PRIVACY INTERNATIONAL

The Global Surveillance Industry

A report by Privacy International July 2016





The production of this report was supported by a grant from Remote Control, a project of the Network for Social Change hosted by Oxford Research Group (registered charity number: 299436)

Table of Contents

Fire surtius Community	
Executive Summary Introduction	4
Sources & Methods	11
	11
Company Data	
Surveillance Technologies	14
Transfer Data	15
Surveillance Companies	16
Selected Case Studies	23
Israel	20
United States of America	27
United Kingdom	31
Germany	34
Italy	37
Import Case Study: Middle East & North Africa (MENA)	40
Surveillance Technologies & Military Applications	46
Intelligence Collection Cooperation	48
Regulatory Mechanisms	50
Trade Controls	52
Conclusion	56
Annex	
Surveillance Technology Explainers	58

Executive Summary

This report is about electronic surveillance technologies used to identify, track, and monitor individuals and their communications for intelligence gathering and law enforcement purposes.

Technological developments since the Cold War, during which espionage and the monitoring of civilians was widespread, has increased the intrusiveness and power of surveillance. The ability to monitor the communications of entire groups and nations on a mass scale is now a technical reality, posing new and substantially more grave human rights issues. Recent reforms of surveillance laws undertaken across political systems with significant checks and balances show how easily surveillance capabilities can outstrip the ability of laws to effectively regulate them. In non-democratic and authoritarian systems, the power gained from the use of surveillance technologies can undermine democratic development and lead to serious human rights abuses. Opposition activists, human rights defenders, and journalists have been placed under intrusive government surveillance¹²³ and individuals have had their communications read to them during torture.⁴ State agencies are also utilizing technologies used for surveillance for offensive and military purposes as well as espionage.

This report aims to map modern electronic surveillance technologies, their trade, the companies which manufacture and export them, and the regulation governing their trade. By doing so, it aims to increase understanding about the surveillance industry in order to foster accountability as well as the development of comprehensive safeguards and effective policy.

While a number of studies and media reports since the 1970s have highlighted the role of the private sector in developing and selling surveillance technologies and the use of specific types, there is limited data about the surveillance industry, and obtaining reliable data is challenging. The information that is currently available comes from largely from investigative reporting, whistleblowers, and government transparency reports.

Privacy International has compiled the information that is available within the Surveillance Industry Index (SII), a database consisting of data and documentation about surveillance technologies and companies, as well as reports about the use and sale of specific technologies.

¹ https://www.privacyinternational.org/node/816

² https://bahrainwatch.org/blog/2014/08/07/uk-spyware-used-to-hack-bahrain-lawyers-activists/

³ http://apnews.excite.com/article/20150807/lt--ecuador-hacking_the_opposition-18a465a3dd.html

⁴ http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-08-22/torture-in-bahrain-becomes-routine-with-help-fromnokia-siemens-networking

The Global Surveillance Industry

This report begins by presenting a historical overview of the surveillance industry since the 1970s, including significant policy developments and disclosures of information.

After outlining the sources and methods used for the report, it then presents a typology for different corporate actors involved in surveillance, and data relating to the geographic distribution of the 528 surveillance companies in the SII. These companies are overwhelmingly based in economically advanced, large arms exporting states, with the United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK), France, Germany, and Israel comprising the top five countries in which the companies are headquartered. An overview of the specific types of surveillance technologies included in the SII is then introduced, while a more detailed explanation of the specific types is provided in the annex.

The report then presents an analysis of the surveillance industry in Israel, the US, UK, Germany, and Italy, including an analysis of known exports as well as industry characteristics. An analysis of 152 reported imports of surveillance technologies into the Middle East and North Africa region follows.

The next section provides an overview of how some of these technologies can be used for espionage and in military applications, either being directly used in warfare, for military intelligence, or by intelligence agencies for military end-users. It also describes how advanced intelligence agencies are developing and utilizing the surveillance capabilities of foreign states.

A discussion on policy developments aimed at regulating the trade in some of the technologies, including through industry self-regulation, sanctions, and export controls, is followed by the conclusion.

Introduction

In 1979, New Scientist reported on the role of the State Research Centre, the "most feared and hated building" in Uganda, in mass killings during the eight year rule of dictator Idi Amin.⁵ Established in 1973, the centre was reportedly used by some 1500 agents to spy on and identify individuals, and subsequently to torture, terrorise, and kill "virtually anyone who fell foul of them or Amin". At the time, a police mortician who had kept records of the subversives that had been killed by the agents, said that he had seen over 5000 corpses in the past two years, a number that he said was only the "tip of the iceberg". In total, Amnesty International charged the State Research Centre together with other agencies with responsibility for the killing of between 100,000 and 500,000 people during Amin's time.⁶

The operational capacity of the Centre and its agents and their ability to assert political and social control was directly enabled by various electronic technologies originating in the United Kingdom. A British company, Security Systems International Ltd, sold the unit telephone tapping devices, radio telecommunications and radio detection devices. Despite the subsequent criticism and risk of facilitating human rights abuses and killings by the provision of such surveillance equipment, the provider at the time contested that there was nothing that his company had done that was legally wrong, and that their operations had been vetted "16 different ways backwards and forwards" by the government.⁷

Over 30 years later, Privacy International again reported on the role that a different British company had played in providing Ugandan agencies with surveillance equipment.⁸ The report found that the Ugandan military had in 2012 used technology sold by a British company as the 'backbone' of a secret operation to spy on leading opposition members, activists, elected officials, intelligence insiders and journalists. According to a classified memo, the police and military deployed the technology specifically to "crush...civil disobedience" and "cra[ck] down [on] the rising influence of the opposition" by "blackmailing them". In 2015, further media reports claimed that the Ugandan government had also procured a monitoring centre from an Israeli company designed to monitor the entirety of the nation's internet traffic.⁹

⁵ Harriman, E, "The British Connection", New Scientist, 10 May 1979.

⁶ Amnesty International, "The Repression Trade", Revised Briefing Paper, January 1981, available at https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/200000/pol340051981en.pdf

⁷ Harriman, E, "The British Connection", New Scientist, 10 May 1979.

⁸ https://www.privacyinternational.org/node/656

⁹ Africa Intelligence, "Museveni commits \$85.5 million to monitor the Web", N°1414 - 06/11/2015 <http:// www.africaintelligence.com/ION/politics-power/2015/11/06/museveni-commits-dollars85.5%C2%A0million-tomonitor-the-web,108110202-ART>

The Global Surveillance Industry

Little was known about the trade in such surveillance technologies at the time of the State Research Centre scandal. In 1979, Michael T Klare, then fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington DC, dubbed the trade in technologies used for social-control the "International Repression Trade", an industry on which there was little reliable data, but which appeared to be growing.¹⁰ Spurred by the belief of Western powers that any erosion of government authority in the Third World nations would undermine the process of modernisation, the Western powers responded by strengthening the social-control capabilities of the prevailing regime. "Faced with a choice between the continuation of the status quo and a major social upheaval culminating in the rise of unknown leaders, who may or may not respect the trade and investment policies of their predecessors, most Western powers will opt for the status quo despite the risks involved."¹¹

The industrialising nations themselves, experiencing traumas related to economic factors and ethnic and religious strife, were responding by expanding their military-police sector, and clamping down on popular movements using more aggressive and systematic methods:

"As the opposition expands and becomes more experienced in clandestine operations, traditional police methods prove increasingly ineffective and the security forces are obliged to use more and more sophisticated equipment to gain information on dissident groups. New eavesdropping and surveillance technologies must be introduced to locate opposition cells, and computers are needed to process all the data provided by spies and informers."¹²

Klare noted at the time that this trade was not just confined to the Western powers and their allies, but also being conducted between NATO countries, and between the Socialist powers and their allied countries. Further, the trade was not just conducted by private companies selling to international customers, but further enabled through the establishment by Western governments of special programs to facilitate the procurement of such equipment to security forces of allied countries, either directly or through financial assistance. These programs came under the rubric of military and security assistance, counter narcotics cooperation, and training and technical assistance delivered to security forces.

Echoing Klare's bleak assessment that without companies' exports being restrained the "balance of power will continue to favour the forces of oppression", Amnesty International in 1980 recognised this demand by "militarised regimes in the Third World" for "surveillance technologies that are developed and manufactured in the arms exporting countries".¹³

¹⁰ Klare, M, "The International Repression Trade", Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, November 1979.

¹¹ Ibid p23

¹² ibid p23

¹³ Amnesty International, "The Repression Trade", Revised Briefing Paper, January 1981, available at https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/200000/pol340051981en.pdf

Amnesty International argued that regimes were seeking "technological solutions" to situations that they could not resolve by more normal political means. By 1981, electronic systems developed in Britain were being used for surveillance and social control not just in Uganda, but also by the secret police in Saudi Arabia, in Iran during the rule of the Shah, apartheid South Africa, and even in the Soviet Union.¹⁴ Amnesty International charged at the time that far from only having a responsibility where a direct connection can be made between the product and serious human rights abuses, the UK was directly implicating itself in human rights abuses in the recipient country by authorising and in some instances promoting exports. As well as encouraging what it called "the militarisation of the political system" in recipient countries, Amnesty argued that:

"The supply of military and security equipment to a government that is using or that is preparing to use repression against some part of its own population represents a deliberate intervention in the internal politics of that country, on the side of the repressive government against those that it conceives to be its enemies."¹⁵

Amnesty had called out a "grey area" consisting of products not specially designed for military use but nonetheless used for repression to become subject to export licensing restrictions, meaning that exporters who were selling tools of repression to security forces abroad would require a government license to do so.

The export of surveillance capabilities across the world, and particularly by large arms-exporting States, has been subject to various analyses since then.

In 1995, Privacy International published Big Brother Incorporated¹⁶, a study of the international trade in surveillance technologies and what appeared to be the increasing role of companies in the arms industry in facilitating surveillance capabilities across the world.

In 1998, Steve Wright conducted a review of technologies for political control for the European Parliament, including technologies allowing bugging, telephone monitoring, and the emergence of new forms of local, national and international communications interceptions networks and the creation of human recognition and tracking devices.¹⁷ Warning of an "arsenal of new weapons and technologies of political control [that] has already been developed or lies waiting on the horizon for a suitable opportunity to find useful work", Wright called for "urgent action...to ensure European technology of political control does not get into the hands of tyrannical and repressive regimes".¹⁸

¹⁴ Ibid p17

¹⁵ ibid p16

¹⁶ http://cd.textfiles.com/group42/CRYPTO/MISC/COMPANIE.HTM

Wright, S, "An Appraisal of Technologies of Political ControL", 6 January 1998"ht available at <http://cryptome.org/stoa-atpc.htm#4>

¹⁸ Ibid p59

The Global Surveillance Industry

In 2004, Amnesty International released an analysis of European export licensing restrictions that applied to surveillance and interception technologies, prompted by evidence that European companies and States had provided such technologies to a range of repressive regimes, including Turkmenistan and Saudi Arabia.¹⁹ Amnesty recommended that "All EU governments and the European Commission should review their export control policies with regard to the export of 'dual-use' goods... to ensure that the transfer of sophisticated communication and surveillance systems is not permitted to countries where such systems are likely to be used to facilitate human rights violations."²⁰

Despite these calls however, efforts to comprehensively stop the transfer of such surveillance capabilities to authoritarian regimes are difficult to quantify. When the various government agencies fell during the Arab Awakening, journalists and activists for the first time got an insight into the apparatus that underpinned their surveillance and control mechanisms, finding it to be in large part enabled by European and US and technologies.²¹ These companies had provided the various government agencies across the Middle East and North Africa with sweeping surveillance capabilities, including internet and phone monitoring technologies that can be used to monitor entire populations, undermining the human right to privacy and facilitating a range of other abuses.²²

This report focuses on the provision by companies of electronic surveillance products to security forces end-users for the purpose of law enforcement and intelligence gathering. Unless otherwise stated, "surveillance technology" will refer to these purposes in this report.

