence officers. Segev had previously been convicted of drug and fraud offences, and had been living in disgrace in Africa prior to his arrest. His lawyers mounted a case that he was foolishly trying to act as a double agent against Iran, in the hope of redeeming his reputation in Israel. No specific Israeli action against Iran identified.	Response	DENIAL Iranian press agency ISNA, reported on the arrest: "The Zionist regime is famous for faking files against Iran, and, after the violation of the [Iran nuclear deal] by the US government, has recently launched a new round of Iranophobia. The experts have assessed this accusation [against Segev] as part of Netanyahu's effort to create fake files against Iran." ²³¹ But following claims made about Israeli espionage against Iran, a spokesman linked both cases and stated that Netanyahu, the official said, "has come under the most intense internal and foreign pressure due to leaks about an Israeli minister spying for Iran as well as the large-scale infiltration of the Zionist regime's intelligence services by those of the Islamic Republic of Iran." ²³²
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
	target	

Israel

089-Jonathan Pollard, 1985-2015 233	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
		Obvious power disparity between US and Israel.
Israel // USA	Relationship	ALLIED
		A very close diplomatic and security relationship.
Pollard was a walk-in who spent 1984-85 spying	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
prodigiously for Israel's LAMAK (military technical		A notorious and highly public trial and subsequent public campaigns for Pollard's release.
intelligence). Arrested in 1985 after trying to claim asylum	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
at Israeli Embassy. Released on parole in 2015.		Humint operation but a walk-in junior-level official. No particular sensitivities in inherent nature.
		(Sensitivity instead around spying on 'ally'.)

²²⁹ Times of Israel 2019; BBC 2018; BBC 2019-A; Harel 2018; Ahren 2018

²³⁰ Quoted in Harel 2018

²³¹ Quoted in Ahren 2018

²³² Quoted in Winer 2018

²³³ See Olive 2006; Olson 2019 pp. 164-172; Minnick 1992 pp. 202-203; Trahair & Miller 2012 pp. 423-426



Continuing sore in US-Israel relations for over three decades (including to this day given disputes over parole	Timing	NOT NOTABLE Happened during 1985's 'Year of the Spy'. Arrest of Pollard happened to coincide with a visit to US
conditions). Israel compelled to 'assist' in US investigation		by Rabin.
of LAMAK officials. Pollard's recruitment viewed by US as	Response	DENIAL followed by APOLOGY (of sorts)
violation of 1951 intelligence cooperation agreement		For over a decade Israel insisted this was a rogue LAMAK operation. Israeli governments/Knesset
with Israel.		impolitically lobbied for Pollard's release. In 1998 PM Netanyahu acknowledged that Pollard has
		indeed been an Israeli agent and that the Israelis had subsequently paid his legal costs. In 2002
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		Netanyahu visited Pollard in prison.
		Nonetheless, Israeli authorities would subsequently cite the Pollard case as an inflection point
		beyond which Israel would not countenance espionage directed at the US. ²³⁴
	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
	target	
090-Ben Ami Kadish, retired US engineer arrested for	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
spying for Israel, 2008 ²³⁵		Obvious power disparity between US and Israel.
	Relationship	ALLIED
Israel // USA		A very close diplomatic and security relationship.
	Publicity	LIMITED
Kadish, a former US army engineer, pleaded guilty in 2008		Media coverage at time of arrest, trial and sentencing – but relatively limited and short-term.
to spying for Israel 1979-85 (including with same LAKAM	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
handlers as Pollard), including provision of military		Humint operation but a walk-in junior-level official. No particular sensitivities in inherent nature.
secrets. Due to his advanced age and expressed remorse,		(Sensitivity instead around spying on 'ally'.)
Kadish received a non-custodial sentence, and died in	Timing	NOTABLE
2012.		US Secretary of State was to visit Israel a week after arrest (and the US President the following
		month). The timing that seems much more consequential here is the delay from time of offences
At time of his arrest concerns were raised in Israel about		and the subsidiary relationship to Pollard matter.
possible impact on bilateral relations – although only	Response	NEUTRAL
tangible impact may have been on related impact on		Israel refused to comment publicly.
endeavours to get Pollard released. US Government	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
sought to downplay bilateral consequences. Likely that	target	
this case was over-shadowed by continuing anguish of Pollard matter.		
Pollaru Illatter.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
	T	1
091-Attempted Israeli assassination in Jordan – Khaled	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
Mashal 1997 ²³⁶	Relationship	NEUTRAL
Level Wheeler		Noting that King Hussein had continued to maintain a working relationship with Israel to this point
Israel // Jordan		(and both countries signed a peace treaty in 1994). Although there were significant irritations in the
		relationship at the time of the operation. ²³⁹

²³⁴ See Lefebvre 2006 (in the context of those authorities protesting Israeli innocence during the Franklin/AIPAC affair, p. 608).

²³⁵ Sofer 2008; Schechter 2008; Johnson 2008; Weiser 2009; PERSEREC 2008; Trahair & Miller 2012 pp. 233-234

²³⁶ Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 329; Miller 1997; CNN 1997; Abu Hilalah 2013; *The Mainichi* 2017

²³⁹ Abu Hilalah 2013



On 25 September 1995 a Mossad operational team	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
attempted to poison Hamas's political bureau chief	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
Khaled Mashal, while he was in Amman.		Involved a public assassination attempt.
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Team members were arrested and after demands from	Response	DENIAL then APOLOGY
Jordan's King Hussein ²³⁷ (including via President Clinton's		Initially Israel refused to officially acknowledge this was a Mossad operation. Although it was Prime
intervention) the Israeli Government agreed to provide		Minister Netanyahu who contacted King Hussein to explain 'we have a problem'. ²⁴⁰ Followed by
an antidote. In addition – a series of Hamas leaders were		implicit Israeli admission of responsibility and provision of antidote in order to secure release of
released (including Sheikh Ahmed Yassin) despite Israeli		Mossad officers.
protestations that there was no <i>quid pro quo</i> involved.	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
Dilata and and all and a state of the state	target	
Bilateral relations with Jordan were severely damaged. 238		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: CRITICAL		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER. CRITICAL		
092-Mossad fraudulent procurement of New Zealand	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
passports for intelligence purposes 2004 ²⁴¹²⁴²	Relationship	NEUTRAL
pussports for intemgence purposes 2004	Publicity	PUBLIC
Israel // New Zealand	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
,,	Nature of Activity	Given the identify fraud was carried out against a profoundly disabled person – there was a
In March 2004 Israelis Uriel Kelman and Eli Cara were		scandalised reaction in NZ.
arrested by NZ Police while trying to fraudulently procure	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
NZ passports in the name of a disabled person. Kelman	Response	NEUTRAL*
and Cara, believed to be Mossad officers, were		Israeli authorities consistently denied that Kelman and Cara were other than private individuals
imprisoned for three months and then deported to Israel.		(Kelman and Cara also denied any intelligence links). However this did not stop the Israeli Foreign
		Minister from issuing a letter of apology to the NZ Government in June 2005, apologising for the
NZ Prime Minister Helen Clark sharply criticised the Israeli		behaviour of its citizens as private individuals. Israel also committed itself to preventing recurrence
Government in public, claiming that Mossad's actions		of such behaviour. Immediately after the talks in Turkey an Israeli Government statement appeared
were breaches of international law. She subsequently		to acknowledge Mossad involvement before being retracted on the basis that the acknowledgeme
cancelled a planned visit to NZ by the Israeli President. NZ		was a typographical error. ²⁴³
also suspended certain aspects of its diplomatic	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
relationship with Israel, and imposed new visa	target	
requirements on Israeli officials.		

²³⁷ Hussein threatened to withdraw the Jordanian Ambassador (CNN 1997) and to repudiate the 1994 treaty (Abu Hilalah 2013). "I personally can't figure out what the Israeli prime minister is thinking of, and this worries me a lot." – King Hussein quoted in CNN 1997.

²³⁸ As a sidenote the operation also cruelled Israeli-Canadian relations given the use of false Canadian passports by the assassins. The Canadian Ambassador was withdrawn. (CNN 1997)

²⁴⁰ CNN 1997

²⁴¹ New Zealand Herald 2004 and 2005; Young 2005; Fickling 2004; Melman 2005; Dodd & Maley 2010; Myre 2005

²⁴² We have not included the possible 2011 reprise of this activity owing to New Zealand Government public denials of espionage being conducted. By way of background, in the aftermath of the devastating 22 February 2011 earthquake in Christchurch allegations were raised in the NZ media that an Israeli national killed in the earthquake (and the other Israeli nationals accompanying him) were engaged in intelligence activities (speculation linked this to passport procurement including suggestions of an attempt to access police data holdings). Other allegations were raised concerning the conduct of Israelis, including an 'unauthorised' search and rescue team deployed to the city. Prime Minister John Key formally confirmed that investigations had been undertaken by NZ security agencies but that there was no evidence of Israeli espionage. See Stuff 2011, Manhire 2011, Moran & Burr 2011, and McLean 2011.

²⁴³ Myre 2005



Diplomatic relations were restored in August 2005, followed by bilateral 'reconciliation' talks in Turkey in October 2005		
As of 2011 this incident was continuing to influence the Israel-NZ relationship (see below regarding Dubai and Christchurch).		
In February 2010, in the wake of the assassination of Mahmoud al-Mabhouh (see below) former Australian Foreign Minister Alexander Downer recalled publicly that the Australian Government had also complained to Israel about the activities of Cara, who was based in Sydney.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: CRITICAL		
093-Assassination of senior Hamas official Mahmoud al-	Power Dynamic	UAE, Ireland: LESS POWERFUL
Mabhouh, 2010 ²⁴⁴		Australia: AS POWERFUL
		UK, France, Germany: MORE POWERFUL
Israel // UAE (and Australia, UK, Ireland, France,	Relationship	UAE: COMPLICATED
Germany)		Ireland, France, Germany: NEUTRAL
		UK, Australia: FRIENDLY
On 19 January 2010 a senior Hamas official, Mahmoud al-	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
Mabhouh, was assassinated by Mossad while visiting		Major global news story for several weeks
Dubai. The assassins were later identified and it was	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
revealed that they had been operating using the true-		Both conduct of assassination and use of foreign passports.
name identities of a number of (apparently unwitting)	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
foreign nationals, as well as other forged passports –	Response	DENIAL followed by UNREPENTANT
including from the UK, Australia, Ireland, France and Germany.		Israel's foreign minister Avigdor Lieberman stated there was no proof of Israeli responsibility, noting
dermany.		Israel's "policy of ambiguity" on intelligence matters. ²⁴⁵
Amidst the widespread international condemnation,		Opposition Leader Tivni Lipni went further, demanding to know why there was not international
several affected nations took specific actions:		support and mocking the uproar about the use of foreign passports: "What was disproportionate
Australia expelled the Mossad liaison officer in		this time?" she asked. "Was there a disproportionate use of passports?" ²⁴⁶
Canberra. Australia also abstained from a UN vote		In 2019 Mossad chief Yossi Cohen acknowledged Mossad's role in the assassination saying that the
on Gaza upon which it would normally have	Due dien seitien : C	agency had learned from its experience and the mistakes made in Dubai. 247
on call apon when it would normally have	Pre-disposition of	UAE, Ireland, Germany: MORE SENSITIVE
	target	UK, France, Australia: LESS SENSITIVE

²⁴⁴ Sanger 2018 p. 27; Dodd & Maley 2010; BBC 2010; Bowen 2010; News Limited 2010; Fitzgerald 2010; Shabak 2018; Borger 2010; Hoffman 2010; Pearlman & Koutsoukis 2010; *The Australian* 2010; Frister 2010; Reuters 2010-B

²⁴⁵ Quoted in Borger 2010

²⁴⁶ Quoted in Hoffman 2010

²⁴⁷ See Bob 2019



supported Israel (while denying publicly a connection with the assassination). The UK expelled the Mossad Head of Station in London. Ireland agreed to expel an Israeli diplomat in retaliation. France (also angered over the apparent use of Paris as a planning location for the operation) allegedly suspended intelligence exchanges with Israel. The UAE's response was ultimately minimal, despite initial commentary about indicting Israeli officials and politicians for their roles in the assassination. In a postscript an Israeli national was arrested in Poland and extradited to Germany in relation to procurement of a German passport used in the assassination. He was subsequently released back to Israel.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
	I	
094-Assassinations of Iranian nuclear scientists, 2010-	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
13 ²⁴⁸	Relationship	ADVERSE
	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
Israel // Iran	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Between 2010 and 2013 at least five scientists associated with the Iranian nuclear program were assassinated. Speculation strongly linked the assassinations to Israeli intelligence. On two occasions support networks alleged to be aiding these assassinations were disrupted, according to the public claims of Iranian authorities, and confessions made by Iranians acting on behalf of Mossad.	Response	UNREPENTANT Although Israel officially denied responsibility for the assassinations, there were gleeful comments from Israeli officials. After an assassination in January 2012 an anonymous Israeli official was quoted: ""Yeah, one more," a senior Israeli official said with a smile. "I don't feel sad for him."" ²⁵⁴ An IDF spokesman posted on Facebook: "I have no idea who targeted the Iranian scientist but I certainly don't shed a tear." ²⁵⁵

²⁴⁸ Borger & Dehghan 2010; Vick & Klein 2012; Levs 2012; Hasan 2012; Vick 2013; Cockburn 2013; Buchanan 2015; Raviv 2015. Meikle 2012 has a timeline of assassinations (and acts of sabotage targeting Iranian nuclear program) to January 2012.