The use of these techniques has become central to law enforcement and intelligence agencies. Partly driven by the rise of non-state threats as a key policy driver since the Cold War, it is also spurred by technological developments, weak regulatory mechanisms, the relatively low expense of such techniques, and their preference for policy makers to human intelligence gathering techniques.

¹⁹ Amnesty International, "Undermining Global Security: The European Union's Global Arms Exports", 2004, Available at <http://www.amnesty.eu/static/documents/Text_ACT300032004.pdf>

²⁰ Ibid p64

²² ibid

Although the focus of this report is on civilian surveillance technologies, they also have military applications, either being directly used in warfare, for military intelligence, or by intelligence agencies for military end-users. As described below, many of these technologies are also used for espionage by nation state authorities or associated groups. Equipment used to monitor demonstrations is being used to facilitate drone strikes, the data gained from nationwide internet monitoring tools is being used identify military targets and their relationships, technology similar to that used by police to hack into a mobile phone to gather evidence is being used for espionage and sabotage.

This report aims to map these modern surveillance technologies, their trade, the companies which manufacture and export them, and their regulation. By doing so, it aims to not only provide much-needed exposure and accountability onto an industry which strives to operate in secrecy, but to also facilitate a better understanding of modern State law enforcement, intelligence, and military practices. It also aims to provide a foundation for further research for interpreting the modern defence and security industry, international security, and modern warfare.

Sources and Methods

Analyses into the arms trade, the arms production industry, and military expenditure are based on a range of open sources and official publications, including national and international arms trade registers, national export licensing data, annual company reports, and publications of contract awards. These are generally cross referenced with media reporting and trade journals.

Reliable data related to intelligence capabilities is extremely difficult to access as it is regarded as a matter of national security to keep information secret. It is therefore largely classified and exempt from public reporting obligations and freedom of information rules.

Public access to knowledge about contemporary North American and European intelligence agencies has largely relied on investigative research from among others Campbell (1988),²³ Hager (1996),²⁴ Bamford (1983, 2008),²⁵ individuals submitting material to platforms such as Cryptome and Wikileaks, whistleblowers such as William Binney, Thomas Drake, Thomas Tamm, and most recently Edward Snowden, as well as accounts by former government officials and declassified materials.

Access to reliable data about the surveillance industry suffers from these same difficulties, and is made even more difficult by trade secrecy rules. Information about company data, surveillance technology, and transfers have been compiled using the sources and methods described below. However, there are significant difficulties and limitations on carrying out a reliable industry analysis using the limited data currently available. This report nonetheless aims to analyse the information predominantly in the English language that is publicly available. It is hoped that researchers, journalists, academics, and government officials will build on this analysis.

In addition to the sources and methods described below, Privacy International carries out extensive primary investigative research, including regular field work in high risk environments, to gather information about the surveillance industry. It also consults regularly with journalists, researchers, and activists, as well as individuals within industry and government officials.

²³ http://cryptome.org/jya/echelon-dc.htm

²⁴ http://www.nickyhager.info/category/books/

²⁵ http://www.amazon.com/The-Puzzle-Palace-Intelligence-Organization/dp/0140067485

Company Data

The purpose of this report is not to analyse the entirety of the private sector's role in the intelligence and law enforcement sector. It focuses only on companies which produce or market a specific surveillance technology, described in the Surveillance Technologies section. It does include Original Equipment Manufacturers (OEMs) which specially design or market their products for surveillance purposes, but not companies whose products have wider applications, for example in internet network monitoring for performance purposes. Although prime contractors and private military and security companies (PMSCs) play a pivotal and under-explored role in the facilitation and promotion of surveillance capabilities, companies which only supply staff or consultancy services are not included in this analysis.

Only companies which sell to government agencies or telecommunications companies for government purposes are included. Companies which sell relatively unsophisticated surveillance technologies on the internet are not included. As a result, the companies which are included either do not widely market their technologies publicly or purposefully conceal any details about their products. Many have a minimal online presence or are allusive as to the exact capabilities and purpose of their products.

Privacy International has for several years been collecting information on surveillance companies and technologies within the Surveillance Industry Index (SII). The SII is the world's largest publicly accessible database on the commercial surveillance sector, featuring 528 companies as of May 2016. The majority of the companies have been initially identified because they have attended a military, security, or surveillance trade fair that has also been attended by Privacy International. The remainder of the companies were identified through online searches and references in open sources, including media and company registration data.

Because the trade fairs have focused on intelligence and communications surveillance, the companies featuring in SII are predominantly involved in communications surveillance, meaning that companies which produce audio and video surveillance, forensics, and biometrics are under-represented.

Investigative reporting and open source analyses are also used, for example Wright (1998, 2005, 2006)²⁶ and Privacy International (1995).²⁷

Other sources include online databases, such as BuggedPlanet²⁸ which keep records on publicly available information on a large amount of surveillance companies. In 2015, the European Commission commissioned the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) to conduct a data collection project specifically on surveillance technologies as part of a review of the EU Dual Use regulation, which governs the export of some surveillance technologies.²⁹ In 2014, an apparently vetted member-only online trade magazine was launched purporting to review and analyse surveillance technologies and companies worldwide, although its sources, methods, contributors, and revenue structure are undisclosed.³⁰

²⁶ http://www.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/staff/dr-steve-wright/

²⁷ Privacy International (Ed.) (1995) Big Brother Incorporated - A report On the International Trade in Surveillance Technology and Its Links To The Arms Industry. 1st ed. Vol. 1, November. Privacy International, London.

²⁸ www.buggedplanet.info

²⁹ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/535000/EXPO_STU(2015)535000_EN.pdf

³⁰ www.insidersurveillance.com

Surveillance Technologies

Privacy International has collected thousands of individual security equipment brochures and other material across various trade shows, and has as of April 2016 made 1534 of the most relevant brochures publicly available. The trade shows attended have taken place worldwide, including Western Europe, South Africa, the Middle East, and South East Asia. Outside of South Africa however, the trade shows have all been located within one of the 37 countries with whose intelligence agencies the US National Security Agency has an approved relationship on the collection of signals intelligence.³¹ This means that technologies developed in China and Russia are likely underrepresented, although companies from these countries do exhibit at the majority of international trade shows. WikiLeaks' has also published a significant amount of company promotional documents and internal material as part of its Spy Files releases.³²

The disclosures related to the NSA and its intelligence partners beginning in 2013 made possible by Edward Snowden, a contractor with Booz Allen Hamilton, are available widely online and used throughout to inform analysis.

 $[\]texttt{31} \qquad \texttt{http://www.duncancampbell.org/content/nsa-inside-five-eyed-vampire-squid-internet}$

³² https://wikileaks.org/spyfiles/

Transfer Data

Reliable data about sales and exports of surveillance technology is extremely limited. Privacy International has developed a database of all transfers of communications surveillance technology that it has identified in the public domain, largely in the English language. This does not include transfers of non-communications surveillance technology such as biometrics and video/audio surveillance. As of April 2016, there are 607 such transfers. The database contains data from open sources and government data.

Open sources include reporting by media, NGOs, and research institutes, which to the best of Privacy International's knowledge are accurate. Some data has been made available through technical research, for example that conducted within the Citizen Lab, an interdisciplinary laboratory based at the Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto, Canada.

Government data is almost exclusively made up of national export licensing data, one of the best sources for government data, although only Finland, the United Kingdom, and Switzerland currently release useful statistics and only since relatively recently. Further, export licensing data means that permission has been provided to an exporter to export technology which falls within the control language parameters outlined within the specific export control category. It is not a definitive indication that a transfer has taken or will take place. An extremely limited amount of government data has been released through freedom of information requests and public procurement records.

Surveillance Companies

The modern electronic communications surveillance industry evolved from the commercialisation of the internet and digital telecommunications networks during the nineties, before which the level and sophistication of electronic surveillance in the civilian realm was necessarily limited by levels of access to sophisticated networks and devices. Nonetheless, there is a well documented history of electronic surveillance during the Cold War, including the collection of Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) and Communications Intelligence (COMINT) by satellites,³³ aircraft, and submarine cable taps³⁴ and the wiretapping of civilian telephones by intelligence agencies across the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.³⁵

As networks expanded and modernised during the nineties, legislation and technical protocols were enacted in Europe and the US to guarantee government access. The 1994 Communications Assistance for Law Enforcement Act (CALEA) established legal requirements for telecommunications operators in the US, while technical protocols were enacted across Europe under the auspices of the European Telecommunications Standards Institute (ETSI).³⁶ These standards have become known as Lawful Interception. In Russia, the System of Operative Investigative Measures (SORM) was put into practice in the early 1990s, which provides an architecture by which law enforcement and intelligence agencies can obtain direct access to data on commercial networks.³⁷ SORM-1, put into place in the early 1990s, allows for access to telephone and mobile networks. SORM-2, implemented in 1998, applies to IP traffic, and SORM-3 to interception of all communications media, providing quick access and long-term storage for a period of three years.³⁸

Table 2 provides an overview of actors involved in a nationwide surveillance architecture.

Internet Service Providers (ISPs) and telecommunications operators, which manage networks and charge subscribers for certain services, such as internet, mobile and fixed-line telephony services, may be required to ensure that their networks are accessible to government agencies.

³³ http://cryptome.org/jya/echelon-dc.htm

³⁴ http://www.military.com/Content/MoreContent1/?file=cw_f_ivybells

³⁵ See, for example, reports from the Church Committee on the formation, operation, and abuses of U.S. intelligence agencies http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/reports/contents.htm

³⁶ Brown, I & Korff, D, "UK Information Commissioner Study Project: Privacy & Law Enforcement", Foundation for Information Policy Research, February 2004, p25, available at http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/3880/1/3880.pdf>

³⁷ http://iks.sut.ru/publications/zakonnyy-perehvat-soobshcheniy-podhody-etsi-calea-i-sorm/

^{38 &}quot;Lawful interception: the Russian approach", Andrei Soldatov and Irina Borogan, Privacy International, 4 March 2013, available at https://www.privacyinternational.org/news/blog/lawfulinterception-the-russian-approach

Telecommunications equipment vendors are companies which develop the necessary hardware, such as switches and routers, upon which networks run. Because they are developed with Lawful Interception capabilities, when they are exported some equipment by default actively carries out surveillance, or is designed in a way to be easily accessible for surveillance purposes. Some vendors specially develop and market equipment for surveillance purposes.

Surveillance companies sell technologies for law enforcement and intelligence purposes. These can be systems which facilitate the Lawful Interception process, sold for example to operators for compliance purposes, or sold directly to government agencies providing more widescale, untargeted, and intrusive capabilities.