²⁴⁹ An earlier death, in 2007, has also been linked to the assassinations program – see Borger & Dehghan 2010 and Vick 2013.

²⁵⁴ Quoted in Vick & Klein 2012

²⁵⁵ Quoted in Levs 2012

²⁵⁶ Quoted in Buchanan 2015



regime" as being responsible. 250 In addition Western media outlets attributed Israeli responsibility, based on background briefing, as early as late 2010. 251 Reporting has suggested that the assassinations program ceased at least in part due to pressure from the US on Israel. 252 Attempted attacks on Israeli interests by Iranian security agencies and their proxies have been linked to a reaction to the assassinations but almost all were unsuccessful due to a degradation in the external operations	Pre-disposition of target	MORE SENSITIVE
capabilities of Iranian intelligence. ²⁵³ CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: TRANSCENDS OUR SYSTEM – could be NEGLIGIBLE or even CATASTROPHIC, and all points in between. Basis for omission from aggregate analysis.		
095-Israeli theft of Iranian nuclear archive, 2018 ²⁵⁷	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
Israel // Iran	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
In April 2018 Prime Minister Netanyahu announced		Audacious and deeply embarrassing for the Iranian regime.
publicly that Mossad had successfully stolen Iran's	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
nuclear archives from a warehouse on Teheran's outskirts, and that Israel would make the contents of the	Response	UNREPENTANT
archive available to prove Iranian malfeasance. US		Israel publicly announced that it had undertaken the operation and presented the outcomes to the
President Trump subsequently cited evidence produced from the haul in deciding to withdraw the US from the JCPOA. (Netanyahu later claimed that he had briefed Trump on the operation -carried out on the night of 31 January - shortly beforehand.)	Pre-disposition of target	international media. MORE SENSITIVE
Iran publicly claimed that the archives were a fabrication by the Israelis. (nb Iran was immediately aware of the theft but did not comment until after the Israeli announcement.)		

²⁵⁰ Quoted in Borger & Dehghan 2010

²⁵¹ See Borger & Dehghan 2010

²⁵² Raviv 2015

²⁵³ See Vick 2013.

²⁵⁷ Sanger & Bergmen 2018; Reuters 2019-A; Bob 2019; Levinson 2019



CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
096-Israeli Prime Minister publicly claims Israel runs spies in Iran, December 2018 ²⁵⁸	Power Dynamic Relationship	AS POWERFUL ADVERSE
Israel // Iran In December 2018 Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu was	Publicity Nature of Activity Timing	PUBLIC LESS EGREGIOUS NOTABLE In context of Iranian nuclear archives case.
reported as having told foreign diplomats that Israeli was actively combatting the Iranian nuclear program by covert means, including the conduct of espionage inside	Response Pre-disposition of	UNREPENTANT The claim was in fact made by the Israeli Prime Minister himself! MORE SENSITIVE
Iran. This of course followed Israeli's publicization in April 2018 of an intelligence coup in obtaining the program's archives.	target	
Iran responded by claiming Netanyahu was lying about Israeli espionage inside Iran, and was attempting to show strength in the face of the embarrassing arrest of former Israeli Minister Segev for spying for Iran (see above).		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		

Japan

Jahan		
097-Wang Qingqian 2007 ²⁵⁹	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
		In 2007
Japan // China	Relationship	COMPLICATED
	Publicity	LIMITED
In (northern) autumn 2007 China Association for	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
International Friendly Contacts (a cover organisation for	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
2PLA) senior official Wang Qingqian was sentenced to	Response	UNKNOWN
death for spying for Japan (suspended for life imprisonment). This followed his arrest at the beginning of the year. Wang was allegedly recruited by the Japanese while posted to the Tokyo Embassy in the 1990s.	Pre-disposition of target	MORE SENSITIVE
No specific action by China identified.		

²⁵⁸ Winer 2018

²⁵⁹ Foligut 2019 pp. 247-248; Chan 2007; *Japan Times* 2007



CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
098-Four Japanese arrested in China 2015 ²⁶⁰	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Japan // China	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Four Japanese arrested for spying. Japanese media	Timing	NOTABLE
sources intimate that these were likely expatriates tacitly		Came at a time of some thawing in bilateral relations. ²⁶¹
tasked by Justice Ministry's Public Security Intelligence	Response	DENIAL
Agency (PSIA) but not formally intelligence operatives.		The Japanese Government denied any knowledge of espionage by those detained: "Our country is
		not engaged in such activity." ²⁶²
Chinese media coverage was heavily critical of Japan,		
claiming that the activities could be precursors to future	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
Japanese military targeting.	target	
Chinese Government notes that it has engaged Japan		
about the matter (nfd).		
about the matter (mu).		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
	1	T
099-Japanese held by Chinese for spying 2017 ²⁶³	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Japan // China	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
In June 2017 twelve Japanese detained by the Chinese on	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
espionage charges. Four were later released when their	Response	UNKNOWN
Chinese firm confirmed they had been employed to	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
conduct a geological survey. Soon after, an additional	target	
Japanese national was arrested in Dalian – also on		
espionage charges.		
No specific action by China identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	, -	<u></u>

²⁶⁰ Samuels 2019 p. 219; BBC 2015-A; South China Morning Post 2015

²⁶¹ BBC 2015-A

²⁶² BBC 2015-A

²⁶³ Samuels 2019 p. 220



100-Takahiro Iwase ²⁶⁴	Relationship	COMPLICATED
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Japan // China	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
In July 2018 Iwase was sentenced to 12 years' hard labour	Response	NEUTRAL
for espionage, after being detained in May 2015 near a		At time of his conviction Japan denied Iwase was a spy but its response was particularly modulated
military facility in the Zhejiang province.		to avoid antagonising China. 266
The Chinese Foreign Ministry downplayed the effect on relations: "The unbiased and just handling of relevant cases will not affect the relations between our two countries." 265	Pre-disposition of target	MORE SENSITIVE
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

Jordan

Juluan		
101-Albert Sombolay 1991 ²⁶⁷	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	NEUTRAL
Jordan // USA		In specific context of Ops DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM .
	Publicity	PUBLIC
US soldier passed classified military information to Jordan	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
during Op DESERT SHIELD, as well as samples of US CBRN	Timing	NOTABLE
equipment. (He also tried unsuccessfully to pass		In context of US seeking to manage relationship per above.
information to Iraq.) Arrested by US authorities in March	Response	UNKNOWN
1991.	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
	target	
No specific US action against Jordan identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

Netherlands

102-Penetration and exposure of 'Cozy Bear' hacking	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
network 2018 ²⁶⁸	Relationship	COMPLICATED
		Especially post-shooting down of MH17 in 2014.

²⁶⁴ Samuels 2019 p. 220; Yamaguchi 2018; Zheng 2019

²⁶⁵ Quoted in Yamaguchi 2018

²⁶⁶ Yamaguchi 2018

²⁶⁷ PERSEREC 2008; Associated Press 1991

²⁶⁸ Sanger 2018 p. 190; CBS News 2018; Noack 2018; Hogeveen 2018



Netherlands // Russia	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In 2018 Dutch media reported that the Dutch AIVD had	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
successfully counter-hacked the Moscow-based 'Cozy Bear' group in 2014-15, including identification of individual hackers. This information was then shared with the NSA and FBI.	Response	NEUTRAL Dutch officials refused to comment on the particulars of the case: "[We are] very happy that we have good security services in the Netherlands that do their work well. I can't say anything about this case that has been published."271
A Russian Presidential spokesman decried the Dutch actions: "If Dutch newspapers want to add fuel to the fire of anti-Russian hysteria that exists in America, this is not the most noble occupation." ²⁶⁹	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
There was some impact on the relationship between Dutch and US intelligence as a result of the various disclosures concerning the operation. ²⁷⁰		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		

North Korea

103-Yokosuka incident 1988 ²⁷²	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
North Korea // Japan	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Five Japanese women, who had been recruited by North	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Korean intelligence when living in Europe, were sent to	Response	UNKNOWN
Japan to collect intelligence on Sea of Japan coastal conditions and on the Japanese military. Once detected the women were ordered to surrender their Japanese passports. No specific Japanese action against North Korea identified. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL

²⁶⁹ Quoted in CBS News 2018

²⁷⁰ Hogeveen 2018

²⁷¹ Quoted in CBS News 2018

²⁷² Samuels 2019 p. 133



104-Mihama incident 1990 ²⁷³	Relationship	COMPLICATED
	Publicity	LIMITED
North Korea // Japan	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
In 1990 a North Korean vessel washed ashore in Fukui	Response	DENIAL
Prefecture. On board were the corpses of two North		The North Korean Government denied any responsibility and claimed the dead men were
Koreans and a variety of intelligence equipment.		smugglers.
	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
No specific Japanese action against North Korea identified.	target	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
105-North Korea admits kidnapping Japanese citizens in	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
1970s, 2002 ²⁷⁴	Relationship	COMPLICATED
	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
During PM Koizumi's visit to Pyongyang in 2002 Kim Jong-	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
il admitted that North Korea had abducted thirteen	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Japanese youths in the 1970s (in order to use them for	Response	DENIAL followed by APOLOGY (of sorts)
intelligence purposes such as language and culture		For decades Pyongyang vehemently denied any involvement in the disappearances.
training). (This activity had been the subject of hitherto		While the 2002 admission by the North Korean Government was a first, it still sought to cast the
unconfirmed leaks from North Korea since the early		perpetrators as 'freelancers' in North Korean intelligence.
1980s.)	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
	target	
At least until 2002 Japanese authorities had consciously		
ignored evidence of the North Korean kidnappings,		
including to avoid jeopardising 'normalisation' talks with Pyongyang. Ironically the North Korean admission,		
intended to thaw relations, served only to reinvigorate		
Japanese suspicions of North Korea, and saw Japanese		
efforts to further isolate North Korea in international fora		
and in economic policy over the following 12 years		
(easing in 2014 after renewed talks on resolving		
outstanding abductee issues). 275 This included a		
significant impact on US-North Korean relations. ²⁷⁶		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: CRITICAL (albeit delayed for three decades)		

²⁷³ Samuels 2019 p. 133. See also the Japanese National Police Agency's undated paper on North Korean espionage operations in Japan.

²⁷⁴ Samuels 2019 pp. 155-159; Washington Post 2006; Kajimoto 2004; Wakatsuki & Mullen 2014. For a fuller account of the abductee issue see the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan's 2012 report.

²⁷⁵ For example see Kajimoto 2004; Wakatsuki & Mullen 2014

²⁷⁶ For example see Washington Post 2006



106-John Joungwoong Yai 2003 ²⁷⁷	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
North Korea // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Arrested in February 2003, Yai was accused of operating	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
in the US at the direction of North Korean intelligence	Response	UNKNOWN
between 1997 and 2000 (although it is unclear that he was ever able to access classified information). Yai did try to recruit agents in the US and was in direct clandestine contact overseas with North Korean intelligence officers. Convicted of being an unregistered foreign agent, he was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment in 2004. No specific US actions against North Korea identified.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
107-Sony Pictures hack 2014 ²⁷⁸	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
North Korea // USA	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
On 25 November 2014 a hacker group known as 'The		At least to US Government.
Guardians of the Peace' began leaking confidential	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
information from the Sony Pictures corporation, apparently in retaliation for a movie satirising North Korean Supreme Leader Kim Jong-Un. The leaks and associated damage to Sony's systems caused significant economic costs for the company.	Response	DENIAL At the time of the original leaks North Korea disavowed any involvement but nevertheless described the attack on Sony as potentially being carried out by "righteous deed of supporters and sympathizers". ²⁸¹ North Korea furiously denounced the US sanctions imposed in January 2015, describing them as an attempt to "groundlessly" stir up hostilities against that country. ²⁸²
On 19 December 2014 President Obama publicly attributed the cyber-attack to North Korea (a relatively rare action in itself) and vowed that the US would respond proportionately. In January 2015 the US announced some additional (to the considerable sanctions already levied) 'weak' economic sanctions against Pyongyang. ²⁷⁹ On 6 September 2018 a North Korean national, Park Jin-hyok, was formally charged by	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE

²⁷⁷ PERSEREC 2008; CNN 2003; Anderson 2003; Sterngold 2003

²⁷⁸ Sanger 2018 pp. 144, 150; Reuters 2019-B; Sanger & Benner 2018; Sanger & Perlroth 2014

²⁷⁹ But in fact "North Korea paid little price for attacking Sony or robbing central banks." (Sanger 2018 p. xix) See also Sanger 2018 p. 286.

²⁸¹ Quoted in Sanger & Perlroth 2014

²⁸² Quoted in Siddique 2015



the US Justice Department in relation to the cyber-attack. US authorities have previously noted their intention to use such indictments specifically as a deterrent to cyberattacks of this kind by state actors.		
Some commentators have implicitly linked several internet outages in Pyongyang in the aftermath of US attribution to possible US covert response. ²⁸⁰		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
108-'WannaCry' cyber attack 2017 ²⁸³	Power Dynamic Relationship	MORE POWERFUL ADVERSE
North Korea // UK (and others)	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
North Korea // OK (una others)	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
In May 2017 a worldwide ransomware attack was carried	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
out using the 'WannaCry' cryptoworm, based on an exploit originally stolen from the US National Security Agency by the 'Shadowbrokers' group. This attack infected more than 200,000 computers in over 150 countries (with particular impact in the UK where it caused significant damage within the National Health Service).	Response Pre-disposition of	DENIAL North Korea denied any responsibility for the attack. It's deputy representative to the UN called the claims ridiculous, stating "Whenever something strange happens, it is the stereotype way of the United States and the hostile forces that kick off noisy anti-DPRK campaign deliberately linking with DPRK". 286 LESS SENSITIVE
The US, UK and Australia all publicly attributed the attack to North Korea. (The US also cited support for its conclusion by Japan, New Zealand and Canada.) Homeland Security Adviser Tom Bossert intimated that the US might act covertly in retaliation: "When we must, the US will act alone to impose costs and consequences for cyber malfeasance." 284	target	
In September 2018 a North Korean national was indicted by US authorities for the Sony Pictures Hack (see above) and their group 'the Lazarus Group' aka 'Guardians of Peace' (a subordinate element of North Korea's		

²⁸⁰ See, for example, Siddique 2015.

²⁸³ CBS News 2017; Sanger 2017; Nichols 2017; Bossert 2017; Uchill 2017; Reuters 2019-B

²⁸⁴ Bossert 2017

²⁸⁶ Quoted in Nichols 2017



		п
Reconnaissance General Bureau -RGB) was also linked to		
the Wannacry attack. ²⁸⁵		
In September 2019, in response to the WannaCry attack		
(and earlier Sony Pictures attack, as well as other		
cybercrimes committed globally) the US sanctioned three		
North Korean groups – Lazarus, Bluenoroff and Andariel		
(all linked to the RGB). The sanctions ceased any US asset		
holdings by the groups and prohibited economic		
transactions with them – but it remains unclear the		
extent to which the sanctions were material in the		
circumstances.		
CONCEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER, CICAUFICANT		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
109-French civil servant arrested for spying for North	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
Korea 2018 ²⁸⁷	Relationship	NEUTRAL
	Publicity	PUBLIC
North Korea // France	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Noted supporter of North Korea, and official in the French	Response	UNKNOWN
Parliament, Benoit Quennedey was arrested in November	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
2018 on charges of treason and espionage on behalf of	target	
Pyongyang.		
No specific French actions against North Korea identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
	1	

Norway

. to tuay		
110-Norwegian former border guard jailed for spying in	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
Russia 2019 ²⁸⁸	Relationship	COMPLICATED
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Frode Berg was arrested in 2017 and charged with	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
espionage directed at Russia's submarine program. Berg	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
was accused of receiving documents from a former	Response	UNKNOWN

²⁸⁵ Sanger (2018) quotes US Homeland Security Adviser Thomas Bossert on the limited action taken by the US in response to WannaCry: "President Trump has used just about every lever you can use, short of starving the people of North Korea to death, to change their behaviour." (p. 136)

²⁸⁷ AFP 2018-B; France 24 2018

²⁸⁸ Bennetts 2019; Deutsche Welle 2019; Olsen 2019; Tass 2019



Russian policeman, Aleksey Zhitnyuk. Berg apparently admitted to being a courier for Norwegian intelligence but claimed to be unaware he was receiving classified	Pre-disposition of target	NEUTRAL
documents. Berg was sentenced to 14 years imprisonment and Zhitnyuk to 13 years. Possible link to Bochkarev case (see below)		
Ber was returned to Norway after being included in a November 2019 spy swap between Lithuania and Russia.		
No specific Russian action against Norway identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

Pakistan

111-Madhuri Gupta ²⁸⁹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
Pakistan // India	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
In April 2010 Gupta, an Indian diplomat posted to	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Islamabad, was recalled to New Delhi and arrested for	Response	DENIAL
spying on behalf of Pakistan. A prolonged trial (2012-		Pakistan denied the allegations, and suggested that India was using the charges against Gupta to
2018) ended with Gupta being sentenced to three years imprisonment.		cover for its unwillingness to enter post-Mumbai negotiations with Islamabad. ²⁹⁰
	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
	target	
No specific Indian action against Pakistan identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
	•	
112-Arrest of ISI agent 'Kalam' in India, November	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
2015 ²⁹¹	Relationship	ADVERSE
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Pakistan // India	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Mohd Kalam, alleged to be an ISI agent, was arrested in	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
	Response	UNKNOWN
Uttar Pradesh in November 2015 for spying on Indian	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
military installations since 2013. Kalam's entry into India	target	

²⁸⁹ Chakrabarti 2010; Kumar 2018; *India Today* 2018; *Business Standard* 2018

²⁹⁰ Chakrabarti 2010

²⁹¹ Gupta 2015



was allegedly facilitated by the Pakistani High Commission		
in Bangladesh.		
No acception to discovering a position Delistancial Conference		
No specific Indian action against Pakistan identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
113-Mehmood Akhtar 2016 ²⁹²	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
Pakistan // India	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In October 2016 Akhtar, a Pakistani diplomat posted to	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
New Delhi (and alleged ISI officer), was detained and then	Response	DENIAL
expelled for running a spy ring. Two Indian 'accomplices'		Pakistan denied the allegations as "false and unsubstantiated". ²⁹⁴
were also detained.	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
Pakistan retaliated by expelling an Indian diplomat from	target	
Islamabad. ²⁹³		
isiamabau.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
114-Operation DOLPHIN'S NOSE, 2020 ²⁹⁵	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
Pakistan // India	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Thirteen Indian Navy sailors were arrested in February	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
2020 (Indian Navy security's Op DOLPHIN NOSE) for	Response	UNKNOWN
alleged membership in a Pakistani spy ring.	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
No specific Indian action against Dakistan identified	target	
No specific Indian action against Pakistan identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OUR ENDER. NEGLIGIBLE		
	1	

Philippines

115-Michael H Allen 1986 ²⁹⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL

²⁹² Times of India 2016; Barry 2016

²⁹³ Barry 2016

²⁹⁴ Times of India 2016

²⁹⁵ Srinivas 2020

²⁹⁶ Minnick 1992, p. 6; Polmar & Allen 2004 pp. 19-20; Associated Press 1986; Evje 1987



	Relationship	FRIENDLY
Philippines // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
Timppines// os/t	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Former USN sailor and civilian employee at USN aviation	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
station in Philippines. Arrested December 1986 for selling	Response	UNKNOWN
classified intelligence documents (principally information	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
on insurgent forces prepared by US Naval Intelligence	target	LEGS SENSITIVE
Service) to Philippines military. Sentenced to 8 years	turget	
imprisonment.		
No specific US action against Philippines identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
	1	
116-Joseph Garfield Brown 1992 ²⁹⁷	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	FRIENDLY
Philippines // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Former US airman arrested in December 1992 for spying	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
for the Philippines (having obtained classified information	Response	UNKNOWN
from CIA Manila Station officer Virginia Baynes during	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
1991-92). The information primarily related to insurgent activities in Philippines.	target	
activities in Philippines.		
No specific US action against Philippines identified.		
No specific os action against Philippines identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OTTENDER. NEGLIGIBLE		
	l .	<u>l</u>
117-Leandro Aragoncillo 2005 ²⁹⁸	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	FRIENDLY
Philippines // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
		Wider coverage in Philippines (given political dimensions there) than in US.
Aragoncillo spied for the Philippines, first while working	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
at the White House and later as a FBI analyst. Following		Given links to White House and related embarrassment.
an encounter with then President Estrada at the White	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
House in 2000, Aragoncillo, a naturalized US citizen of	Response	NEUTRAL
Filipino origin, was approached by an associate of Estrada		Former President Estrada acknowledged publicly that Aragoncillo had passed him documents at a
seeking US intelligence material that could assist the		personal meeting. Estrada also said that he was not aware of any illegal activity by Aragoncillo. ²⁹⁹
Estrada Administration. Aragoncillo's contact in the US		

²⁹⁷ PERSEREC 2008; O'Harrow 1992

²⁹⁸ PERSEREC 2008; Clark 2015; Ross & Esposito 2005; Meyer & Paddock 2005; Honan 2007

²⁹⁹ Meyer & Paddock 2005



was Michael Aquino, a former senior Philippines National	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
Police officer resident in New York. Aragoncillo provided	target	
classified information that would aid opposition		
politicians in Manila (following Estrada's removal from		
office and replacement by his Vice President, Gloria		
Arroyo). Aragoncillo was sentenced to 10 years		
imprisonment in 2007, later reduced to 36-46 months		
(while Aquino was sentenced to over 6 years).		
No specific US action against Philippines identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

Russia (not directed at USA)

Trassia (not un cetea at OSA)	T	
118-Yokota Airbase spy ring 1987 ³⁰⁰	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Soviet Union // Japan (and USA)	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Soviet diplomat Yuri Efimov was arrested in 1987, along	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
with four Japanese sources who confessed to spying for	Response	UNKNOWN
the Soviets in a ring operating since 1979. These sources were later sentenced to terms of between 1.5 and 2.5 years imprisonment. The principal source worked as a librarian at the US Yokota Airbase. (Members of the ring are also said to have sold secrets to China.) Efimov was expelled from Japan. CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
119-Pokrovsky incident 1987 ³⁰¹	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
113-FORIOVSKY IIICIUCIIL 1307	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Soviet Union // Japan		
συνίει σπίστι // σαραπ	Publicity	LIMITED
Soviet diplomat Y G Pokrovsky received information on	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Japanese aerospace technology after cultivating a	Response	NEUTRAL
Japanese business executive.		The Soviets retaliated by expelling two Japanese business executives.
	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
	target	

³⁰⁰ Minnick 1992 p. 61; Samuels 2019 p. 132

³⁰¹ Samuels 2019 p. 132



		-
Pokrovsky and colleagues refused police interviews and		
departed Japan under diplomatic immunity but with the		
insistence of Japanese authorities.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
		_
120-Preobrazhensky incident 1987 ³⁰²	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Soviet Union // Japan	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
TASS correspondent (and suspected KGB officer) who	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
cultivated Chinese student resident in Japan for	Response	UNKNOWN
information on China. He was arrested by Japanese	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
authorities in 1985 and deported to Moscow.	target	
Ironically Preobrazhensky would later flee post-Soviet		
Russia and seek political asylum in the US in 2006.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
424 A	D	LECC DOMEDELIA
121-Arrest of Shabtai Kalmanovitch, 1987 ³⁰³	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
Serie //terret	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // Israel	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In November 2009 businessman Kalmanovitch was	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
gunned down in Moscow. After emigrating to Israel from	Response	NEUTRAL
the Soviet Union in 1971 he became a prominent Russian-		The Russian Government actively lobbied for Kalmanovitch's early release from imprisonment in
Israeli business figure. Kalmanovitch was then arrested in		Israel.
1987 and in the following year was convicted of	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
espionage on behalf of the KGB. He was imprisoned for	target	
nine years and served five (after lobbying by the Russian		
Government) before leaving Israel for Africa and then		
returning to reside in Russia.		
No anadific laurali action accinet Coniet Unio 114 1150 d		
No specific Israeli action against Soviet Union identified.		
In fact in 1993 Israel pardoned Kalmanovitch in an		
apparent attempt to improve relations with Moscow (and		
secure release of Russian Jews). ³⁰⁴		

³⁰² Samuels 2019 p. 132

³⁰³ BBC 2009; Harding 2009; Meisels 1988; Struck 1992; Associated Press 1993; Shpiro 2015