Actor	Technology/Services	Example
ISPs/Telecommunications Operator	Internet and telephone services. Either government-owned or private with diverse shareholders	AT&T, Vodafone, Comcast, Orange, Telecom Egypt, Uzbektelecom
Submarine cable providers	Submarine cable operators / Landing points operators. Generally financed by consortia of operators	TATA-3, China Unicom, Hibernia, Level 3, Atlantic Crossing, Huawei Marine
Telecommunications Network Equipment Vendors	Standard network nodes such as switches and gateways, some of which are designed to be capable of interception, or designed for network monitoring	Ericsson, Nokia, Huawei, ZTE, Cisco, Bluecoat
Surveillance companies	Surveillance technologies sold exclusively to government agencies or telecommunications companies for government purposes	Verint, NICE Systems, Qosmos, Trovicor, Hacking Team, NeoSoft, VasTech, Palantir
Contractors & PMSCs	Consulting and staff	Booz Allen Hamilton, BAE, SAIC, Chertoff Group, ManTech
Distributors	Partners and resellers of surveillance technologies	Elamen, Ezzy Group

Industry actors involved in surveillance architecture

The Privacy International SII consists of surveillance companies, the more high profile and distributors specialising in surveillance technologies, and some telecommunications network equipment vendors. Graphs 1, 2 and 3 show the geographical distribution of the companies in the SII, when they were created, and the types of surveillance technology.





Out of the ${\bf 28}$ EU countries, we've identified ${\bf 23}$ where we can find surveillance companies.

The top 5 HQ countries in the EU are **United Kingdom** (104 companies), **France** (45), **Germany** (41), **Italy** (18) and **Sweden** (9).

The top 5 HQ cities are **London** (15), **Paris** (13), **Stockholm** (6), **Dublin** (5) and **Munich** (5).

COUNTRY DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEILLANCE COMPANIES

*	5	•	•	•	*
AUSTRIA	BELGIUM	BULGARIA	CROATIA	CYPRUS	CZECH REPUBLIC
#	•	*			•
DENMARK	ESTONIA	FINLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY	GREECE
24	*	*	54	•	*
HUNGARY	IRELAND	ITALY	LITHUANIA	MALTA	NETHERLANDS
22		*	*		
POLAND	SLOVENIA	SPAIN	SWEDEN	UNITED KINGDOM	



COMPANIES PER TECH TYPE

	ASIA	AFRICA	NORTH AMERICA	SOUTH AMERICA	EUROPE	OCEANIA
ANALYSIS		•	<u></u>	•		•
AUDIO SURVEILLANCE			• •		:	
VIDEO SURVEILLANCE				•		• •
PHONE MONITORING		•• ••	*********	• ••		•• •
LOCATION MONITORING	••• • ••••	•	:			•
INTERNET MONITORING				• ••		•
MONITORING CENTRE		• •				•
INTRUSION	••••		••• •••			
BIOMETRICS	••••	•	••• • ••••			
COUNTER URVEILLANCE			•• •••			•
EQUIPMENT	••• ••	•	•• •	•	*******	
FORENSICS	• •	•			••••••	

The Wassenaar Arrangement

International export control regimes, legacies of cooperation on the trade in strategically sensitive goods from the Cold War, act as forums in which states decide which specific items should be subject to licensing. Currently, there are separate international forums concentrating on missile technology, chemical, biological, nuclear, and military goods. The Wassenaar Arrangement stipulates which military and "dual-use" goods should be subject to licensing and has 41 participating states, including Russia, Japan, the US, and the EU member states. Dual-use goods are generally those which have both military and civilian use, meaning that the arrangement does not include items purely because of human rights concerns. Nevertheless, the Wassenaar Arrangement includes several surveillance technologies within its dual use list of controlled items. While there are only 41 offically participating states, the list of items are also used by a large number of other states as part of their own licensing regulations, including Israel and, to an extent, China.³⁹

Companies in the SII are overwhelmingly based in large arms exporting countries. Four of the top 5 countries in the SII where companies are headquartered also rank in SIPRI's top five arms exporting countries over the years 2000-2015 (USA, Germany, UK, France). 17 of the top 20 countries in which companies in the SII are headquartered also rank within SIPRI's top twenty arms exporting countries during that period.⁴⁰

Using UK government figures, eight of the top 10 countries in the SII where companies are based also rank in the top ten defence exporters over the years 2005-2014.

Estimated Top Defence Exporters (Based on Orders/Contracts signed): 2005-14 (\$BN)

Exporting Country	US\$BN	Exporting Country	US\$BN
USA	204	Canada	17
UK	116	Italy	16
Russia	73	Sweden	13
France	57	Spain	12
Germany	21	Republic of Korea	8
Israel	18	Turkey	6

Source: United Kingdom Trade & Investment Defence & Security Organisation⁴¹

39 https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/analysis-of-chinas-export-controls-against-internationalstandards/bridging-the-gap-analysis-of-chinas-export-controls-against-international-standards

40 Figures taken from SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, available at: <http://www.sipri.org/databases/ armstransfers>. Largest exporters (In descending order in SIPRI Trend Indicator Values (TIVs) expressed in US\$ m. at constant (1990) prices): United States, Russia, Germany (FRG), France, United Kingdom, China, Italy, Spain, Israel, Netherlands, Ukraine, Sweden, Switzerland, Canada, South Korea, Norway, Belarus, South Africa, Turkey, Poland

41 https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/uk-defence-and-security-export-figures-2013

There is also a high level of overlap with large arms exporters within the EU, with 7 of the top 10 countries in the SII where companies are headquartered in the EU also featuring in SIPRI's top ten EU defence exporters over the years 2000-2015.⁴²

They are also overwhelmingly based in advanced capitalist economies, with 87% of the 528 companies based in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) states.

Of the 528 companies, 75% have their headquarters within North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) states.

4% of companies which feature in the SII also feature in the SIPRI top 100 arms producing companies of 2014⁴³ including US-based Boeing (ranked 2nd) BAE Systems, based in the United Kingdom (ranked 3rd), and Elbit Systems, based in Israel (ranked 33rd).

⁴² Figures taken from SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, available at: <http://www.sipri.org/databases/ armstransfers>. Largest exporters (In descending order in SIPRI Trend Indicator Values (TIVs) expressed in US\$ m. at constant (1990) prices): Germany (FRG), France, United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Netherlands, Sweden, Poland, Belgium, Finland

⁴³ http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/production/recent-trends-in-arms-industry/The%20SIPRI%20Top%20 100%202014.pdf

Selected Case Studies⁴⁴ Israel

Exports of military and security equipment serve a dual purpose in Israel.⁴⁵ Firstly, a commercial one, providing companies and individual brokers with revenues that are then reinvested into the industrial base, ultimately to the benefit of Israeli military and security agencies. Secondly, exports foster military, security, and diplomatic ties with recipient countries. Exports of intelligence equipment can play a particularly important role in strengthening intelligence cooperation. It is unclear how high a priority is placed on the consideration of human rights within decision making in Israel's government when it comes to licensing exports of strategic goods. A recent amendment to export licensing rules that would have put the consideration of human rights records into law was rejected by the foreign ministry.⁴⁶ Activists have pointed to ongoing military exports from Israel to Azerbaijan and South Sudan as evidence that military exports from Israel are leading to human rights violations.⁴⁷

Military conscription is mandatory in Israel, meaning that the entire non-Arab population with some exceptions receives military or intelligence training. In addition to intelligence units of the armed forces and the domestic and foreign intelligence agencies, the signals intelligence agency responsible for monitoring communications, known as Unit 8200, is the largest unit within the Israeli Defense Forces.⁴⁸ In 2014, 43 former Unit 8200 soldiers issued a letter to the Prime Minister saying that there was no oversight on surveillance methods used by the unit against Palestinians, allowing "for the continued control of millions of people and in-depth inspection that's invasive to most areas of life".⁴⁹ Expertise learned during military and intelligence service can then be applied to the private sector. The Financial Times reports that Israeli companies account for some 10% of the global cyber security market, and that in 2014 exports of cyber security equipment exceeded exports of military hardware for the first time.⁵⁰

There are 27 surveillance companies with headquarters in Israel in the SII. Out of the top five countries represented in SII, Israel is home to by far the largest amount per capita, with 0.33 companies per 100,000 people located in Israel, compared to 0.04 in the United States and 0.16 in the United Kingdom.

⁴⁴ Chosen as the top 5 countries in which surveillance companies are based, but with Italy replacing France due to their being more information available in the public domain on transfers from Italy to inform analysis

⁴⁵ http://www.globes.co.il/en/article-1000635747

⁴⁶ http://972mag.com/who-will-stop-the-flow-of-israeli-arms-to-dictatorships/114080/

⁴⁷ http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.669852

⁴⁸ http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.585863

⁴⁹ http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4570256,00.html

⁵⁰ http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/69f150da-25b8-11e5-bd83-71cb60e8f08c.html

Investigations published by Privacy International show that Israeli companies have provided phone and internet monitoring technologies to the secret police in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan,⁵¹ as well as security forces in Colombia.⁵² Other reports detail Israeli surveillance companies have equipped security forces with internet monitoring technology in Trinidad and Tobago⁵³ and Uganda.⁵⁴ Agencies in Panama and Mexico have reportedly been customers of intrusion technology developed by Israeli NSO Group.

Israeli brokers likely amplify Israel's role in the military and security trade,⁵⁷ also meaning that Israeli companies are likely under-represented in the SII. Some muslimmajority countries, such as Saudi Arabia and Bangladesh, explicitly ban Israeli companies from competing in some procurement.⁵⁸ A freedom of information request confirmed that by 2012 there were 6684 registered arms brokers in Israel, working in 1006 companies and 312 independent businesses.⁵⁹ This makes enforcing regulations in Israel challenging, and indeed the agency in charge of supervising strategic exports has been criticized by a state comptroller for weak enforcement.⁶⁰ Internet monitoring technology sold by Allot Communications has reportedly even been re-exported to Iran.⁶¹ Israeli brokers are reported to have arranged transfers of internet and phone monitoring equipment to Nigeria,⁶² while surveillance companies such as Circles, registered in Cyprus and Bulgaria,⁶³ and 3i-Mind,⁶⁴ registered in Switzerland, are staffed by former employees of Israeli surveillance companies and intelligence agencies. Silver Bullets, a UK based company reported to have supplied phone monitoring technology to Vietnam,⁶⁵ has an Israeli national as a registered officer.⁶⁶

^{51 &#}x27;Private Interests: Monitoring Central Asia', Privacy International, Nov. 2014

^{52 &#}x27;Demand/Supply: Exposing the Surveillance Industry in Colombia', Privacy International, September 2015, https://www.privacyinternational.org/sites/default/files/DemandSupply_English.pdf>

^{53 &}quot;'Phone calls, e-mails of high-profile citizens monitored for past two years'", Daily Express, 26 November 2008, <http://www.trinidadexpress.com/news/Listening_in___-115542299.html>

⁵⁴ Africa Intelligence, "Museveni commits \$85.5 million to monitor the Web", N°1414 - 06/11/2015 <http:// www.africaintelligence.com/ION/politics-power/2015/11/06/museveni-commits-dollars85.5%C2%A0million-tomonitor-the-web,108110202-ART>