³⁰⁴ Associated Press 1993



CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
122-Arrest of Shimon Levinson, 1991 ³⁰⁵	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
,,	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // Israel	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
A senior Israeli intelligence official, Levinson was	Nuture of Activity	Levinson was a former senior official in Mossad and Shin Bet, with access to highly classified
convicted in 1991 for spying on behalf of the KGB from		information, he was also chief of security in the Prime Minister's office (and embarrassingly had
1983. Sentenced to 12 years imprisonment he was		been recommended for the position by luminaries including former PM Shimon Peres).
released after seven, before leaving Israel to live in	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Thailand.	Response	UNKNOWN
	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
No specific Israeli action against Soviet Union/Russia	target	LESS SENSITIVE
identified. In 2009 the Shin Bet took the unusual step of	turget	
publishing an account of the Levinson case.		
CONCEQUENCE FOR OFFINER AND UNDER		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
123-Litvinenko poisoning 2006 ³⁰⁶	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // UK	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
In November 2006 Alexander Litvinenko, former FSB	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
officer who had fled to UK in 2000, was poisoned with	Response	DENIAL
polonium 210 while meeting Russian associates in		Sources associated with the Russian Government have endeavoured to claim that British authorities
London. Litvinenko died on 22 November 2006. A UK		were actually responsible for Litvinenko's poisoning. The spokesman for the Russian Foreign
inquiry headed by Sir Robert Owen (2014-16) concluded		Ministry remarking in July 2007: "Moreover, in London they should clearly realise that such
that the Russian associates were responsible, and were		provocative actions masterminded by the British authorities will not be left without an answer and
nrabably acting an babalf of the Dussian state The		cannot but entail the most serious consequences for Russian-British relations". 308
probably acting on behalf of the Russian state. The		cambe but critain the most serious consequences for massian stream relations .
principal suspect is former Russian intelligence officer		Camber Sate Critical trice most sortious consequences for reasonal Edition (Camber Sate Critical Consequences)
principal suspect is former Russian intelligence officer Andrey Lugovoy (aka Andrei Lugovoi) whom Russia has	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
principal suspect is former Russian intelligence officer	Pre-disposition of target	·
principal suspect is former Russian intelligence officer Andrey Lugovoy (aka Andrei Lugovoi) whom Russia has refused to extradite to the UK.		·
principal suspect is former Russian intelligence officer Andrey Lugovoy (aka Andrei Lugovoi) whom Russia has refused to extradite to the UK. In July 2007 the UK expelled four Russian diplomats		·
principal suspect is former Russian intelligence officer Andrey Lugovoy (aka Andrei Lugovoi) whom Russia has refused to extradite to the UK. In July 2007 the UK expelled four Russian diplomats (believed to be intelligence officers) as a sanction for		·
principal suspect is former Russian intelligence officer Andrey Lugovoy (aka Andrei Lugovoi) whom Russia has refused to extradite to the UK. In July 2007 the UK expelled four Russian diplomats		·

 $^{^{305}}$ Melman 2009; Shpiro 2015. For the Shinbet account see Israeli Security Agency (Shin Bet) (undated).

³⁰⁶ Trahair & Miller 2012 pp. 292-293; BBC 2007 [A, B & C]; Grierson 2015; Edwards 2007

³⁰⁸ Quoted in BBC 2007-B



	1	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
with regrets. ³⁰⁷ The UK also suspended certain visa		
processes for Russian officials (a measure also mirrored		
by Moscow).		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
	T	I
124-Russian cyber attack on Estonia, 2007 ³⁰⁹	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
Russia // Estonia	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
Beginning on 27 April 2007 Estonia was beset for three	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
weeks by a large-scale cyber attack, principally through	Response	DENIAL
denial of service attacks on government and commercial		In May 2017 a Russian spokesman said the allegations were "completely untrue". 310
websites.		Russia's Ambassador in Brussels denied any Russian involvement: "If you are implying [the attacks]
		came from Russia or the Russian government, it's a serious allegation that has to be substantiated.
The Estonian Government immediately attributed the		Cyber-space is everywhere". He added: "I don't support such behaviour, but one has to look at
attack to Russia, noting that it appeared to be instigated		where they [the attacks] came from and why."311
following a bilateral dispute concerning a Soviet-era		Russian authorities refused to cooperate with Estonian investigations into the origins of the attack.
statue and some Soviet war graves in Tallinn. (In January		In March 2009 a Russian Duma member proudly stated that one of his staff had orchestrated the
2018 a 20 year-old ethnic Russian Estonian was convicted		attacks. That same month the leader of a pro-Kremlin youth group claimed responsibility.
of participating in the attacks.)	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
NATO responded to the attacks by establishing the	target	
Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre in Tallinn. In addition		
the attacks inspired the Tallinn Manual on the		
International Law Applicable to Cyber Warfare.		
international Law Applicable to cyber warrare.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OTHER PERMITTER AND THE PERMITTE		
	T	
125-Estonian security chief convicted of being Russian	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
spy 2008 ³¹²	Relationship	ADVERSE
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Russia // Estonia	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
		Given Simm's position within Estonia (and access to NATO secrets).
In December 2008 Herman Simm, head of the Estonian	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
National Security Agency was accused of passing	Response	NEUTRAL

³⁰⁷ Note comments by then Foreign Secretary David Milliband in BBC 2007-B.

³⁰⁹ Traynor 2007; *The Economist* 2010; BBC 2008-A; Radio Free Europe 2009; Bright 2007

³¹⁰ Quoted in BBC 2008

³¹¹ Quoted in Traynor 2007

³¹² Brunnstrom 2009; Schmid & Ulrich 2010; *Baltic Times* 2019



classified information to the SVR. He pleaded guilty and		Russian authorities declined to comment when Simm was arrested – and when the two Russian
was sentenced to 12 ½ years imprisonment, being		diplomats at NATO were expelled.
released on probation in December 2019.	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
NATO availad to a Dussian dislamata (including the con-	target	
NATO expelled two Russian diplomats (including the son		
of the Russian Ambassador to the EU) in what was seen		
by observers as a sanction for the recruitment of Simm. ³¹³		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
126-Canadian naval officer Jeffrey Delisle arrested for	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
spying for Russia, 2012 ³¹⁴	Relationship	COMPLICATED
	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
Russia // Canada	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
		Delisle had access to a wide variety of classified information, up to and including Privy Council
Delisle was a walk-in recruited by the GRU and run as a		documents. Post-mortem damage assessments were reported in Canadian media as being
spy within the Royal Canadian Navy (including access to		"apocalyptic". Of particularly significant concern to the Canadians was the betrayal of allied
FVEY intelligence systems) from 2007 until his arrest in		(including US) secrets by Delisle. ³¹⁵
2012. He was subsequently sentenced to over 18 years	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
imprisonment before being paroled in 2019.	Response	UNKNOWN
	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
No specific action by Canada against Russia identified.	target	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
127-Revelation of historical KGB cases inside Israel 316	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // Israel	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
In October 2016 Israeli media published details of	, ,	Given the historical nature of the allegations. 317
historical KGB espionage inside Israel, revealed as part of	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
the Mitrokhin Archive. This included the identification of	Response	UNKNOWN
prominent Israelis as KGB assets, including a deceased	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
Knesset member, as well as an unnamed former IDF	target	
General apparently identified in 1993 on the basis of the	300	
Mitrokhin Archive (as reported to the Israelis by British		

³¹³ Brunnstrom 2009

³¹⁴ Freeze & Taber 2012; Thomson 2018; Colley 2019. For a detailed chronology of the Delisle case up to sentencing, see CBC 2012

³¹⁵ See Freeze & Taber 2012 for extracted accounts from the damage assessments prepared by several Canadian agencies.

³¹⁶ Times of Israel 2016

³¹⁷ Arguably it simply added to an existing body of evidence concerning KGB historical activities in Israel. See especially Shpiro 2015.



intelligence) but not prosecuted because of his health		
(and potential embarrassment to Israel).		
No specific action by Israel against Russia identified.		
No specific action by israel against Russia identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
•		
	•	
128-Skripal poisoning March 2018 ³¹⁸	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // UK	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
		Headline global news story.
On 4 March 2018 former Russian intelligence officer	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
Sergei Skripal and his daughter were found poisoned in		Given this was an assassination attempt carried out in public at considerable risk to bystanders (one
Salisbury. After conviction of espionage offences in 2006		of whom died).
Skripal had gone to live in the UK in 2010 (following a US-	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Russia spy exchange) and this was an apparent revenge	Response	DENIAL
action by Russian intelligence. Nineteen other British		Russia did not admit to poisoning the Skripals – stating that the allegations made by the UK
persons suffered exposure to the toxin used by the		Government were ultimatums and "we do not speak the language of ultimatums" but Russian TV
wannabe assassins (the Skripals eventually recovered		and other official sources welcomed their fate as traitors.
after prolonged comas but a separate resident of		The Russian Embassy in London also tweeted: "The temperature of Russia-UK relations drops to
Salisbury died).		minus 23, but we are not afraid of cold weather." 321
		At the United Nations the Russian Ambassador suggested the incident was a 'false flag' operation,
In a multi-national effort led by Britain 342 Russian		potentially carried out by the UK Government itself.
diplomats (and intelligence officers) were expelled from		Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov went further, stating publicly that: "Experts tell us that it may
Europe, NATO, North America and Australia as specific		well be beneficial to the British special services, who are known for their ability to act with license to
punishment for the incident in Salisbury. (Russia		kill," and that the Salisbury incident "could be beneficial to the British government, which has found
retaliated by themselves expelling 189 foreign diplomats.)		itself in a difficult situation, unable to fulfil promises they made about Brexit." 322
The UK also initiated a number of unilateral sanctions and		Similar counter-narratives were also widely published in Russian media.
boycotts targeting Russia:	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
"Increasing checks on private flights, customs and finishs."	target	
freight		
Freezing Russian state assets where there is		
evidence they may be used to threaten the life or		
property of UK nationals or residents		
Ministers and the Royal Family boycotting the FIFA Model Comin Royalis Intention and Total Coming Royalis Intention		
World Cup in Russia later this year		
Suspending all planned high-level bilateral contacts		
between the UK and Russia		

³¹⁸ Hodge *et al* 2018; BBC 2018-A; Stewart, Walker & Borger 2018; Dearden 2018; Chugtai & Petkova 2018

³²⁰ Quoted in BBC 2018-A

³²¹ Quoted in Stewart, Walker & Borger 2018

³²² Quoted in Dearden 2018



	1	
Plans to consider new laws to increase defences		
against 'hostile state activity'".319		
The US Government forced the closure of the Russian		
Consulate in Seattle.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: CRITICAL		
420 Proving healthy of OPCIN 2010 ³²³	Danier Directoria	LECC DOWEREN
129-Russian hacking of OPCW 2018 ³²³	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
Pussia // Natharlands (and OPCIM)	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // Netherlands (and OPCW)	Publicity	PUBLIC
In October 2018 Dutch intelligence publicly revealed	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Russian attempts to hack into the computer networks of	Timing	NOTABLE
the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons		In so far as Russia linked the Dutch revelations to the impending OPCW executive meeting to
(OPCW).	_	consider findings on the Skripal poisoning (see above).
(or cw).	Response	DENIAL DESIGNATION OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROP
The Dutch also revealed that in April they had detained		Russia angrily denied any responsibility, claiming that the Dutch (in coordination with the US and
and then expelled four suspected GRU officers travelling		UK) were engaged in a misinformation campaign. The Russians also claimed the four suspected GRU
under diplomatic cover in the Netherlands and in	Due disposition of	officers were in The Hague to test cyber-security arrangements at the Russian Embassy. 324 NEUTRAL
possession of hacking equipment in the vicinity of the	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
OPCW headquarters.	target	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
130-Retired senior Austrian military officer arrested for	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
spying for Russians, 2018 ³²⁵	Relationship	NEUTRAL
	Publicity	PUBLIC
Russia // Austria	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	Timing	NOTABLE
Unidentified Austrian Colonel was run as source by GRU		Awkward period for bilateral relations given Austria's more pro-Russia position in dealing with
from late 1990s (or alternatively 1988 according to RT),		contemporary issues facing EU. (Austria refused to join in post-Skripal international sanctions, for
supplying intelligence (but not "high level classified data"), including on NATO. Arrested following tip-off from		example.) Austrian Foreign Minister (herself criticised widely for pro-Russian sympathies) was due to
another (unidentified) EU country's intelligence service.		visit Moscow imminently – see left.
another (unidentified) to country's intelligence service.	Response	DENIAL
		Russia angrily denied any responsibility, accusing Austria of treating it unfairly and launching "unsubstantiated allegations". In fact Russia called in the Austrian Ambassador to criticise Austria's

³¹⁹ BBC 2018 [B]