⁵⁵ Bamford, James, "The Espionage Economy", Foreign Policy, 22 January 2016, http://foreignpolicy. com/2016/01/22/the-espionage-econom>

⁵⁶ Barbara Opall-Rome, 'Israeli Smartphone Targeting System Cleared for Export', Defense News, Aug. 2013

⁵⁷ http://www.nonproliferation.eu/web/documents/other/siemontwezeman4f7dafb3c4a92.pdf

⁵⁸ https://wikileaks.org/saudi-cables/doc43348.html

⁵⁹ http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.535794

⁶⁰ http://www.upi.com/Business_News/Security-Industry/2013/07/19/Israeli-defense-industry-exports-underscrutiny/UPI-11581374259134/

⁶¹ http://www.globes.co.il/en/article-1000718874

⁶² http://www.premiumtimesng.com/investigationspecial-reports/196964-how-jonathan-govt-paid-companieslinked-to-doyin-okupe-to-hack-unfriendly-websitesinvestigation-how-jonathan-govt-paid-companieslinked-to-doyin-okupe-to-hack-unfriendly-websites-2.html

⁶³ http://www.intelligenceonline.com/corporate-intelligence/terabytes/2015/12/02/circles--mobile-phonecompany-intercepts-3g,108114286-ART

⁶⁴ http://www.forbes.com/sites/jeffbercovici/2013/10/31/vocativ-brings-the-tools-of-the-spy-world-into-thenewsroom/#4eac16857a17

⁶⁵ http://boingboing.net/2006/08/24/report-uk-us-cos-sol.html

⁶⁶ https://beta.companieshouse.gov.uk/company/04338196/officers



The Global Surveillance Industry



United States of America

There are 122 companies with headquarters in the United States – the most in the SII. One of the most obvious explanations for this would be the relative size and sophistication of security agencies within the US and size of the domestic US market for surveillance technology. The 'Black Budget',⁶⁷ a leaked breakdown of expenditure of the 2013 US intelligence program, which does not include amounts for law enforcement agencies such as the Drug Enforcement Administration, revealed that the total US intelligence budget in 2013 was \$52.6 billion - in constant dollars estimated to be double that of 2001. According to a Bloomberg Industries analysis, 70% of the 2013 United States intelligence budget was contracted out to private companies,⁶⁸ while the 'Black Budget' revealed that over 20% of 107,035 employees across the various intelligence agencies were private contractors.⁶⁹ Research and development into high technology are subsidised through the Pentagon and subsequently commercialised.⁷⁰ Total US military expenditure – including R&D - was in 2015 at \$596 billion, more than double that of second-placed China, and 36% of the global share of expenditure.⁷¹

Internet and phone monitoring technology developed by Narus, a former subsidiary of Boeing until it was baught over by Symantec, a fortune 500 technology company, has been used to monitor the AT&T network by the NSA.⁷² According to their marketing vice president, Narus' technology is a capable of recording all traffic in an internet protocol network, including emails, attachments, internet histories, and even VoIP calls. It was reportedly also used in Egypt prior to the 2011 uprising.⁷³

⁶⁷ https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/black-budget-summary-details-us-spy-networkssuccesses-failures-and-objectives/2013/08/29/7e57bb78-10ab-11e3-8cdd-bcdc09410972_story.html

⁶⁹ https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/black-budget-summary-details-us-spy-networks-

successes-failures-and-objectives/2013/08/29/7e57bb78-10ab-11e3-8cdd Understanding Power: The Indispensible Chomsky By Noam Chomsky, p 241

⁷¹ http://books.sipri.org/files/FS/SIPRIFS1604.pdf

⁷² Markoff, J and Shane, S, "Documents Show Link Between AT&T and Agency in Eavesdropping Case," The New York Times, 13 April 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/13/us/nationalspecial3/13nsa.html?_ r=2&n=Top/News/Business/Companies/AT&T&oref=slogin&>

⁷³ Karr, Timothy, "One U.S. Corporation's Role in Egypt's Brutal Crackdown," Huffington Post, 28 Janury 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/timothy-karr/one-us-corporations-role-_b_815281.html>

The Global Surveillance Industry

Privacy International has also found within public US government procurement records that surveillance companies Packet Forensics and SS8 are selling to a range of US government agencies as well as exporting surveillance equipment abroad.^{74 75} SS8 were also reportedly responsible for selling intrusion systems to the United Arab Emirates.⁷⁶ Data about the use of products developed by Blue Coat, which produces Deep Packet Inspection technology that can be used for internet monitoring, was compiled by the Citizen Lab.⁷⁷ The Intercept reports that Lawful Interception companies, without naming any specific companies, have apparently provided the NSA with direct access to foreign telecommunications networks.⁷⁸ Other exports by US companies include Colombia, where there are high levels of US security assistance and intelligence cooperation.⁷⁹

^{74 &}quot;List Of Contract Actions Matching Your Criteria: SS8", Federal Procurement Data System, 3 February 2016 https://www.fpds.gov/ezsearch/search.do?indexName=awardfull&templateName=1.4.4&s=FPDSNG. COM&q=ss8>

 [&]quot;List Of Contract Actions Matching Your Criteria: Packet Forensics", Federal Procurement Data System,
3 February 2016 https://www.fpds.gov/ezsearch/search.

do?indexName=awardfull&templateName=1.4.4&s=FPDSNG.COM&q=packet+forensics>

⁷⁶ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8161190.stm

⁷⁷ Citizen Lab, "Some Devices Wander by Mistake: Planet Blue Coat Redux," 09 July 2013, <https:// citizenlab.org/2013/07/planet-blue-coat-redux/>

⁷⁸ https://theintercept.com/2014/05/19/data-pirates-caribbean-nsa-recording-every-cell-phone-callbahamas/

^{79 &#}x27;Demand/Supply: Exposing the Surveillance Industry in Colombia', Privacy International, September 2015, https://www.privacyinternational.org/sites/default/files/DemandSupply_English.pdf>



TECHNOLOGY TYPE DISTRIBUTION





United Kingdom

Largely spurred by the conflict in Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom was already by 1981 becoming a world-leader in the development of surveillance and counter-insurgency technology.⁸⁰ There are 104 UK companies in the SII. Currently, general UK cyber capabilities are spurred by the sophistication of its signals intelligence agency, the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), and the fact it is home to a number of large arms companies.⁸¹

The UK government also promotes exports abroad through the UK Trade and Investment Defence and Security Organisation, for example proactively assisting surveillance company Hidden Technologies to access markets abroad by providing advice and introducing the company to potential customers.⁸² BAE Systems in 2011 acquired Danish internet and phone monitoring company ETI for £137 million.⁸³ Bloomberg reports that since 2008, BAE has spent more than £1 billion on buying surveillance and cyber-security businesses.⁸⁴ Little is known of BAE's exports however, other than it has been reported that ETI had provided the Tunisian government with internet monitoring technology prior to the 2011 uprising,⁸⁵ and that it was the "main contractor" and "systems integrator" for a project in Saudi Arabia.⁸⁶

The UK government has since 2015 made export licensing data publicly available. 98 permanent and temporary licenses were granted in the period 1 January – 31 December 2015 for phone monitoring technology, including to Israel, Bangladesh, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Turkmenistan, and the UAE.⁸⁷ Exports of phone monitoring technology (IMSI catchers, see technology explainer in annex 1) have been blocked on human rights ground to a country in South Asia⁸⁸ in 2009 and to Ethiopia and Pakistan in 2015. An Open Individual Export License (OIEL) was granted for equipment, software, and technology for Intrusion Software on 14 October 2015, giving an exporter permission to sell to 11 countries, including Egypt, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. A license worth £6.5m was issued by the UK on 7 July 2015 for internet monitoring technology to the UAE. It is not known whether the licenses for internet monitoring and intrusion are for law enforcement/intelligence gathering purposes.

⁸⁰ https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/200000/pol340051981en.pdf

⁸¹ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/275566/UKTI_Cyber_Security_ Brochure.pdf

⁸² https://www.gov.uk/government/case-studies/technology-company-helped-to-secure-millions-of-pounds-ofexport-business

⁸³ http://www.computing.co.uk/ctg/news/2074597/bae-systems-buys-cyber-security-firm-gbp137m

⁸⁴ http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-04-12/bae-taps-cyber-skills-honed-for-spooks-to-wincorporate-clients

⁸⁵ http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-12-12/tunisia-after-revolt-can-alter-e-mails-with-bigbrother-software

⁸⁶ https://www.information.dk/indland/2016/04/dansk-firma-samarbejde-saudi-arabien-overvaagning

⁸⁷ UK Department for Business Innovation and Skills, 'Strategic export controls: reports and statistics', <https://www.exportcontroldb.bis.gov.uk>.

⁸⁸ http://www.cecimo.eu/site/fileadmin/documents/EU%20LEGISLATION%20AND%20DOSSIERS/Dual-use_legislation/ FINAL_REPORT.pdf



• ANALYSIS AUDIO SURVEILLANCE PHONE MONITORING BIOMETRICS LOCATION MONITORING INTERNET MONITORING MONITORING CENTRE VIDEO SURVEILLANCE ÷ • COUNTER SURVEILLANCE FORENSICS EQUIPMENT INTRUSION



Germany

There are 41 German companies in the SII. Germany is a world-renowned leader in high-tech manufacturing, driven by public-private research.⁸⁹ It is also Europe's largest arms exporter and during the Cold War home to intelligence agencies notoriously active in espionage and monitoring of civilian populations.⁹⁰

Publicly available reports show German companies exporting a range of phone and internet monitoring technologies to Bahrain,⁹¹ Bangladesh,⁹² Iran,⁹³ and Syria,⁹⁴ among others. Privacy International has reported how German companies have been involved in the sale of such technology to Ethiopia⁹⁵ and Pakistan.⁹⁶ In 2014, the government conducted a review of exports of surveillance technology, reporting that undisclosed surveillance technology had been exported to 38 countries between 2003 and 2013, including to Saudi Arabia and Turkmenistan.⁹⁷

- 89 http://www.wsj.com/articles/behind-germanys-success-story-in-manufacturing-1401473946
- 90 http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/cold-war-espionage-10-000-east-germans-spied-for-thewest-a-508518.html
- 91 Silver, V. And Elgin, B., 'Torture in Bahrain becomes routine with help of Nokia Siemens', Bloomberg, 23 Aug. 2011, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-08-22/torture-in-bahrain-becomes-routinewith-help-from-nokia-siemens-networking>, Silver, V., 'EU may probe Bahrain spy gear abuses', Bloomberg, 24 Aug. 2011, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-08-24/eu-legislators-ask-forinquiry-into-spy-gear-abuses-in-bahrain>
- 92 Spohr, Frederic, "Big Brother Made in Germany", Handelsblatt, 27 March 2015, <https://global. handelsblatt.com/edition/145/ressort/politics/article/big-brother-made-in-germany>
- 93 Rhoads, C., 'Iran's web spying aided by Western technology', Wall Street Journal, 22 June 2009, <www. wsj.com/news/articles/SB124562668777335653#printMode>
- 94 Monitoring the opposition: Siemens allegedly sold surveillance gear to Syria', Der Spiegel, 11 Apr. 2012 <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/ard-reports-siemens-sold-surveillance-technologyto-syria-a-826860.html>
- 95 Privacy International, "Ethiopia expands surveillance capacity with German tech via Lebanon", 23 March 2015, <https://www.privacyinternational.org/node/546>
- 96 Privacy International, "Tipping the scales: Security & surveillance in Pakistan", July 2015, <https:// www.privacyinternational.org/sites/default/files/PAKISTAN%20REPORT%20HIGH%20RES
- 97 German Parliament, Drucksache 18/2067 auf die Kleine Anfrage der Abgeordneten Agnieszka Brugger, Dr. Konstantin von Notz, Katja Keul, weiterer Abgeordneter und der Fraktion BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, 18.08.2014, Date accessed 03.02.2016, <http://dipbt.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/023/1802374.pdf>

The Global Surveillance Industry



*	*	*	6
ANALYSIS	AUDIO SURVEILLANCE	PHONE MONITORING	BIOMETRICS
*	*	*	**
LOCATION MONITORING	INTERNET MONITORING	MONITORING CENTRE	VIDEO SURVEILLANCE
*	•	*	•
COUNTER SURVEILLANCE	FORENSICS	EQUIPMENT	INTRUSION


Italy

There are 18 Italian companies featuring in the SII. In addition to having a large defence and security sector generally, the Italian surveillance industry has been driven by domestic demand as a result of organised crime, according to a surveillance company presentation in South Africa in 2014 attended by Privacy International.

Surveillance company AREA in 2009 began installing a monitoring centre in Syria before the Italian government took measures in 2011 to stop the project.⁹⁸ The government does not regularly publish export licensing data, meaning that all of the other data about Italian surveillance exports is related to Hacking Team, a developer and seller of intrusion technology based in Milan. Hacking Team has attracted the most attention among surveillance companies as a result of their internal systems being hacked in 2015 and subsequent revelations that they had exported to a range of authoritarian countries.⁹⁹ There are three other companies which market intrusion technology in Italy, and a range of other companies producing surveillance technologies.

98 Silver, V., 'Italian firm said to exit Syrian monitoring project', Bloomberg, 28 Nov. 2011, <http://www. bloomberg.com/news/2011-11-28/italian-firm-exits-syrian-monitoring-project-republica-says.html>

99 https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2015/jul/06/hacking-team-hacked-firm-sold-spying-tools-torepressive-regimes-documents-claim





Import Case Study: Middle East & North Africa (MENA)

The Arab Uprising threw attention to the security apparatus of the various countries in the MENA region, most of which were supported by Western states and were recipients of major defence and security exports, assistance, and intelligence cooperation.¹⁰⁰ The various agencies had access to a wide variety of surveillance technologies provided overwhelmingly by economically-advanced countries in the West. The SII currently contains data about 152 transfers to the region. Aside from China, from which companies have reportedly provided surveillance equipment to Iran¹⁰¹ and Algeria,¹⁰² South African VasTech, which had provided Ghadaffi's Libya with nationwide phone monitoring technology,¹⁰³ all of the transfers have been from member countries of the OECD. All of the transfers apart from those from China and Israel have also been from countries that are participating members of the Wassenaar Arrangement.

Specific surveillance technologies have reportedly been used for a range of human rights abuses in the region. In Bahrain, school administrator and human rights activist Abdul Ghani al Khanjar was tortured while being confronted with transcripts of his text messages and details of his personal communications – information reportedly gained by the use of phone monitoring technology developed in Germany.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, intrusion software developed in the UK was reportedly used to spy on some 77 Bahraini individuals, including prominent lawyers, activists and politicians.¹⁰⁵ Two judicial investigations are still underway in France relating to the complicity of companies selling internet surveillance technologies in torture and other human rights abuses in Libya and Syria after complaints taken by human rights NGOs FIDH and LDH.¹⁰⁶

However, how specific technologies are used and their use in human rights violations is difficult to quantify given the levels of secrecy. For example, it is difficult to establish whether victims of extrajudicial killings or torture were initially identified or located using specific surveillance technologies, despite their obvious utility in this regard. Moreover, surveillance also has an intangible effect. Surveillance techniques

 $^{100 \}qquad https://www.csis.org/analysis/changing-patterns-arms-imports-middle-east-and-north-africa$

¹⁰¹ Stecklow, S, "Special Report: Chinese firm helps Iran spy on citizens", Reuters, 22 March 2012, <http://
www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-telecoms-idUSBRE82L0B820120322>

¹⁰² Africa Intelligence, "Bouteflika set to be Internet spymaster", N°1176 - 05/11/2015, http://www.africaintelligence.com/MCE/power-brokers/2015/11/05/bouteflika-set-to-be-internet-spymaster, 108109971-ART>

¹⁰³ Sonne, P. and Coker, M., 'Firms aided Libyan spies', Wall Street Journal, <www.wsj.com/articles/SB100014
24053111904199404576538721260166388>

¹⁰⁴ http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-08-22/torture-in-bahrain-becomes-routine-with-help-fromnokia-siemens-networking

¹⁰⁵ https://bahrainwatch.org/blog/2014/08/07/uk-spyware-used-to-hack-bahrain-lawyers-activists/

¹⁰⁶ https://www.fidh.org/en/region/europe-central-asia/france/15116-france-opening-of-a-judicialinvestigation-targeting-qosmos-for-complicity

which subject a population or significant component of a group to indiscriminate monitoring, which have been ruled an interference with the right to privacy by a number of courts,¹⁰⁷ also interfere with the freedom of expression and lead to self-censorship.¹⁰⁸ This has a particularly corrosive effect in countries with poor human rights records in the MENA region, and specifically on journalists, opposition movements, activists, and dissidents. Amnesty International in their annual 2015 reported that governments across the Middle East and North Africa region remained intolerant of criticism and dissent and curtailed rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly.¹⁰⁹ Freedom House, which carries out an annual assessment on political rights and civil liberties, ranked the Middle East and North Africa region as the worst in the world in 2015,¹¹⁰ while the highest ranked MENA country in Reporters Without Borders' 2016 World Press Freedom Index was Tunisia – ranked 96th.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ http://curia.europa.eu/juris/documents.jsf?num=C-293/12#

¹⁰⁸ http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2769645

¹⁰⁹ https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/research/2016/02/annual-report-201516/

¹¹⁰ https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2015#.VyoczpMrLeQ

¹¹¹ https://rsf.org/en/ranking

SURVEILLANCE IMPORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

ORIGIN	GOODS	CLIENT	DATE
BAHI	RAIN		
Germany	Network Infrastructure, Monitoring Centre, Lawful Interception	Government of Bahrain	2007
Germany	Network Infrastructure, Monitoring Centre, Lawful Interception	Government of Bahrain	mid-200
Germany	Monitoring Centre	Government of Bahrain	2009
JSA	Deep Packet Inspection		
јк	Intrusion Software		2010
taly	Intrusion Software	Midworld Barhein	2013
≠ ISRA	EL		
јк	Off the Air Interception		2015
ЈК	Off the Air Interception		2015
witzerland	Off the Air Interception		2015
JSA	Deep Packet Inspection		
JSA	Off the Air Interception		2012
_			
YEM			
Germany	Monitoring Centre		2009
🚨 IRAN	l		
reland	Network Infrastructure and Services	Irancell	2008
JK	Location Tracking	Irancell	2011
weden	Network Infrastructure and Services	Irancell	2009
iermany	 Network Infrastructure, Monitoring Centre, Lawful Interception 	Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps	2008
srael	Deep Packet Inspection	"Hossein", a technology distributor	2006
iermany	Network Infrastructure, Monitoring Centre, Lawful Interception	Å Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps	2008
ISA	Deep Packet Inspection		
hina	Network Infrastructure and Services, Deep Packet Inspection, Lawful Interception	Telecommunications Co of Iran	2010
China	Network Infrastructure and Services, Deep Packet Inspection, Lawful Interception	MobinNet	2009
Germany	Lawful Interception	Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps	
	A		
South Africa	Monitoring Centre, Lawful Interception		
France	Monitoring Centre, Deep Packet Inspection, Lawful Interception, Fibre Probes		
• ALGE	RIA		
JK	Off the Air Interception		2015
China	Lawful Interception		2010
	ED ARAB EMIRATES		
лк	Off the Air Interception		2015
JK	Off the Air Interception		2015
JK	Off the Air Interception		2015
JK	Off the Air Interception		2015
	Off the Air Interception		
11/			2015
			0017
IK	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes		2015
ik Ik	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes Intrusion Software		2015
IK IK witzerland	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes Intrusion Software Off the Air Interception		2015 2012
IK IK witzerland witzerland	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes Intrusion Software Off the Air Interception Off the Air Interception		2015 2012 2013
IK IK witzerland witzerland Germany	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes Intrusion Software Off the Air Interception Off the Air Interception Unknown		2015 2012 2013 2011
JK JK witzerland witzerland Germany Germany	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes Intrusion Software Off the Air Interception Off the Air Interception Unknown Unknown		2015 2012 2013 2011 2006
JK JK Witzerland Witzerland Germany Germany	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes Intrusion Software Off the Air Interception Off the Air Interception Unknown Unknown Unknown		2015 2012 2013 2011
JK JK Witzerland Witzerland Germany Germany	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes Intrusion Software Off the Air Interception Off the Air Interception Unknown Unknown		2015 2012 2013 2011 2006
IK IK witzerland witzerland iermany iermany iermany ISA	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes Intrusion Software Off the Air Interception Off the Air Interception Unknown Unknown Unknown	UAE - MOI	2015 2012 2013 2011 2006
JK JK JK Switzerland Switzerland Sermany Sermany JSA taly taly	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes Intrusion Software Off the Air Interception Off the Air Interception Unknown Unknown Unknown Deep Packet Inspection	UAE - MOI UAE - Intelligence	2015 2012 2013 2011 2006 2003
JK Witzerland Witzerland Germany Germany Germany JSA	Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes Intrusion Software Off the Air Interception Off the Air Interception Unknown Unknown Unknown Deep Packet Inspection Intrusion Software		2015 2012 2013 2011 2006 2003 2003 2011

Germany	Monitoring Centre	2009
IK		ch Department (TRD)
к	Off the Air Interception	2015
K	Intrusion Software	201
SA	Deep Packet Inspection	
	Deep Packet Inspection Ministry of Interior	201
aly	Intrusion Software Egypt - MOD	201
aly	Intrusion Software Egypt TRD GNSE	201
5A	Off the Air Interception	200
кимл	AIT	
(Off the Air Interception	201
(Intrusion Software	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
nland	Off the Air Interception	201
nland	Off the Air Interception	201-
ermany	• Unknown	201:
ermany	• Unknown	200
5A	Deep Packet Inspection	
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
<	Off the Air Interception	201
	NON	
C		e of General Security Internal Security Forces (ISF)
、 、	Off the Air Interception	201
<	Off the Air Interception	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
ermany	Unknown	201
SA	Deep Packet Inspection	201
	Intrusion Software Lebanon Army Fi	ces 201
aly SA	Off the Air Interception	201
_		201
	Off the Air Interception	201
 (Off the Air Interception	201
· (Off the Air Interception	201
(Intrusion Software	201
, itzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
ermany	• Unknown	201
A	Deep Packet Inspection	
itzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
itzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
itzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
ritzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
ritzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
ritzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
vitzerland	Off the Air Interception	201
(Off the Air Interception	201
、 (Intrusion Software	201