³²³ Wintour & Roth 2018; Crerar, Henley & Wintour 2018; Sanders-Zakre 2018

³²⁴ Wintour & Roth 2018

³²⁵ New Europe 2018; RT 2018



Some public criticism of Russia from otherwise Moscow-		behaviour! Russian proxies in Duma and academia alleged that affair was contrived or inflamed by
sympathetic government in Vienna. Austrian Foreign		Americans and other EU states.
Minister cancelled planned visit to Moscow. Russians (via	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
RT) implied that the scandal would undermine Austria's	target	
role as bridge between Russia and the West. Actual	3	
Austrian response was muted. ³²⁶		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
227		
131-Mikhail Bochkarev's detention and release, 2018 ³²⁷	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // Norway	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In September 2018 Bochkarev, an employee of the	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Russian parliament, was detained while leaving Oslo after	Response	DENIAL
a conference at the Norwegian Parliament. Norwegian		Russia denied Bochkarev was engaged in intelligence activity and publicly claimed that his detention
intelligence noted that Bochkarev was suspected of		was an attempt by Oslo to blackmail Russia into releasing Frode Berger (see above).
planting bugs while in the Parliament building.	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
Parkland and the college of the coll	target	
Bochkarev was released in October after a court found		
there was insufficient evidence to hold him. Possible link		
to subsequent Berger case (see above).		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
132-Senior Belgian official arrested for spying for Russia	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
2019 ³²⁸	Relationship	NEUTRAL
	Publicity	LIMITED
Russia // Belgium	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
In February 2019 the existence of an investigation into an	Response	UNKNOWN
unnamed senior officer of the General Intelligence &	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
Security Service (GISS) was confirmed by the Belgian	target	
Government. The GISS officer was accused of passing		
classified information to a Serbian woman who was a		
Russian agent. (Reported at the same time was the		

³²⁶ Quoting Chancellor Kurz in MEMRI 2018: "The issue of relations with Russia is regularly discussed throughout Europe, so Austria will not take any individual steps in this regard [expulsion of diplomats]. [...] We are a country which maintains good ties with Russia; we place our stakes on dialogue, and things will remain the same in the future... But if we suspect that the case is about espionage, we will always criticize that and protect ourselves from it, while working to independently beef up security to ensure that this will never happen again."

 ³²⁷ Bennetts 2019
 328 Rankin 2019; Rettman 2019; Moscow Times 2019



suspension of GISS's counter-intelligence chief, Clement Vandenborre.)	
No specific Belgian action against Russia identified.	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	

Russia (directed at USA specifically)			
133-Aldrich Ames ³²⁹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL	
	Relationship	COMPLICATED	
Russia // USA		As at 1994.	
	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC	
Infamous CIA mole (and 'walk in') Ames spied for the	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS	
Soviets (KGB) and then Russia (SVR) from 1985 until his		Given the consequences to the CIA and US intelligence more broadly (including deaths of Russian	
arrest in 1994. Currently serving life sentence.		agents).	
	Timing	NOT NOTABLE	
The US expelled senior Russian intelligence officer	Response	DENIAL	
Alexander Lysenko, linking him directly to the Ames case.		The Russians reacted to the Ames arrest and Lysenko's expulsion by claiming their innocence and	
In doing so they nonetheless sought to avoid harming the		expelling a US diplomat in response. 331	
overall relationship with the Yeltsin government. ³³⁰	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE	
The Assessment of the Manager A	target		
The Ames compromise played a part in Jim Woolsey's			
departure as CIA Director.			
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR			
CONSEQUENCE FOR OTTENBER. MINOR			
	<u> </u>		
134-Harold Nicholson ³³²	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL	
	Relationship	COMPLICATED	
Russia // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC	
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL	
A senior CIA officer, Nicholson began spying for Russian	Timing	NOT NOTABLE	
intelligence (SVR) in June 1994 while posted to Malaysia.	Response	UNKNOWN	
He provided classified information to the Russians for the	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE	
following two years (most notably biographical	target		
information on fellow CIA officers). In 1997 Nicholson			

³²⁹ PERSEREC 2008; Burns 2016; Associated Press 1996

³³⁰ Burns 2016

³³¹ Burns 2016; Associated Press 1996

³³² PERSEREC 2008; Olson 2019 pp. 149-157; Polmar & Allen 2004 pp. 453-454; Trahair & Miller 2012 pp. 335-336



pleaded guilty to espionage and was sentenced to over 23	I	
years imprisonment as part of a plea bargain.		
years imprisorment as part or a plea bargain.		
The Nicholson case, so soon after the Ames case, helped		
propel CIA Director John Deutch from office.		
proper CIA Director John Dedtch from office.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
135-Edwin 'Earl' Pitts 1996 ³³³	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
A senior FBI officer, Pitts was arrested in December 1996	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
for spying for the Soviets (KGB) and then Russia (SVR)	Response	UNKNOWN
from 1987 until 1992. Pitts was a walk-in to the then Soviet mission at the UN and was later detected due to a	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
FBI counter-espionage penetration and false-flag	target	
approach. Sentenced to 27 years imprisonment.		
approach. Sentenced to 27 years imprisonment.		
No specific US action against Russia identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
136-Daniel King 1999 ³³⁴	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
Destruction (August)	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
US Navy Petty Officer King was arrested in 1999 for	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
OS Navy Petty Officer King was affected in 1999 for	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
naccing classified submaring information to Pussia while		
passing classified submarine information to Russia while	Response	UNKNOWN
serving at the NSA. Charges were later dropped, in part	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
serving at the NSA. Charges were later dropped, in part because of King's mental state. And in fact King's defence	Pre-disposition of	

³³³ PERSEREC 2008; Olson 2019 pp. 127-132; Trahair & Miller 2012 pp. 422-423. Note: PERSEREC and Trahair & Miller state that the FBI source who revealed Pitts was his own SVR handler (Aleksandr Karpov). However Olson states that the FBI source was the Soviet diplomat at the UN to whom Pitts had first addressed his 'walk-in' letter in 1987 and it was this diplomat who the FBI presented as a 'false flag' to Pitts in August 1995.

³³⁴ Clark 2015



137-Robert Hanssen 2001 ³³⁵	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // USA	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
Notorious FBI mole (and 'walk-in') Hanssen spied for the	, ,	Given damage done to US intelligence community.
Soviets and later Russia for over 15 years. His espionage	Timing	NOTABLE
caused extraordinary damage to US counter-intelligence		Bilateral relations were problematic at the time because of perceived delays in new US President
interests. Sentenced to life imprisonment in 2001.		Bush meeting with President Putin and US agreement to meeting with an envoy from the rebel
		Chechen government.
The US expelled 51 Russian diplomats in response to the	Response	DENIAL
Hanssen case (six of whom were specifically tied to the		Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov claimed that there were no grounds for the US action in
Hanssen case and immediately declared persona non		expelling Russian diplomats.
grata). This was the largest expulsion of Russian		Russia subsequently retaliated against the expulsion of their diplomats by expelling 50 American
diplomats by the US since 1986.		officials from Russia.
CONCEOUENCE FOR OFFENDER, CICAUTICANIT	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT	target	
138-GHOST STORIES 2010 ³³⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
136-GHO31 310KIE3 2010	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
114331477 0371	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
On 27 June 2010 the FBI arrested 10 suspected SVR non-	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
official cover (aka NOC) operatives across the US. An	Response	UNREPENTANT
eleventh eluded capture and managed to leave the US.	пезропзе	On their return in October 2010 the SVR operatives were publicly feted by the Russian Government.
This was the conclusion of a seven-year long	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
investigation.	target	EESS SENSITIVE
	target	
(See also connections to Zaporozhsy, Vasilenko, Poteyev		
matters.)		
All 10 NOCs would subsequently be exchanged for US		
spies held by the Russians.		
CONCEOUENCE FOR OFFENDER MINOR		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
139-'Hack and release' of private conversation by State	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
Department official 2014 ³³⁷	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Department official 2017	Publicity	PUBLIC
Russia // USA	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
1140514 // 05/1	wature of Activity	NEOTRAL

³³⁵ PERSEREC 2008; The Guardian 2001

³³⁶ Trahair & Miller 2012 pp. 459-461

³³⁷ Sanger 2018 pp. 177-182; Glasser 2018; Chiacu & Mohammed 2014; Pilkington & Harding 2014; Balmforth & Zinets 2014



Amidst the Ukraine crisis of 2014 the Russians intercepted and then released publicly (an edited version of) a private conversation between Assistant Secretary Victoria Nuland and US Ambassador to Kiev, including derogatory comments about the European Union.	Timing Response	The matter provided embarrassing for the Obama Administration, especially in its relations with EU states. NOTABLE Occurred during Ukraine crisis and in the aftermath of damaged US-EU relations due to Snowden disclosures. UNREPENTANT
Although US Government statements blamed Russia for the release of the conversation there were no specific actions taken against Russia. ³³⁸	Des disserting of	Russian Deputy Prime Minister mockingly tweeted: "Sort of controversial judgment from assistant secretary of state Victoria Nuland speaking about the EU."339
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
140-Russian espionage in New York City 2015 ³⁴⁰	Power Dynamic Relationship	MORE POWERFUL COMPLICATED
Russia // USA	Publicity Nature of Activity	PUBLIC NEUTRAL
In January 2015 Evgeny 'Zhenya' Buryakov, a Russian non-official cover officer (aka NOC), was arrested. This	Timing Response	NOT NOTABLE UNKNOWN
followed sloppy tradecraft (and apparent FBI bugging of SVR premises in NYC) on the part of his contacts Igor Sporyshev (Russian Trade Representative) and Victor Podobnyy (Russian mission to the UN).	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
Buryakov pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 30 months imprisonment. He was deported to Russia in April 2017.		
No specific US action against Russia identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
141-Interference in US Presidential election 2016 ³⁴¹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Russia // USA	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
The US Government has accused Russia of attempted interference in the 2016 US Presidential election,	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS At heart of US politics. 345

³³⁸ Nuland herself notes her lack of success in lobbying the Obama Administration to react more forcefully to this incident and subsequent Russian activities (up to the 2016 election) (see Glasser 2018).

³³⁹ Pilkington & Harding 2014

³⁴⁰ Clark 2015; Reuters 2017; Kates 2017; Berman 2017

³⁴¹ Sanger 2018 pp. 233-235; Smith 2018; Reuters 2016; Osborn & Tsvetkova 2017; Cowan & Devitt 2016; Detrow 2016; Greenberg 2016; Higgins 2017

³⁴⁵ Detrow 2016 quotes President Obama: "There's a difference between [conduct of normal espionage] and the kind of malicious cyberattacks that steal trade secrets or engage in industrial espionage, something that we've seen the Chinese do. And there is a difference between that and activating intelligence in a way that's designed to influence elections."



including through the 'hack and release' of information	Timing	NOTABLE
adverse to the Democratic Party and Hillary Clinton.		Embroiled in crisis of bilateral relations and internal crisis within US politics.
US response was complicated by the transition in	Response	DENIAL
Presidential administrations after the 2016 election.		At the time of the original DNC hack, June 2016, a Kremlin spokesman stated: "I completely rule out
In December 2016, prior to transition, 35 Russian		a possibility that the (Russian) government or the government bodies have been involved in this". 346
diplomats (believed to have intelligence roles) were		In December 2016 a Kremlin spokesman demanded that the US "finally produce some evidence" or
expelled from the US. Russian diplomatic facilities in San		otherwise cease accusing Russia. ³⁴⁷
Francisco and, New York and Maryland were also closed		On 1 June 2017 President Putin, while continuing to deny Russian Government involvement,
down. ³⁴² In addition sanctions were enacted against		compared hackers to free-spirited artists and intimated that "patriotically minded" Russian citizens
specific Russian individuals and organisations.343		might have been responsible. ³⁴⁸
President Obama also implied that the US would take		In July 2017 Russia mused about retaliatory expulsions of US officials from Moscow and the closure
forms of covert retaliation. ³⁴⁴		of US diplomatic facilities in the city. ³⁴⁹
		In March 2018 Putin told NBC news that "he couldn't care less" about the allegations because those
President Trump was reluctant to publicly attribute the		responsible were not connected to the Kremlin. He also suggested that US persons might have been
apparent interference to Russia, nonetheless he did not		responsible for orchestrating the interference using non-Russian nationals with Russian residency. 350
withdraw the measures put in place by his predecessor.	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
	target	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: CRITICAL		

Saudi Arabia

142-Michael Schwartz 1995 ³⁵¹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	FRIENDLY
Saudi Arabia // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
US naval officer charged with illegally providing classified	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
military information to the Saudi Navy between 1992 and	Response	UNKNOWN
1994. Schwartz entered plea agreement that avoided court martial or imprisonment but saw him discharged from USN.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
No specific US action against Saudi Arabia identified.		