	Intrusion Software	Conseil Superieur De La Defense Nationale (CSDN) U	nknown other entities
land	 Off the Air Interception 		2014
and	 Off the Air Interception 		2014
many	Unknown		2013
many	Unknown		2010
many	Unknown		2009
у	Intrusion Software	CSDN	2009
у	Intrusion Software	Morocco - DST	2012
SAUD	IARABIA		
	Intrusion Software		
	Off the Air Interception		2015
	Off the Air Interception		2015
	Intrusion Software		2015
many	Unknown		2007
A	Deep Packet Inspection	Saudi Telecom	
A	Deep Packet Inspection		
у	Intrusion Software	GIP Saudi	2010
у	Intrusion Software	Saudi - GID	2012
ly	Intrusion Software	MOD Saudi	2013
nmark	Unknown		
JORD	AN		
	Intrusion Software		
	Intrusion Software		2015
itzerland	 Off the Air Interception 		2013
A	 Deep Packet Inspection 		
A	 Off the Air Interception 		2011
A	Off the Air Interception		2012
5A	Off the Air Interception		2014
TUNI	SIA		
nmark	Monitoring Centre, Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes	Government of Tunisia	
rmany	Monitoring Centre	Government of Tunisia	
rmany	Lawful Interception	Government of Tunisia	
t.	 Off the Air Interception 		2015
land	 Off the Air Interception 		2014
land	 Off the Air Interception 		2014
OMA	N		
/itzerland	Intrusion Software	Government of Oman	2010
(Intrusion Software		
	Off the Air Interception		2015
	Intrusion Software		2015
many	Unknown		2010
у	Intrusion Software	Oman - Intelligence	2011
	Off the Air Interception		2015
rmany	Lawful Interception		
	Lawful Interception		
PALE	STINE		
A	Deep Packet Inspection		

Ireland	Network Infrastructure and Services	MTN Syria (mobile operator)	2010
Italy	Monitoring Centre	225, Syrian intelligence	2009
reland	 Network Infrastructure and Services 	Syriatel Mobile Telecom	2008
USA	Network Infrastructure		2011
France	 Deep Packet Inspection, Fibre Probes 	225, Syrian intelligence	2009
Germany	 Monitoring Centre 	Syriatel	2009
Germany	 Network Infrastructure, Monitoring Centre, Lawful Interception 	Syriatel	2000
Germany	 Network Infrastructure, Monitoring Centre, Lawful Interception 	Syriatel	2007
Germany	Lawful Interception	225, Syrian intelligence	2009
USA	Deep Packet Inspection		
USA	Off the Air Interception		2012
	2		
JK	 Off the Air Interception 		2015
JSA	Deep Packet Inspection		
JK	 Off the Air Interception 		2015
USA	Off the Air Interception		2007

Surveillance technologies & military applications

Surveillance technologies and techniques used for civilian law enforcement are also used in military and counter terrorism applications by armed forces, part of a wider trend to utilize electronic intelligence and autonomous systems over human involvement.

Phone monitoring technology can also be used to identify an individual for a strike. In 2014, a former US drone operator revealed that the CIA and military were using metadata from mobile phones obtained by the NSA for drone strikes and night raids.¹¹² In the same way that IMSI catchers, described in Annex 1, are used by US law enforcement agencies aboard light aircraft to identify mobile phones, for example after the attacks in San Bernardino,¹¹³ they can also be fitted on drones to identify phones for assassination. The former operator is quoted as saying "We're not going after people – we're going after their phones, in the hopes that the person on the other end of that missile is the bad guy." Infamously, a former director of the NSA and the CIA, General Michael Hayden, has also stated that "We kill people based on metadata."¹¹⁴ IMSI catchers can also be used to provide tactical intelligence to armed forces engaged in conflict.¹¹⁵ For example, Israel Aerospace Industries, an arms company and producer of drones, also produces IMIS catchers specifically for mounting upon helicopters and aerostats.¹¹⁶

Hacking techniques used in intrusion products are also employed for espionage and sabotage by nation states. The commercial intrusion surveillance technology on the market essentially makes the process of hacking into an individuals phone or computer easier and systematic. Intrusion works by installing malicious code, or malware, onto a device. The malware can then carry out functions unknown to the device's owner and without their permission. For example, it could access data, take a screenshot, switch on the webcam, or switch on the microphone, and subsequently transmit the data elsewhere. In this way such technologies are extremely invasive, by passing any forms of encryption and IT security measures as well as having the ability to modify data. The companies selling commercial intrusion products on the market aim to minimise the burden and expertise involved in this process by offering training and the required software and hardware solutions.

¹¹² https://theintercept.com/2014/02/10/the-nsas-secret-role/

¹¹³ http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3356608/So-terrorists-Homeland-Security-deployed-hi-tech-spyplane-scoops-tens-thousands-phone-calls-one-time-San-Bernardino-days-massacre.html

¹¹⁴ http://www.nybooks.com/daily/2014/05/10/we-kill-people-based-metadata/

¹¹⁵ http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/land/army/2015/05/13/israel-ground-forces-maneuvering-armorvehicles-precision-unmanned-robotics-tank/26968519/

¹¹⁶ http://www.iai.co.il/Sip_Storage//FILES/7/36827.pdf

In order to install the malware, targets can be send fake attachments within emails or other communications. It is also possible to install intrusion technologies at a network level within the Internet Service Providerss, meaning that malware can be delivered simply by an individual going on a specific website or updating a specific programme, such as a browser.

Malware can also be delivered using exploits. An exploit is software code which takes advantage of vulnerabilities in code to carry out a specific function. An exploit which takes advantages of wholly unknown vulnerabilities, that is the manufacturer of the product does not know that a vulnerability exists, is known as a zero day exploit. The discovery of zero day exploits can be extremely valuable – companies may pay for information about vulnerabilities in their products, for example. Hackers and governments also buy and use zero days and other exploits for offensive purposes and for surveillance. This has led to a white, black, and grey market for such code. Companies such as French-based VUPEN, now known as Zerodium and based in Washington D.C,¹¹⁷ sell exploits to government agencies such as the NSA.¹¹⁸ Surveillance companies selling intrusion also purchase exploits to then re-sell to customers.¹¹⁹ Hacking Team, for example, paid one exploit developer \$45,000 for a single exploit for Adobe Flash.¹²⁰ In the same way that this exploit code can be used for surveillance, it can also be used for espionage and sabotage. Stuxnet for example, the attack against Iran's nuclear centrifuges developed by the US and Israel, used four zero days.¹²¹ Edward Snowden claims that in 2012 the NSA inadvertently cut off Syria's entire internet when it attempted to remotely install an exploit within the state ISP to monitor the country's communications.¹²²

¹¹⁷ http://www.pcworld.com/article/3000637/security/winner-claimed-in-1-million-ios-9-hacking-contest.html

¹¹⁸ http://www.zdnet.com/article/nsa-purchased-zero-day-exploits-from-french-security-firm-vupen/

¹¹⁹ https://www.privacyinternational.org/node/447

¹²⁰ http://arstechnica.co.uk/security/2015/07/how-a-russian-hacker-made-45000-selling-a-zero-day-flash-exploit-to-hacking-team/

¹²¹ http://www.buzzfeed.com/jamesball/us-hacked-into-irans-critical-civilian-infrastructure-for-ma#.
 wwrW49AkP

¹²² http://www.wired.com/2014/08/edward-snowden/

Intelligence collection cooperation

Advanced intelligence agencies appear to be encouraging, developing, and utilizing the surveillance capabilities of foreign states. Reports show there is significant agency to agency cooperation between the countries in the MENA region and Western intelligence agencies. Among the documents provided by Edward Snowden was an internal NSA blog written in 2009 stating that the agency would "share advanced technologies [with third parties] in return for that partner's willingness to do something politically risky."¹²³ Under RAMPART-A, a programme revealed by Snowden, foreign partners "provide access to cables and host U.S. equipment" in exchange for access to intelligence. The Intercept reports that there have been 13 such data collection points on submarine cables across the world, 9 of which were active in 2013.¹²⁴ In a separate file, Algeria, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Turkey, and the United Arab Emirates are listed as approved SIGINT partners for the NSA.¹²⁵ In 2014, it was reported that GCHQ had a similar programme in Oman, tapping submarine cables.¹²⁶

Access to the submarine cables in strategic points across the world is of high strategic value, given that the vast majority of international internet traffic travels through them, including that of other countries' and not just that of individuals from the country in which the collection point is situated. The role of the private sector in facilitating this collection or providing the necessary surveillance technology is unknown.

¹²³ http://www.duncancampbell.org/content/nsa-inside-five-eyed-vampire-squid-internet

¹²⁴ https://theintercept.com/2014/06/18/nsa-surveillance-secret-cable-partners-revealed-rampart-a/

¹²⁵ http://www.duncancampbell.org/content/nsa-inside-five-eyed-vampire-squid-internet

¹²⁶ http://www.theregister.co.uk/2014/06/03/revealed_beyond_top_secret_british_intelligence_middleeast_ internet_spy_base/

Phone monitoring and analysis technology are used to identify military targets. For example, a June 2012 document leaked by Snowden describes SKYNET, an analysis programme which looks for patterns and behaviours within the metadata of mobile phones.¹²⁷ When a mobile phone is connected to a network, it communicates with base stations in the area and sends information to the telecommunications operator for billing and other purposes. The NSA presentation appears to show that the NSA receives this information from the telecommunications providers in Pakistan. Using this metadata, SKYNET sought to identify phones which could indicate whether it belonged to an individual of intelligence value, such as a courier. For example, the metadata could show that the individual was repeatedly visiting locations of interest. It is not known how the NSA accesses this intelligence, whether it is the Pakistani intelligence agencies which initially use phone monitoring technology (Pakistan is an approved third party) and subsequently share it, or whether the NSA obtains it unilaterally, either in cooperation with Pakistani partners by using phone monitoring technology or by hacking.

¹²⁷ https://theintercept.com/2015/05/08/u-s-government-designated-prominent-al-jazeera-journalist-al-qaedamember-put-watch-list/

Regulatory Mechanisms

Given the strategic value of some surveillance technologies and their human rights implications, several regulatory mechanisms by various countries aimed at governing their trade have been initiated, and there have also been calls for industry standards.

Self regulation by the surveillance companies themselves is a crucial mechanism. In 2014, the UK government and Tech UK, an industry association, produced guidelines for companies to assess the risk to human rights posed by exports of cyber security technologies by conducting due diligence and post monitoring practices.¹²⁸ In 2011, the Electronic Frontier Foundation, a NGO based in the US, published a "Know Your Customer" guide for surveillance companies.¹²⁹

Some surveillance technologies have been incorporated into sanctions regimes. The EU has embargoed the transfer of surveillance technologies as part of Restrictive Measures against Syria and Iran. Following a Council Decision in December 2011, Council Regulation (EU) 36/2012 in January 2012 imposed a ban on the sale, supply, transfer or export, directly or indirectly of surveillance equipment, technology or software "whether or not originating in the Union, to any person, entity or body in Syria or for use in Syria." Similar measures were imposed within Council Regulation (EU) No 264/2012 targeting Iran on a broad range of surveillance technologies, as well as technology and software used for their development and use.¹³⁰ The items included:

- Deep Packet Inspection equipment
- Network Interception equipment including Interception Management Equipment (IMS) and Data Retention Link Intelligence equipment
- Radio Frequency monitoring equipment
- Network and Satellite jamming equipment
- Remote Infection equipment
- Speaker recognition/processing equipment
- IMSI, MSISDN, IMEI, TMSI interception and monitoring equipment
- Tactical SMS /GSM /GPS /GPRS /UMTS /CDMA /PSTN interception and monitoring equipment
- DHCP/SMTP, GTP information interception and monitoring equipment
- Pattern Recognition and Pattern Profiling equipment
- Remote Forensics equipment
- Semantic Processing Engine equipment
- WEP and WPA code breaking equipment
- Interception equipment for VoIP proprietary and standard protocol

¹²⁸ https://www.techuk.org/images/CGP_Docs/Assessing_Cyber_Security_Export_Risks_website_FINAL_3.pdf

¹²⁹ https://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2011/10/it%E2%80%99s-time-know-your-customer-standards-salessurveillance-equipment

¹³⁰ http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2012:087:0026:0036:EN:PDF

It has been suggested that surveillance technologies could potentially be included within the general scope of restricted items within EU and UN sanctions. In February 2014, Privacy International contacted United Nations investigators monitoring the UN arms embargo on Sudan regarding the fact that Hacking Team's technology was reported by Citizen Lab to be in use by the country's military intelligence agency. It was subsequently reported that after the UN Sudan investigators approached the company, Hacking Team replied to say that they had no active business contracts in place. The UN followed up by asking whether there have been any historical contracts. The hack of the company's internal systems showed that in 2012, Sudan's National Intelligence and Security Service paid a total of 960,000 euros for their intrusion system, and that Hacking Team cut off the account's service on November 24, 2014.¹³¹ In response to the UN, Hacking Team stated that its product was not covered by the EU embargo, to which the UN answered that as "such software is ideally suited to support military electronic intelligence (ELINT) operations it may potentially fall under the category of "military... equipment" or "assistance" related to prohibited items.¹³² Hacking Team also sold surveillance technology to a military research agency in Russia that works with the FSB, against which the EU had Restrictive Measures.¹³³ Dutch MEP Marietje Schaake, a leading proponent of stronger safeguards over surveillance technologies within the European Parliament, asked a Parliamentary Written Question to the European Commission regarding the potential violation of sanctions rules, which it instead referred to Italian authorities.¹³⁴

In 2010, the US prohibited the export of "sensitive technology" to Iran through the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act of 2010. Sensitive technology is defined as hardware, software, telecommunications equipment or any other technology used specifically "1) to restrict the free flow of unbiased information in Iran; or 2) to disrupt, monitor or otherwise restrict speech of the people of Iran." This provision was later expanded to include Syria through the Iran Threat Reduction and Syria Human Rights Act of 2012, Executive Order 13606 (the GHRAVITY E.O.) and Executive Order 13628.¹³⁵ In 2013, a Dubai-based distributor paid a fine of \$2.8 million for shipping internet monitoring technology worth \$1.4 million produced by Blue Coat to Syria, falsely claiming it was for Iraq and Afghanistan.¹³⁶

¹³¹ https://theintercept.com/2015/07/07/leaked-documents-confirm-hacking-team-sells-spyware-repressivecountries/

¹³² https://theintercept.com/2015/07/07/leaked-documents-confirm-hacking-team-sells-spyware-repressivecountries/

¹³³ http://www.forbes.com/sites/thomasbrewster/2015/07/09/wikileaks-hacking-team-fsb-sales/#7819171a5557

¹³⁴ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getAllAnswers.do?reference=E-2015-010931&language=EN

¹³⁵ https://cihr.eu/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Uncontrolled-Surveillance_March-2014.pdf

¹³⁶ http://www.reuters.com/article/syria-sanctions-fine-idUSL6N0DC4W120130425

Trade controls

Strategic trade controls imposing export licensing requirements on specific surveillance technologies have also been imposed. The Wassenaar Arrangement has for decades controlled the export of cryptography, meaning that some surveillance systems are subject to prior licensing if they contain certain levels of cryptography.

In 2010, "laser microphones" were added to list, which are used to eavesdrop on conversations by monitoring sound vibrations using lasers, for example through glass.¹³⁷

In 2012, phone monitoring technology was explicitly added to the Wassenaar list to target mobile and satellite phone monitoring equipment. Prior to 2012, some states had already controlled the equipment because of controls on 'Telecommunications systems, equipment, components', though this was interpreted differently by participating states.¹³⁸

In 2013, two further controls were added into the Wassenaar list, one on intrusion software and another on internet monitoring technology.¹³⁹ The public statement stated that the controls were aimed at "surveillance and law enforcement/intelligence gathering tools and Internet Protocol (IP) network surveillance systems or equipment, which, under certain conditions, may be detrimental to international and regional security and stability."¹⁴⁰

The category on internet monitoring, known as IP Network Surveillance Systems, was initiated by France after evidence emerged that a French company, Amesys, supplied internet backbone monitoring technology to Gaddafi's Libya. According to the Wall Street Journal, Amesys' Eagle monitoring centre, which used a combination of probes using Deep Packet Inspection technology and analysis software, was "deployed against dissidents, human-rights campaigners, journalists or everyday enemies of the state" in Libya.¹⁴¹ A criminal case against Amesys for complicity in acts of torture by the Gaddafi regime is ongoing.¹⁴² France implemented the control almost immediately after it was approved by the WA in 2013.

¹³⁷ http://www.wassenaar.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Revised-Summary-of-Changes-to-Control-Lists.pdf

¹³⁸ http://www.cecimo.eu/site/fileadmin/documents/EU%20LEGISLATION%20AND%20DOSSIERS/Dual-use_legislation/ FINAL_REPORT.pdf

¹³⁹ https://cda.io/r/ConsiderationsonWassenaarArrangementProposalsforSurveillanceTechnologies.pdf

¹⁴⁰ http://www.wassenaar.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/WA-Plenary-Public-Statement-2013.pdf

¹⁴¹ http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052970203764804577056230832805896.

¹⁴² http://businesshumanrights.org/en/amesys-lawsuit-re-libya-0#c18496.

The addition of items related to intrusion software were proposed by the United Kingdom and also agreed at the WA in December 2013. The UK government has stated that these controls were on "Complex surveillance tools which enable unauthorised access to computer systems"¹⁴³ introduced "because of real concerns about the use of such tools to breach human rights and the risks that they pose to national security".¹⁴⁴ The controls distinguished between components used to create and control the malware itself, meaning that the malware component is not targeted, but rather the command and control infrastructure used to generate, install and instruct the malware.¹⁴⁵

The 2013 additions to the Wassenaar list were added into the EU Dual Use regulation in January 2015. The regulation, which is binding on member states, incorporates decisions to include items for licensing restrictions taken at Wassenaar level, meaning that member states have been controlling the 2013 items since then.

In July 2015, the US Bureau of Industry and Security (BIS) published a proposed implementation of the 2013 additions, causing widespread concern among IT security researchers relating specifically to the implementation of controls on intrusion software. Concerns largely revolved around the fact that the US had interpreted the international agreement too broadly and that the language used by BIS could be interpreted to cover the development of malware and sharing of information about vulnerabilities, meaning that researchers would have would have to apply for an export license before sharing information about vulnerabilities. Since an open round of submissions, BIS has since agreed to reinterpret the agreement and attempt to update the control language within the Wassenaar Arrangement itself.

Israel is not a participating member of the Wassenaar Arrangement, although it does include items added to the Wassenaar Arrangement's control list within its own list of strategically controlled goods. In January 2016, the Israeli Defense Exports Control Agency published proposed rules aiming to make a broad range of technologies that can be used for surveillance subject to licensing, going further than any other participating country and far beyond what was decided at the Wassenaar Arrangement, by explicitly stating that the export of exploits would be regulated.¹⁴⁶ Amid significant opposition from Israeli defence contractors,¹⁴⁷ in April it was reported that the Israeli authorities scaled back many of the proposals.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ https://www.techuk.org/images/CGP_Docs/Assessing_Cyber_Security_Export_Risks_website_FINAL_3.pdf

¹⁴⁴ http://blogs.bis.gov.uk/exportcontrol/files/2015/08/Intrusion-Software-Tools-and-Export-Control1.pdf

 $^{145 \}qquad https://cda.io/r/ConsiderationsonWassenaarArrangementProposalsforSurveillanceTechnologies.pdf$

¹⁴⁶ http://www.gkh-law.com/cyber-update-february-2016/

¹⁴⁷ http://www.defensenews.com/story/defense/policy-budget/cyber/2016/01/26/israeli-govt-reaches-outbefore-clamping-down-cyber-exports/79364842/

¹⁴⁸ http://www.globes.co.il/en/article.aspx?did=1001119266&from=iglobes

Since 2011, and around events during the Arab Uprising, the EU has been conducting a review of the Dual Use Regulation. In 2011, the European Commission published a Green Paper and call for evidence, followed by a report on the public consultation being adopted in January 2013. Regarding surveillance technology, the Commission Communication published in 2014 recognised the risk posed by "the emergence of specific 'cybertools' for mass surveillance, monitoring, tracking and interception", while importantly also recognising "the interlinkages between human rights, peace and security".¹⁴⁹ Privacy International through the Coalition Against Unlawful Surveillance Exports (CAUSE)¹⁵⁰ is campaigning for the regulation to mandate that member states require companies to apply for an export license for all types of surveillance technologies where practically possible, that they appropriately assess human rights risks in the assessment process, and that report data about granted and denied licenses to foster transparency and accountability.

Any changes to the Regulation will need to be agreed upon by all member states, as well as by the European Parliament. The Parliamentary Subcommittee on Human Rights and the Committee on International Trade convened a hearing on surveillance technologies in January 2015. In April 2015, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament adopted a report by MEP Marietje Schaake on Human rights and technologies: the impact of digital surveillance and intrusion systems on human rights in third countries, which was approved by the parliament in Autumn 2015.¹⁵¹

The Commission also initiated an impact assessment aimed at informing the policymaking process by quantifying and providing objective data on the industry and the potential cost of any regulatory changes. Ecorys, a European research and consultancy company, in partnership with SIPRI, carried out a data collection project, including a component specifically focused on surveillance technologies, to inform the impact assessment. The report was submitted to the Commission in November 2015 and provides a broad and detailed analysis of the European market for surveillance technologies and policy issues.¹⁵² The Commission also initiated an online consultation on potential regulatory changes.¹⁵³

Simultaneously, a Subcommittee, the Surveillance Technology Working Group (STEG), was established within the DG Trade Dual Use Working Group. Consisting of experts from the national licensing authorities in Germany, the Netherlands, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, the UK, France and Poland, the working group is aimed at identifying surveillance technology that poses a risk to human rights and how it can be effectively controlled.

The European Commission is due to publish a draft proposal in late 2016.

¹⁴⁹ http://ec.europa.eu/smart-regulation/impact/planned_ia/docs/2014_trade_014_dual_use_en.pdf

¹⁵⁰ CAUSE is a a coalition of NGOs consisting of Access, Amnesty International, Digitale Gesellschaft, Human Rights Watch, the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), the Open Technology Institute at the New America Foundation, and Reporters Without Borders.