³⁴² Yet Sanger quotes former NSA Director Mike Rogers commenting that "[Putin] has clearly come to the conclusion that there's little price to pay here and that therefore 'I can continue this activity." (2018 p. xix) And quoting an Obama Administration official: "the perfect nineteenth century response to a twenty-first century problem". (2018 p. 235)

³⁴³ For details see US Treasury Department 2016.

³⁴⁴ Detrow 2016

³⁴⁶ Quoted in Reuters 2016

³⁴⁷ Quoted in Detrow 2016

³⁴⁸ Quoted in Higgins 2017

³⁴⁹ Osborn & Tsvetkova 2017

³⁵⁰ Quoted in Smith 2018

³⁵¹ PERSEREC 2008; Roper 1995; Jewish Telegraphic Agency 1995



CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	

South Africa

143-Thomas Joseph Dolce 1988 ³⁵²	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
South Africa // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Dolce, a US Defence civilian, admitted in court in 1988	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
that he had spied for South Africa 1979-83. Sentenced to	Response	UNKNOWN
10 years in prison.	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
No specific US action against South Africa identified.	target	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

South Korea

144-Robert Chaegun Kim 1996 ³⁵³	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	ALLIED
Korea // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Civilian analyst working for US Navy, arrested in	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
September 1996 for passing classified documents to	Response	NEUTRAL
Korean military intelligence over a five month period that year.		During the court proceedings the Korean Government commented: "This is unrelated to us and we are not interested. We can not interfere with the U.S. court ruling." 354
Kim's handler, Korean naval attaché Captain Baek Don-II, was recalled to Korea, while Kim was sentenced to 9 years imprisonment in July 1997. He was released in 2005.	Pre-disposition of target	LESS SENSITIVE
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
145-Korean spying in Australia, 2013355	Power Dynamic	AS POWERFUL
		Comparable economies, global power
South Korea // Australia	Relationship	FRIENDLY

³⁵² PERSEREC 2008; Valentine 1988

³⁵³ PERSEREC 2008; Clark 2015; *The Korean Herald* 2005; Schmid 1996; Masters 1997

³⁵⁴ The Korean Herald 2005

³⁵⁵ Dorling 2013-A



		Otherwise friendly relations, military and other cooperation. Both US allies.
Korea's National Intelligence Service (NIS) cultivated	Publicity	LIMITED
Australian government officials of Korean heritage in		See left. Some one-off media coverage as result of court case.
order to collect sensitive bilateral trade and other	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
information. Detected by ASIO and NIS was warned off.		Recruitment of officials, conduct of humint collection inside Australia under diplomatic cover.
Several government officials lost clearances and/or	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
employment.		The FTA negotiations were completed several months after the court case publicity.
	Response	NEUTRAL
Minimal impact on bilateral relations. Australian		Korean Government declines to comment
Government actively sought to suppress revelation of	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
activity and NIS identities –revealed only as result of legal	target	Australians neither naïve nor jaded about espionage.
action in 2013 by a former Australian official whose		
employment had been terminated as a result of their		
cultivation by the NIS.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		

Taiwan

146-Douglas Tsou 1988 ³⁵⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	FRIENDLY
Taiwan // USA	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Former FBI employee, indicted in 1988 for providing	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
single instance of classified information to Taiwan	Response	UNKNOWN
although prosecutors claimed a more broad-ranging relationship with Taiwanese intelligence. Sentenced in	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
1992 to 10 years in prison.	target	
No specific US action against Taiwan identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
147-Donald Keyser 2004 ³⁵⁷	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	FRIENDLY
Taiwan // USA	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Keyser was a State Department official (in fact a Principal	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Deputy Assistant Secretary) arrested in 2004, following a	Response	NEUTRAL

³⁵⁶ PERSEREC 2008; Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 638; Marcus 1988; UPI 1991

³⁵⁷ PERSEREC 2008; Clark 2015; Gerstein 2006 and 2007. For a comprehensive account of the Keyser case see Lefebvre 2017.



clandestine meeting with Taiwanese intelligence		The NSB withdrew a number of intelligence officers from the US on its own volition, and made a
(National Security Bureau) officers in Taiwan in 2003 –		public statement reiterating its close and friendly relations with the US. The Taiwanese Government
and an illicit relationship with Isabelle Cheng, a NSB		indicated publicly that it would cooperate fully with the US investigation. ³⁵⁸
officer. Keyser was also found to have been removing	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
classified information from the State Department since	target	
1992 and retaining this at his home. in 2007 Heyser was		
sentenced to a year in prison and other sanctions.		
, ·		
Cheng and her boss departed the US in 2005.		
Bilateral relations were strained further by a Taiwanese		
request for the return of classified material (including US		
material) taken from Cheng and forming part of the body		
of evidence (the request was refused).		
or evidence (the request was rerused).		
No specific US action against Taiwan identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
,		
	•	
148-Wo Weihan 2005-2008 ³⁵⁹	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Taiwan (and USA) // China	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Chinese scientist and businessman Wo Weihan was	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
arrested in 2005 for selling ballistic missile secrets to	Response	NEUTRAL
Taiwan and the USA. He was convicted at a 2007 trial and		Both Taiwan and the US did not publicly comment on the allegations, though the US was critical of
executed in November 2008, along with his alleged		the trial and execution from a human rights perspective.
accomplice Guo Wanjun, a Chinese Government missile	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
expert.	target	
No appoisio Chinasa patien assinat Taiwan ide (1975) d		
No specific Chinese action against Taiwan identified.	1	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

United Kingdom

149-Roger Cooper 1985 ³⁶⁰	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
UK // Iran	Publicity	PUBLIC

³⁵⁸ Lefebvre 2017

³⁵⁹ France 24 2008; *Taipei Times* 2008; Branigan 2008

³⁶⁰ Minnick 1992 pp. 44-45; *Deseret News* 1991; O'Connell 2003; Davies 1991; *Eastern Daily Press* 1991



	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Associated by London 1995, British by Association Conserved		-
Arrested by Iran in 1985, British businessman Cooper	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
made a public statement on Iranian TV in 1987,	Response	DENIAL
apparently confessing to working for British intelligence		UK claimed that the confession was coerced and denied any involvement with Cooper.
and attempting to establish a spy network inside Iran.	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
Cooper was released in a 1991 prisoner swap, and	target	
subsequently recanted his 1987 confession.		
No specific Iranian action against UK identified.		
Nonetheless Cooper's continuing imprisonment itself		
became a barrier to better relations between London and		
Teheran (it was regarded along with the rescinding of the		
fatwa on Salman Rushdie and the return of hostages held		
in Lebanon). ³⁶¹		
CONCEOUENCE FOR OFFENDER MECHANIS		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
150-Farzad Bazoft and Daphne Parish 1989-1990 ³⁶²	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
130-raizau Bazoit anu Dapinie Pansii 1383-1330	Relationship	NEUTRAL NEUTRAL
UK (and Israel) // Iraq	Publicity	PUBLIC
on (una israel) // mag	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
An Iranian-born journalist resident in the UK, Bazoft was	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
arrested by Iraqi authorities in September 1989 and then	Response	DENIAL
executed in March 1990 following a conviction for spying	пеэропэс	Although the British Government was reluctant to adversely affect the bilateral relationship with
for Britain and Israel. Bazoft had made a public admission		Irag they did deny Bazoft and Parish were spies, and withdrew the British Ambassador from
on Iraqi TV but later recanted during his trial. Bazoft's		Baghdad.
arrest came after he attempted to report on an explosion	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
at the Iskandaria weapons facility outside of Baghdad.	target	NEOTIAL
British national Daphne Parish, who drove Bazoft to the	turget	
site, was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. After 2003		
a former Iraqi intelligence officer stated that Bazoft was		
known to be innocent of the espionage charges.		
The Iraqi regime organised street protests against the UK,		
including on the day of the execution and there was some		
degradation in the general level of the bilateral		
relationship (especially when Bazoft was executed). But		
this was all the initiative of Baghdad rather than London		
(also noting the subsequent general consensus as to		
Bazoft's innocence).		
Bazore 5 miloconecy.		

³⁶¹ Davies 1991

³⁶² Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 55; *The Observer* 1990; Vulliamey 2003; Trelford 2010; Norton-Taylor & McVeigh 2017



CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
	T	1
51-Mitrohkin defection ³⁶³	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
IK (and USA) // Russia	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
GB archivist Vasili Mitrokhin defected to the UK in 1992,		Given the extraordinary nature of the British intelligence coup
possession of extraordinarily extensive Russian	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
telligence archives.	Response	UNREPENTANT
		The British Government openly acknowledged the defection as part of the process of producing
hen British MI6 Head of Station John Scarlett (who		historical works based on their contents.
vould later also be revealed to have been Oleg fordievsky's case officer in the 1980s) was expelled from Moscow in 1994 as retaliation for the Mitohkin defection. Scarlett would later serve as the Chief of MI6 from 2004 to 2009.)	Pre-disposition of target	NEUTRAL
his set off a series of tit for tat expulsions of (declared and suspected) Russian and UK intelligence officers – the lost intensive in UK-Russian relations since the 1971 expulsion of 105 members of the Russian Embassy in condon. This included the 1995 expulsion of 25 Russians and then 25 British from respective capitals, and the 1996 expulsions of 9 British and 4 Russians.		
ONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: SIGNIFICANT		
52-Allegation by former MI5 officer that MI6 tried to sassinate Muammar Gaddafi in 1996 ³⁶⁴	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
ssassinate Muammar Gaddan in 1996	Dolationship	COMPLICATED
IK // Libya	Relationship	COMPLICATED Relationship between LIK and Libus had been adversarial in 1000s, including after a British
N// LIDYU		Relationship between UK and Libya had been adversarial in 1980s, including after a British policewoman was killed by a shot fired at a protest rally from the Libyan Embassy in London, and
1998 former MI5 officer David Shayler (then in France		after the UK supported US air strikes targeting Gaddafi in retaliation for Libyan support to terrori
ter making separate allegations about MI5 activities)		
aimed publicly that MI6 had attempted to assassinate	Dublicitu	in Europe. Libyan was also an active supporter of republican terrorists in Northern Ireland. VERY PUBLIC
byan leader Muammar Gaddafi in 1996, using proxies	Publicity	
,		This aspect of the Shayler case ran publicly for four years, from his initial engagement with the
ssociated with the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group. An ttack in the Libyan city of Sirte did occur in March 1996,		media in July 1998 on this matter until the conclusion of his 2002 trial (and very occasionally
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		thereafter).
nissing its target Gaddafi. In November 1999 Shayler	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS

³⁶³ Sengupta & Osborn 2006; Polmar & Allen 2004, pp. 425-426; Trahair & Miller 2012, pp. 323-324; Sullivan 2004; Andrew 2004

³⁶⁴ BBC 1998; Irish Times 1998; Lashmar 2000; Bright 2000; Press Association 2000; BBC 2002-B; Bright 2002; Radnofsky 2008



made a submission concerning this allegation to then UK Home Secretary Jack Straw (a similar submission was		The allegation is that British intelligence sponsored the attempted assassination of the Libyan leader. ³⁶⁵
made to UK Special Branch in March 2000). Shayler also alleged that MI6 had tried to use disinformation to discredit the Libyan regime, prompting a libel writ by Gaddafi's son against the <i>Sunday Telegraph</i> newspaper. Shayler later fled the UK for France, before returning voluntarily after a failed UK extradition bid. He was tried and convicted in 2002 for offences under the <i>Official Secrets Act</i> . In 2000 a document purported to be a MI6 intelligence report was published on the internet,	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
	Response	DENIAL UK Home Office Minister Lord Williams stated in August 1998 that "The important point is this - is it true or is it not true that there was an official plot to kill Colonel Gaddafi? It is not true." ³⁶⁶ At the time UK Foreign Secretary Robin Cook described the allegation as "pure fantasy". ³⁶⁷ At the 2008 inquest into the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, former MI6 chief Sir Richard Dearlove described the allegation made by Shayler as "not true". ³⁶⁸
appearing to support the allegation. In 2002 a book published in France also claimed the allegation was accurate and that British intelligence had actively backed Islamic fundamentalists in Libya.	Pre-disposition of target	MORE SENSITIVE Given Libyan sensitivities concerning Western powers interference in developing world affairs and the ideology of the Libyan state.
Libyan public response to the allegations was muted. Although in 1998 Libya did release footage of the March 1996 attack, claiming it was the responsibility of a British intelligence agent. Nor did the allegation seem to prove problematic when MI6 led the successful effort to have Libya voluntarily shut down its fledgling nuclear program in 2003 (just a year after Shayler's trial). CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
153-Allegation of MI6 counter-proliferation operations targeting Iran, 1999 ³⁶⁹	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
UK (and Israel) // Iran	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Renegade former MI6 officer Richard Tomnlinson claimed	Publicity	PUBLIC
in video-taped testimony to a 1999 trial in Israel that MI6 had penetrated Iranian intelligence and arms programs,	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
including by supplying Iran with precursors for chemical weapons. Tomlinson also claimed that Israeli intelligence	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
was aware of, and supported, these operations. The	Response	NEUTRAL

³⁶⁵ Hearing a related matter in July 2000 concerning the right to publish the allegations, Lord Justice Igor Judge stated "If true, it is difficult to overestimate its enormity: a conspiracy to murder the head of another state, resulting not in his death, but in the deaths of innocent people who were not its intended targets." Quoted in Bright 2000.

³⁶⁶ Quoted in BBC 1998

³⁶⁷ Quoted in Lashmar 2000

³⁶⁸ Quoted in Radnofsky 2008

³⁶⁹ Barnett, Ridley & Elam 1999; Tomlinson 2004



allegations were also contained in Tomlinson's book <i>The</i>		
Big Breach, a synopsis of which was provided to the	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
Observer newspaper in 1999.	target	
Iranian response to the allegation was muted.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
154-Allegation that Nelson Mandela was MI6 contact,	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
2001 ³⁷⁰	Relationship	NEUTRAL
	Publicity	PUBLIC
UK // South Africa	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
		Given Mandela's extraordinary public profile.
Renegade former MI6 officer Richard Tomnlinson's 2001	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
book The Big Breach claimed that Nelson Mandela had an	Response	UNKNOWN
association with MI6, including having spent a day in 1990	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
in the UK briefing MI6 officers.	target	
Nelson Mandela angrily dismissed the allegation,		
describing it as a "disgraceful fabrication" and racist. 371		
Tomlinson removed the reference to Mandela in		
subsequent editions of the book.		
subsequent curious or the seem		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NOT RELEVANT (South		
Africa directed response at Tomlinson and not UK		
Government). Case omitted from aggregate analysis.		
	T	
155-Allegation MI6 planned to assassinate Serbian	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
President Milosevic ³⁷²	Relationship	COMPLICATED
11K // Carbin	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
UK // Serbia	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
In 2001 renegade former MI6 officer Richard Tomlinson	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
told Mohamed al-Fayed, in the context of the deaths of	Response	NEUTRAL
al-Fayed son and of Diana, Princess of Wales in 1997, that		A MI6 officer responsible for drawing up the document in question testified to the 2008 inquiry that
MI6 had planned the assassination of the Slobodan		Milosevic was not the target and that the proposal had been dismissed by SIS management.
Milosevic using a confected car accident (based on		Former MI6 chief Sir Richard Dearlove told the same inquiry that MI6 had not carried out any
isinosesie asing a connected car accident (based on		assassinations during his service with the organisation from 1966-2004. Dearlove also confirmed the

³⁷⁰ Norton-Taylor, Traynor & Sampson 2001; IOL 2001

³⁷¹ Quoted in Norton-Taylor, Traynor & Sampson 2001.

³⁷² BBC 2008; English 2008; Radnofsky 2008



Tomlinson's sighting of a MI6 planning document in 1992). This allegation was subsequently aired publicly. At a 2008 UK inquest into Diana's death Tomlinson would		separate testimony by stating that the proposal had not related to Milosevic and that "It was not a proposal to which any serious consideration was given." 373
cast doubt on his own account, claiming to be confused about the details of the alleged plot (including the possible target).	Pre-disposition of target	NEUTRAL
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
	1	
156-Seregi Skripal's arrest and imprisonment, 2009 ³⁷⁴	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
As a prelude to the poisoning of Sergei Skripal by Russian	Publicity	PUBLIC
intelligence in 2018, on 9 August 2009 Skripal was	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
sentenced to 13 years imprisonment in Russia for having passed classified information to the British MI6.	Timing	NOTABLE
passed classified information to the British Milb.		Skripal case occurred at roughly same time as the Andrei Dumenkov and the 'spy rock' cases also
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		directed at Russia. Russia likely delayed its public actions against Skripal and Dumenkov until after
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER. NEGLIGIBLE	_	the hosting of the July G8 meeting in St Petersburg.
	Response	UNKNOWN
	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
	target	
157-'Spy Rock', Moscow, 2006 (and then re-raised	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
2012) ³⁷⁵	Relationship	COMPLICATED
,	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
UK // Russia	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
	Timing	NOTABLE
In January 2006 Russian authorities publicly announced		The publicising of the compromise justified new Russian legislation required NGOs (including
their discovery of a UK intelligence covert		prominent regime critics) to report all their sources of income and provide comprehensive
communications device disguised as a rock in a Moscow		justification for their activities. This also included the creation of a state agency tasked with policing
park. The Russians also claimed that the intelligence		NGO activities, announced 2 weeks before the revelation. Intimations of NGO association with
operation was linked to specific intelligence operatives at the British Embassy and to Russian reformist NGOs receiving aid from British sources.		foreign spies had been a prominent part of the justification for the new laws.
	Response	NEUTRAL followed by UNREPENTANT
		Russia claimed at the time of the expulsion that MI6 had specifically denied responsibility for the
		operation, in discussions with Russian authorities. Furthemore, the Russians claimed that their
		decision to reveal the operation publicly arose from this refutation, and from alleged Russian anger
		at the flouting of an apparent 'no spy' agreement between the two countries.

³⁷³ Quoted in English 2008

³⁷⁴ Biggs 2006; BBC 2006; Norton-Taylor, Parfitt & Clark 2010

³⁷⁵ Sengupta & Osborn 2006; Norton-Taylor 2012; Biggs 2006; BBC 2012-A; Weir 2006



In January 2012 a former senior British official admitted in a BBC interview that the rock had been part of a British intelligence operation, re-opening the controversy. In 2006 President Putin quipped that he had advised against expelling four British intelligence officers, on the basis that their replacements would be harder to identify		British Prime Minister Tony Blair commented at the time (ie 2006): "I'm afraid you're going to get the old stock in trade of never commenting on security matters. Except when we want to, obviously." In 2012 Blair's then Chief of Staff Jonathan Powell acknowledged in a TV interview that MI6 had been responsible for the operation (see left). Powell also suggested that the Russians had known about the rock for some time prior to January 2006 but had timed the public revelation to maximise
and thus more effective than the four in question.		damage to British interests.
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR	Pre-disposition of target	NEUTRAL
158-Vyacheslav Zharko case 2007 ³⁷⁶	Power Dynamic	MORE POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
In 2007 Zharko, a Russian FSB officer, confessed to	Publicity	PUBLIC
working for British intelligence. Zharko's case officer was	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
alleged to be Pablo Miller, operating from the UK	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Embassy in Tallin, who was also alleged to be Sergei	Response	UNKNOWN
Skripal's case officer.	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
No specific Russian action against UK identified.	target	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

United States

159-Yu Zhensan, senior MSS officer defects to US 1985 ³⁷⁷	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	FRIENDLY
USA // China	Publicity	LIMITED
		Public knowledge of Zhensan's defection was limited for a year, until the aftermath of Chin's
Yu Zhensan (aka Yu Qiangsheng, aka Yu San), head of MSS		conviction and suicide. The New York Times correspondent John Burns was expelled from China for
foreign liaison, defected to the US via Hong Kong in		seeking comment from the MSS on the defection.
November 1985. Information he provided would lead to	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
the arrests of Chinese spies Larry Wu Tai Chin and	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Bernard Boursicot. Ironically Yu had been ordered to	Response	NEUTRAL
engage the US Embassy as a pretext to trying to cultivate	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
a newly arrived CIA officer -identified in reporting by MSS	target	
source Larry Wu Tai Chin. Yu instead took the opportunity		
of the engagement to defect, and his information would		
subsequently identify Chin as a spy for the Chinese.		

³⁷⁶ Hodge *et al* 2018; *Jerusalem Post* 2007; RT 2007

³⁷⁷ Faligot 2019 p. 124-127, 131, 140; Southerl 1986



China refused to make any public comment on the matter		
or take any specific actions against the US. ³⁷⁸		
of take any specific actions against the os.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
100 1 0 11 1000 0 770		1 - F-02 - DAVIETO III
160-Jon Pattis 1986-87 ³⁷⁹	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
//:	Relationship	ADVERSE
USA // Iran	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Pattis was arrested in 1986 for spying for the CIA (and	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
allegedly Iraq) and subsequently sentenced by Iran to 10	Response	DENIAL
years imprisonment. In October 1986 Pattis made a		The Reagan Administration regularly denied that Pattis had any association with the US
televised confession to passing information to the CIA		Government. ³⁸⁰
through his company Cosmos Engineers, including	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
information that allowed Iraq to target an Iranian	target	
telecommunications centre. Pattis also claimed to report		
to a CIA handler, Kavi Austin. He was sentenced to 10		
years imprisonment in 1987. On his release he recanted		
the confession made while in custody.		
No specific Iranian actions against US identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
161-US military officers detained in Nicaragua 1986 ³⁸¹	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
USA // Nicaragua	Publicity	LIMITED
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
Colonel Alden Cunningham and Captain Barbara Sims,	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
both attached to US Embassy in Managua, charged with	Response	UNKNOWN
spying in 1986 after having been detained in war zone in	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
north-eastern Nicaragua.	target	
The Nicaraguan Government issued a perfunctory protest		
to the US Embassy and took no further action. ³⁸²		
to the 55 2bussy and took no further detion.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		

³⁷⁸ Southerl 1986

³⁷⁹ Minnick 1992 p. 173; Mower 1987; Washington Post 1996; UPI 1987

³⁸⁰ Mower 1987

³⁸¹ Minnick 1992 p. 47; Nusser 1986

³⁸² Nusser 1986



	1	T
162-Defection of Cuban intelligence officer 1987 ³⁸³	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
USA // Cuba	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
Major Florentino Azpillaga defected to West in 1987		Given the counter-intelligence information provided to the US.
while posted to Czechoslovakia (defected in Austria).	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Provided CIA the names of 350 Cuban agents worldwide	Response	UNREPENTANT
plus identities of Cuban double agents ostensibly reporting for US intelligence. Also provided information		US Government was upfront about the defection, including broadcasting interviews with Azpillaga on US Government-backed radio into Cuba. 385
on Panamanian President Noriega's links to Cuban	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
intelligence.	target	
No identified action against the US Government bby		
Cuba, beyond rhetorical denunciation. In 1988 Azpillaga		
survived an assassination attempt by Cuba while in		
London (according to US accounts) or tried to strong-arm		
a Cuban diplomat into defecting, leading to a shooting		
(according to Cuban accounts). Regardless, the Cuban		
Ambassador and another Cuban diplomat were expelled		
by the UK as a result. ³⁸⁴		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
163-Expulsion of CIA officers from France 1995 ³⁸⁶	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	ALLIED
USA // France	Publicity	PUBLIC
In 1995 five American officials, including CIA officers,	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
were expelled from France. This followed an apparent	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
attempt to recruit French officials to provide economic	Response	DENIAL LIGHT OF THE PROPERTY O
intelligence.	Dro disposition of	US refused to admit any involvement in espionage directed against France. LESS SENSITIVE
y	Pre-disposition of target	FE22 SEIA2ILIAE
See also the account of French economic espionage	lurget	
above.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		

³⁸³ Minnick 1992 p. 9; Anderson & van Atta 1988; Adams 2012; Associated Press 1988

³⁸⁴ Associated Press 1988

³⁸⁵ Anderson & van Atta 1988

³⁸⁶ Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 247, p. 316; Risen 1995



	1	
164-European Parliament's 'ECHELON' report 2001 ³⁸⁷	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	ALLIED
USA (and rest of FVEY) // Europe	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In 2001 the European Parliament released a report	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
claiming that FVEY sigint agencies – led by NSA –	Response	NEUTRAL
operated a worldwide surveillance network searching for	пезропас	US authorities noted only that US intelligence activities are carried out in accordance with US law,
keywords across international telecommunications (and		including the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act. They also refused to cooperate with the European
said to be codenamed ECHELON).		parliamentary committee.
	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
No further specific action, following the European	target	
Parliament's vote to accept the report.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
165-Bugging of Chinese President's aircraft 2002 ³⁸⁸	Dawar Dunamia	LESS POWERFUL
105-bugging of Chinese President's aircraft 2002	Power Dynamic Relationship	NEUTRAL
USA // China	Publicity	PUBLIC
OSA // Clinia	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
In 2002 Chinese technicians claimed to have discovered	Timing	NOTABLE
27 listening devices implanted in the President's newly	Timing	Issue emerged weeks before the US and Chinese Presidents were scheduled to attend a summit
delivered Boeing 767-300ER, upon its receipt in 2000.		meeting.
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Response	NEUTRAL
President Jiang was furious but anger was directed at	Nesponse	The White House refused to comment: "We never discuss these types of allegations." 390
Chinese officials - 20 Chinese air force officers and two		The writte House refused to comment. We never discuss these types of dilegations.
officials from the company that imported the jet were	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
detained. ³⁸⁹	target	
China refused to comment publicly.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
		<u> </u>
166-Aleksandr Zaporozhky ³⁹¹	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
USA // Russia	Publicity	PUBLIC