¹⁵¹ http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A8-2015-0178+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN

¹⁵² http://www.sipri.org/news/EU-dual-use-review

¹⁵³ http://trade.ec.europa.eu/consultations/index.cfm?consul_id=190

In August 2015, Germany unilaterally announced a Federal amendment to its laws seeking "to stop the use of [surveillance] technology for internal repression in countries of destination." Germany also added new surveillance items to its list of technologies which require export authorisation, covering monitoring centres and lawful interception technologies. In announcing the new regulations, the Vice Chancellor of Germany, Sigmar Gabriel, stated that "human rights violations can not only [occur] with weapons, but ultimately with technologies for example, wiretapping. So far the European regulations for the export of such technologies to other countries is sketchy. The Federal Government is therefore closing the gaps, [which are] still under discussion in Brussels. We will work in Brussels, as well as internationally, for speedy European and global regulations."¹⁵⁴

Switzerland has also taken unilateral steps. After an investigation by Privacy International in conjunction with Swiss magazine WOZ, it was uncovered that representatives from a Bangladeshi unit dubbed a "death squad" by Human Rights Watch were being hosted in Zurich by a manufacturer of IMSI Catchers, NeoSoft.¹⁵⁵ By 2011, over 700 extrajudicial executions had been carried out by the RAB over seven years since its formation in 2004, according to Amnesty International.¹⁵⁶ Because such training would require an export license, and authorities confirmed that none was sought, the company was referred to federal prosecutors for a potential violation of export control laws.¹⁵⁷ Additional Director General of RAB, Colonel Ziaul Ahsah, subsequently reported to Bangladeshi media that the export had been stopped "just before the shipment of the materials" by Switzerland after "a human rights organisation reported against RAB."¹⁵⁸

In May 2015, the Swiss Federal Council added an amendment to their export regulations which for the first time compels the export control authorities to deny all license applications for internet and phone monitoring technology if there is "a reason to believe" that the export may be used "as a means of repression".¹⁵⁹

As of February 2016, the data now shows that 95 separate permanent and temporary licenses for IMSI Catchers have been granted by the Swiss government since 2012. Since the new law has been in place, two applications for IMSI catchers have been denied, to Vietnam and Bangladesh.¹⁶⁰ No applications have been received for any other surveillance technology since then, even though Switzerland was home to a large number of surveillance companies. In July 2015, it was reported in Swiss media that some surveillance companies have vacated their offices and left Switzerland as a result of the new law.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁴ http://www.bmwi.de/DE/Presse/pressemitteilungen,did=719188.html

¹⁵⁵ https://www.woz.ch/-53af & http://www.rts.ch/info/suisse/6120656-une-entreprise-suisse-decybersurveillance-en-affaires-avec-le-bangladesh.html

¹⁵⁶ https://www.amnesty.org/en/press-releases/2011/08/bangladesh-government-must-act-now-stop-policeunlawful-killings/

¹⁵⁷ http://www.tagblatt.ch/nachrichten/schweiz/tb-in/Heikles-Geschaeft-mit-Big-Brother;art120101,3950361

¹⁵⁸ http://www.newsbangladesh.com/english/Switzerland%20holds%20back%20shipping%20of%20intelligence%20 gears%20for%20RAB/482.

¹⁵⁹ http://www.seco.admin.ch/aktuell/00277/01164/01980/index.html?lang=de&msg-id=57261

¹⁶⁰ http://www.tagblatt.ch/nachrichten/schweiz/tb-in/Bern-schraenkt-heikle-Exporte-ein;art120101,4291111

¹⁶¹ http://www.schweizamsonntag.ch/ressort/politik/bund_verscheucht_hersteller_von_spionagesoftware_aus_ der_schweiz/

Conclusion

Surveillance technologies are not new. Wiretapping equipment and other electronic technologies used to identify, track, and monitor individuals have been used widely throughout the 20th century. State espionage and civilian monitoring was a common feature throughout the Cold War, in both blocs. The spread of the internet and new communications methods has however both increased the levels of intrusiveness of surveillance, as well as its power. The ability to monitor entire groups and nations on a mass scale poses new and substantially more grave human rights issues. Reforms of surveillance laws undertaken as a direct result of Edward Snowden's disclosures show how even within political systems with significant checks and balances, surveillance capabilities have outstripped the ability of laws to effectively regulate them.¹⁶² In non-democratic and authoritarian systems, the power of surveillance technologies means that they can be used for human rights abuses and undermine democratic development and privacy, a human right essential in allowing individuals control, dignity, and the realisation of other human rights. Individuals have had their communications read to them during torture,¹⁶³ while opposition activists have had their entire communications infiltrated and monitored.¹⁶⁴ Intelligence agencies are utilizing modern communications to carry out military attacks, and it's now technically possible for entire opposition movements and large sections of society to be surveilled, systematically and relatively cheaply.^{165 166}

Understanding the role that the private surveillance sector plays in surveillance worldwide is crucial to developing comprehensive safeguards and effective policy. A lack of reliable data makes this difficult however. How the industry functions, the capabilities of the technology, where it is sold, and how it is used, is shrouded in secrecy. Privacy International has collected data within the SII, while what is known about where technologies are sold is only known because of investigative reporting and government transparency because of export licensing restrictions. From the data that is available, it appears clear that surveillance technologies are generally produced and traded from economically advanced large arms exporting states in the northern hemisphere. Exports to countries in the global south and authoritarian countries overwhelmingly come from these states.

¹⁶² https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2015/jun/06/surveillance-privacy-snowden-usa-freedom-actcongress

¹⁶³ http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-08-22/torture-in-bahrain-becomes-routine-with-help-fromnokia-siemens-networking

¹⁶⁴ http://apnews.excite.com/article/20150807/lt--ecuador-hacking_the_opposition-18a465a3dd.html

¹⁶⁵ https://bahrainwatch.org/blog/2014/08/07/uk-spyware-used-to-hack-bahrain-lawyers-activists/

¹⁶⁶ https://www.privacyinternational.org/node/816

The fact that the vast majority of surveillance companies and reported sales of technologies come from companies in advanced economies also presents opportunities in terms of regulatory mechanisms. Both sanctions and export licensing restrictions have been used to block specific transfers of surveillance technologies and provide data on their trade. Various states and the EU have pursued instruments to ensure that human rights are appropriately considered within the trade in surveillance technologies. The mechanisms used for this, sanctions and export controls, are mechanisms rooted in the Cold War however, and pose significant difficulties and potential for unintended consequences.

Nevertheless, from what is known about their use and trade, it is clear that safeguards are a matter of urgency. A comprehensive approach should be pursued incorporating export restrictions where possible as well as improved standards in corporate social responsibility.¹⁶⁷ While pro-active due diligence on the behalf of companies is a necessary start, without instruments capable of restricting transfers and shining a light on the companies and the trade, surveillance technologies developed in and traded from the West will further undermine privacy and facilitate other abuses. This will not only undermine the human rights of individuals in some of the most authoritarian countries across the world in the name of security, it will also undermine democratisation itself, leading to instability and, ultimately, international insecurity.

¹⁶⁷ Bromely et al, ICT Surveillance Systems: Trade Policy and the Application of Human Security Concerns, StrategicTrade Review, Spring 2016, http://www.str.ulg.ac.be/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Strategic-Trade-Review-Issue-02.pdf>

Annex Surveillance Technology Explainers

The SII as of April 2016 contains 1534 individual brochures of surveillance technologies. There are split into 11 categories. Individual products may fall into more than one category. The diagrams are taken from actual brochures with descriptive text available on the Privacy International website.

Types of Surveillance Technologies



LIMS Access Points for IP services	Cost-effective probes for single IP services like e-mail, VoIP, AAA, SMS, MMS
LIMS Access Points DPI	Deep Packet Inspection Probes for 1Gb to 10Gb Ethernet networks
LIMS Access Points TDM	Probes for circuit-switched networks based on E1/T1, SDH/SONET (STM-1 to STM-4)

Interception Management System. The three probes focus on interception over IP (Internet Protocols), DPI (Deep Packet Inspection) and TDM (Time Delay Multiplexing).TDM probes are focused on the interception of information coming over a phone network, DPI probes focus on the interception of Computer networks and IP probes focus on electronic communications that can cover both computer and phone networks.

Phone Monitoring (Includes Off the air interception & Lawful Interception technologies) Technologies that focus on gathering information communicated across mobile, fixed or next generation networks (2G, 3G, 4G)



Neosoft's GSM Monitoring Fully Passive System places itself between the mobile handset and the GSM Provider. It tunes into the signals that are being transmitted between the two points and then begins to decrypt the message or call that is being hosted by the Base Transceiver Station from the handset.





Monitoring Centre Technologies that combine the focus of Internet Monitoring, Phone Monitoring, even Audio and Video Surveillance, into one suite of technology

Key Benefits Technology Highlights The Nice Track Horizon Insight platform is designed to extract Nationwide Collection of High Volume / and produce valuable intelligence from vast amounts of intercepted **High Rates Data** communication data using built-in intelligence know-how and Intercepts, formats and stores billions of telephony and IP events per workflows, and innovative algorithmic and analytic data mining day at a rate of thousands of data records per second capabilities. Processing and Normalization Engine Aggregates, correlates and canonizes data from numerous sources Grants access to all stored data and metadata that may become resulting in maximum intelligence credibility relevant for monitored targets and new suspects Built-in Intelligence Know-How: Provides capabilities to track suspicious and criminal Automatically identifies "under-the-radar" activity, invisible to activities based on similar predefined characteristics and analysts, using the market-leading NICE Actimize pattern analysis communication patterns accumulated over years of experience technology **Preventive Intelligence:** Efficient Data Storage and Retrieval Detects and alerts suspicious or dangerous activities based on Enables efficient storage for several years, while maintaining quick communications patterns to prevent potential criminal acts in real-time data retrieval, visualization and analysis Integration of All Data Sources Enables fusion of target and suspect data from various registries and Integrates all legacy sources with newly acquired sources in open sources for enriched data telephony. IP and open source fields to perform fusion of all intercepted data

Nice System's Horizon Insight combines both the tapping of IP and telephony traffic and the analysis of that with open sources to create a massive, sophisticated system that is able to monitor users activity and construct patterns across the intercepted information.



63/66

Biometrics		nt identify and categorise people based on individual Speech Recognition, Facial Recognition, Speaker Identification base)	١,		
FACIAL RECOG	NITION (p. 3)				
		Face Image Acquisition	11		
1		Image acquisition can be done from live or file sources (e.g. from a camera or a .JPG file), still or video images.			
		During face acquisition, a unique identifier of the acquired image must be allocated .			
		Pre-processing and Image Enhancement	2		
2		This step aims at finding where the face (or faces) is located in the image, and pinpointing the eye centres.	AL 20 00		
		Template Extraction			
3		A template is a representation of the image that is suitable for image comparison. A template may represent either visible features of a portrait (e.g. nose or eyebrows location), or purely mathematical data such as the results of applying one or more filters to all or part of the image.	9		
MorphoFace details how their facial recognition technology works: your image is acquired, processed and then digitised in the form of a template. These steps are all automated by a computer and require little human interaction. Morpho advertises that their technology "can be deployed and used with minimal effort even for users with no or very limited knowledge of face recognition". This ease of implementation regardless of an understanding of the technology and its limitations is disconcerting; the limitations of the technology should always frame how it is used.					