³⁸⁷ Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 207; USA Today 2001; Ward 2001

³⁸⁸ Polmar & Allen 2004 p. 125; CNN 2002; BBC 2002-A; Pomfret 2002

³⁸⁹ CNN 2002

³⁹⁰ Quoted in CNN 2002

³⁹¹ Irish Times 2010; CBS News 2010; Vasilyeva 2010



	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Head of American department of SVR who provided the CIA with the identity of Aldrich Ames. Having moved to	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
	Response	NEUTRAL
the US in 1997, Zaporozhky visited Russia in 2001 despite	·	Acknowledgement implied by spy swap.
being warned that Robert Hanssen had betrayed him to	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
Russian intelligence. Imprisoned and tortured,	target	
Zaporozhky was part of the exchange for the GHOST		
STORIES network in 2010.		
No specific Russian action against US identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
167-Gennady Vasilenko ³⁹²	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
USA //Russia	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
Vasilenko was the Russian agent who revealed Robert	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
Hanssen's identity to American intelligence. Imprisoned	Response	NEUTRAL
by Russia he was tortured before being exchanged for the		Acknowledgement implied by spy swap.
GHOST STORIES network in 2010.	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
No analific Bussian action assigns IIC identified	target	
No specific Russian action against US identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
168-Aleksandr Poteyev 2011 ³⁹³	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
Former deputy head of SVR's S section and CIA agent	Publicity	PUBLIC
since 1999, Poteyev fled to the US after his information	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
led to the GHOST STORIES network being unravelled. He	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
was named in a Russian court in June 2011 as a defector	Response	UNKNOWN
and traitor, and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment in	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
absentia.	target	
No specific Russian action against US identified. (Although		
Poteyev himself is believed to have been targeted for		
assassination by the Russians in 2015.)		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		

³⁹² Irish Times 2010; CBS News 2010; Vasilyeva 2010

³⁹³ Campbell, Leopold & Blake 2018; Sputnik News 2011



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169-Li Hui 2011 ³⁹⁴	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
LICA // Chin	Relationship	COMPLICATED
USA // China	Publicity	PUBLIC
La 2040 and a NACC affirmation is a second shadle that CIA	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
In 2010 senior MSS officer Li Hui was recruited by the CIA		Given the fallout within the MSS (see left).
in Hong Kong. Li was identified as a mole by the MSS in	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
March 2011. This revelation led to the sacking of Li's boss,	Response	NEUTRAL
Deputy Minister Lu Zhongwei and the considerable		The US Government refused to comment on the matter. ³⁹⁶
embarrassment of MSS chief Geng Huichang.	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
	target	
No specific Chinese action against US identified and the		
Chinese Foreign Ministry declined to comment when the		
affair became public in 2012. ³⁹⁵		
CONCEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER MEGLICIPLE		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
470.0	I	1.500 000/505/4
170-Compromise of CIA networks in China 2010-2012 ³⁹⁷	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
1104 // 01 :	Relationship	COMPLICATED
USA // China	Publicity	PUBLIC
Coding Charge developed a laboration of CIA	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS
Series of MSS dangles (and subsequent penetration of CIA		Given scale of CIA network uncovered.
throwaway covert communications system) identifies	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
network of Chinese agents. At least 20 such agents	Response	NEUTRAL
arrested and executed. On 20 May 2017 the New York		US Government refused to comment on story.
Times revealed this extensive compromise.	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
	target	
No specific Chinese action against US identified.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
171 Downard Davis insident in Dakistan January 2011 208	Dawar Dunami-	LESS POWERFUL
171-Raymond Davis incident in Pakistan, January 2011 ³⁹⁸	Power Dynamic	
UCA // Belister	Relationship	COMPLICATED
USA // Pakistan	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
		Issue dominated Pakistani media for weeks.
	Nature of Activity	MORE EGREGIOUS

³⁹⁴ Faligot 2019 pp. 390-392; Reuters 2012; Ignatius 2016

³⁹⁵ Reuters 2012

³⁹⁶ Reuters 2012

³⁹⁷ Mattis & Brazil 2019 p. 20; Faligot 2019 pp. 387-390; Mazzetti *et al* 2017; Choi 2018

³⁹⁸ Walsh & MacAskill 2011; Perlez 2011; Goldman & Johnston 2011; Deccan Herald 2011; Khan 2011; The Dawn 2011; The Express Tribune 2011; McCarthy 2011



On 27 January 2011 Raymond Davis, a CIA contractor		Involved the public deaths of three Pakistanis on the streets of Lahore, as well as another related
based in Pakistan, shot and killed two Pakistanis during a		death.
confrontation in Lahore. A third Pakistani was killed in a	Timing	NOTABLE
traffic accident occasioned by an attempt to extricate		The Davis incident followed the rushed departure of the CIA Chief of Station in Islamabad after his
Davis from the incident. 399 Davis was arrested and		public identification in a private Pakistani law suit against the CIA, and after the naming of Pakistani
charged with murder but later released and expelled		ISI Chief General Shuja Pasha in a US lawsuit claiming ISI responsibility for the 2008 Mumbai terrorist
following fraught engagement between Washington and		attacks.
Islamabad (and a USD 2 million payment to the families of	Response	DENIAL
the deceased).		President Obama initially stated that Davis was a diplomat, and then Senator John Kerry flew to Islamabad to negotiate Davis' release. Serving Secretary of State Clinton directly lobbied the
Pakistani authorities initially were muted in their public		Pakistani Army Chief, claiming that Davis had been illegally detained. Some members of the US
statements, pending determination of Davis' diplomatic		Congress sharply criticised the Pakistani Government for detaining Davis and threatened to cut US
status, while stating that Davis' links to the CIA were		aid to Pakistan in retaliation. This possibility was echoed by Obama Administration sources, who also
incontrovertible. But within a fortnight US-Pakistani		allegedly threatened the cancellation of a planned visit by the Pakistani President to Washington in
relations had sunk to "a new low, both sides say". 400 By		March 2011, as well as the expulsion of the Pakistani Ambassador. 401 A planned working-level
April there were reports that all joint US-Pakistani		trilateral meeting on Afghanistan was also postponed by the US in order to pressure Islamabad.
counter-terrorism operations inside Pakistan had been	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
suspended and Pakistan was seeking to downsize the US	target	Pakistani public outrage at the events in Lahore – tremendous pressure not to release Davis back to
diplomatic (and national security) presence inside the	5	US. Background of Pakistani public hostility to US counter-terrorism efforts and activities inside
country.		Pakistan.
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: CRITICAL		
172 August of CIA officer Program Foods in Program 2012402	Danier Dinamia	LECC DOWEDEN
172-Arrest of CIA officer Ryan Fogle in Russia 2013 ⁴⁰²	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL ADVISOR
LICA // Pussia	Relationship	ADVERSE
USA // Russia	Publicity	VERY PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
A diplomat posted to the US Embassy in Moscow, Fogle	Timing	NOTABLE
was arrested by Russian authorities for allegedly trying to		At the time the US and Russia were involved in jointly addressing the international dimensions of
recruit a Russian counter-terrorism official. The FSB also		the Boston Marathon bombing (on 15 April).
released an audio recording of an alleged phone	Response	NEUTRAL
conversation between Fogle and the official.		The US Government refused to confirm Fogle was an intelligence officer.
Facility of the second of the	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
Fogle was subsequently expelled from Russia. On 17 May	target	
the FSB publicly exposed the identity of the CIA Chief of		
Station in Moscow, evidently as a form of further		
punishment.		

³⁹⁹ In addition, a grief-stricken widow of one of the two shot Pakistanis later committed suicide.

⁴⁰⁰ Quoted in Perlez 2011

⁴⁰¹ Both National Security Adviser Donilon and the Pakistani Ambassador to the US denied this reporting about a private conversation between them.

⁴⁰² Associated Press in Moscow, as reported in *The Guardian* 19 May 2013; CBS News 17 May 2013



US Ambassador was also called in and carpeted by		T
Russian Foreign Ministry.		
Russian i Oreign Willinstry.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
173-Arrest of two Germans spying for the US ⁴⁰³	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	ALLIED
USA // Germany	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In early July 2014 a German BND intelligence officer was	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
arrested for passing classified information to the NSA. A		
week later a German Defence Ministry official was	Response	NEUTRAL
arrested for spying for the CIA.		Immediately after the expulsion order President Obama and Chancellor Merkel spoke by phone.
		Afterwards the White House said that they had "exchanged views on US-German intelligence
After the first arrest Chancellor Merkel stated that if true		cooperation, and the President said he'd remain in close communication on ways to improve
the allegation was a "clear contradiction of what I		cooperation going forward." The German account of the meeting described "deep differences of
consider to be trusting co-operation" with the US.404		opinion on the issue of the activities of the US intelligence services". ⁴⁰⁵
The US Ambassador to Berlin was called in and	- 4	
demarched.	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
acinal one an	target	
On 17 July 2014 the CIA Station Chief in Berlin was		
expelled.		
·		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
	l.	
174-Wikileaks reveals NSA targets in Japan, 2015 406	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	ALLIED
USA // Japan	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In July 2015 Wikileaks discloses 35 identified NSA targets	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
in Japan (including Cabinet Office, Bank of Japan, Ministry	Response	APOLOGY
of Economy, Trade & Industry, JETRO, and several		US Vice President Biden apologises to Japanese Government.
Japanese firms). Other revelations include NSA	Pre-disposition of	LESS SENSITIVE
surveillance of Japanese mission at the UN, and	target	
emplacement of bugs in Japanese computer systems.		
	<u> </u>	1

⁴⁰³ BBC 2014;

⁴⁰⁴ Quoted in BBC 2014

⁴⁰⁵ Quoted in AFP 2014

⁴⁰⁶ Samuels 2019 p. 233



PM Abe and other Japanese officials described the		
revelations as "regrettable". No formal protest lodged.		
Japanese media excoriates government for its flaccid		
response.		
response.		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: MINOR		
175-Arrest of Paul Whelan, 2018-ongoing ⁴⁰⁷	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	COMPLICATED
USA // Russia	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	LESS EGREGIOUS
In December 2018 former US marine (and dual US-British	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
citizen) Whelan was arrested by the Russian FSB and	Response	DENIAL
charged with espionage. He is currently awaiting trial,		The US Government maintains Whelan is not a spy.
although he has also been connected to various possible	Pre-disposition of	NEUTRAL
spy swaps with the US.	target	
No specific Russian action against US identified. The		
possible inclusion of Whelan in a 2022 swap of US and		
Russian prisoners (including American basketballer		
Brittney Griner did not proceed. ⁴⁰⁸		
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE		
176-Iran executes/arrests alleged CIA spies 2019 ⁴⁰⁹	Power Dynamic	LESS POWERFUL
	Relationship	ADVERSE
USA // Iran	Publicity	PUBLIC
	Nature of Activity	NEUTRAL
In April 2019 Iran announced it had identified 290 US	Timing	NOT NOTABLE
spies working against Iran. Then in June 2019 Iran	Response	DENIAL
executed a former aerospace contractor Jalal Hajizavar		The US strongly denied any connection to those arrested and accused Tehran of lying. President
for spying for the CIA. The next month Iran announced it		Trump tweeted "The Report of Iran capturing CIA spies is totally false. Zero truth. Just more lies and
had arrested 17 Iranians for allegedly spying for the CIA at		propaganda (like their shot down drone) put out by a Religious Regime that is Badly Failing and has
sensitive military and nuclear facilities (and already		no idea what to do. Their Economy is dead, and will get much worse. Iran is a total mess!" Secretary
executed several). Iran further claimed that the spying		of State Pompeo also denied a US connection, stating that the "Iranian regime has a long history of
(including installation of monitoring devices) had been unsuccessful and released information purporting to identify CIA officers working internationally.		lying." ⁴¹⁰
	Pre-disposition of	MORE SENSITIVE
	target	

⁴⁰⁷ Bennetts 2019; Fieldstadt 2019; Khurshudyan 2020; Finnegan 2020

⁴⁰⁸ Liptak & Mattingly 2022

⁴⁰⁹ Reuters 22 June 2019; *The Guardian* 22 July 2019.

⁴¹⁰ Quoted in *The Guardian* 22 July 2019



Apart from the announcement itself no specific Iranian actions against US identified.	
CONSEQUENCE FOR OFFENDER: NEGLIGIBLE	