

Assessment of the Green Party Leadership Candidates on Middle East Policy

Prepared by

*Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East, and
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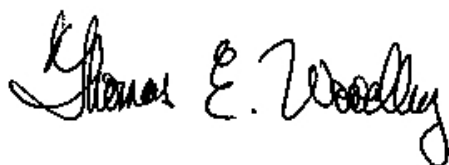
Dear members and followers of the Green Party of Canada,

The leadership race for the Green Party of Canada (GPC) is currently underway and will conclude this fall. Every GPC member who is signed up as of September 3, 2020 (age 14 and older) can vote for the party's new leader. Online voting starts on September 26 and closes on October 3, and a mail-in ballot is available if requested by August 27. This provides Canadians with a key opportunity to influence the leadership of one of Canada's important federal parties.

It is convention within the GPC that the leader is considered a spokesperson for the party's policies. The leader is supposed to take their lead from the grassroots, rather than dictate the direction of the party themselves. As it happens, the GPC's current policies on Middle East issues, including on Israel and Palestine, are particularly bold and forward-looking. However, Canadians should not assume that the leadership contest doesn't matter. While all of the candidates theoretically support the GPC's progressive platform, they all bring different priorities and values to the contest. Canadians should therefore be careful to choose a GPC leader whom they trust to prioritize and advocate for the issues they care about.

Over this past summer, Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME) and Independent Jewish Voices Canada (IJV), both non-partisan organizations, have performed extensive research to assess the possible direction of the GPC on the Middle East under the leadership of each of the different candidates. This process included issuing a questionnaire on key Canadian policy issues related to the Middle East issues to all candidates, although not every candidate chose to respond.

There are many factors to consider when choosing a leader, and Middle East-related issues are not the only concerns for GPC members. Nevertheless, our hope is that the enclosed leadership assessment will help you make an informed choice when casting your ballots for a new GPC leader—a choice that is in accordance with your own personal convictions. May the interests of Canadians and the human rights of all be well served by the outcome of the upcoming vote.



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Executive Summary

Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME) and Independent Jewish Voices Canada (IJV), both non-partisan organizations, have conducted a comprehensive analysis of each of the Green Party of Canada (GPC) leadership candidates on key Canadian policy issues related to the Middle East.

Most important in making this assessment was a questionnaire issued to each of the leadership candidates in July. The questionnaire had 10 questions, and the candidates were asked to identify their stances on a scale (usually between 1 and 5). Candidates were encouraged to provide additional written comments if they desired.

More than half of the leadership candidates (5 out of 9) responded to the questionnaire. Two of the candidates (Glen Murray and Annamie Paul) declined to submit responses (see Appendices B and C). The two remaining candidates (Andrew West and Courtney Howard) did not submit responses, but neither did they officially decline.

In addition to the questionnaire, our assessment of the candidates incorporated information gathered from a number of different sources: social media, press statements, published interviews, leadership town halls, the Hansard (the record of parliamentary debates), the candidates' campaign websites, and more.

Based on all of the information collected, CJPME and IJV have determined that—in terms of their commitment to a constructive approach to the Middle East by Canada—the candidates rank as follows:

- A Dimitri Lascaris**
- A- Meryam Haddad**
- B+ Judy Green**
- B+ Amita Kuttner**
- B David Merner**
- C+ Courtney Howard**
- C+ Andrew West**
- C Glen Murray**
- C- Annamie Paul**

While the Green Party has always had a small presence within Parliament, it nonetheless has an important voice and a role to play in shaping Canadian discourses on the Middle East. The issue of Israel and Palestine has historically been controversial within the party, with a major flashpoint being the 2016 grassroots vote to endorse the boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement, over which Elizabeth May threatened to resign as leader. This pro-BDS resolution was ultimately replaced by a “compromise” resolution on Israel and Palestine that was

actually sharper and more focused than the original—a resolution calling for specific sanctions on Israel, beginning with a ban on the importation of settlement products. As a result, current GPC policy remains far stronger and bolder than that of any other major political party.

Under Elizabeth May, the GPC has been a leader in Parliament on these important issues (with some exceptions), offering a relatively bold voice in support of human rights and justice. Under a future leader, it is unknown whether this role will remain. The party has an opportunity to expand on its principled positions, or it could retreat and adopt an approach that is more closely aligned with the pro-Israel stances of other parties. Both of these options are represented among the various leadership candidates in this race, making this vote a very important one.

Dimitri Lascaris has an extensive public record of support for Middle East issues as a long-time Palestine solidarity activist and BDS supporter, and he has made foreign policy a distinguishing part of his campaign. His questionnaire responses indicate bold support for concrete action in response to human rights violations, on par with only Meryam Haddad, and he has prompted a discussion between candidates on issues including the CJPME-IJV pledge to oppose Israeli annexation. We are confident that as GPC leader, Lascaris would be a consistent and enthusiastic voice for international law and Palestinian human rights, and he would be responsive to the grassroots movements which he has worked alongside for so long.

Meryam Haddad demonstrates a commitment to urgent and drastic action on a range of important issues, from the arms trade to Islamophobia to free speech on Palestine. She is more outspoken against Israeli annexation than most other candidates, and she has freely brought up the topic of sanctions on several occasions. Her questionnaire responses indicate support for creative and meaningful approaches to achieving justice in the Middle East, on par with only Dimitri Lascaris. While she does not have a significant previous record on Middle East issues, as Lascaris does, she has nonetheless used her candidacy as a platform to champion these causes. With Haddad, the GPC would be a strong and bold voice for human rights, and a friend to non-violent grassroots movements.

Judy Green frequently criticizes Canada for giving a “friends and family discount” to human rights violators, and her thoughtful questionnaire responses stress the need for a consistent application of international law. Along these lines, Green supports taking concrete measures to challenge Israeli violations, although her positions—for example, in favour of labeling but not banning settlement goods—are less bold than those of several other candidates. Green shows a commitment to free speech on Palestine, wants to phase-out Canada’s international arms trade, and would expand immigration supports to accommodate climate migrants. Under Green’s leadership, the GPC would continue to address Middle East issues through a principled human rights lens, and countries like Saudi Arabia and Israel would not be given exceptional treatment.

Amita Kuttner supports concrete action in response to human rights violations in the Middle East, and they bring a thoughtful decolonial lens to many of these issues. Their questionnaire responses are bold philosophically, although they tend to emphasize a nuanced, more cautious approach to implementation, from phasing out the arms trade to sanctions on Israel. Kuttner expresses principled opposition to conflating criticism of Israel with antisemitism, but hesitates

to label such efforts as a threat to free speech, and has made remarks about not sowing division—which in context may be an allusion to boycotts of Israel. Should Kuttner become leader of the GPC, the party would likely not be as outspoken on Middle East issues as under other candidates, but it would certainly continue to be an important advocate for justice and Indigenous rights everywhere.

David Merner has not often spoken about Middle East issues, but he has pledged to oppose Israeli annexation, and his questionnaire responses show a commitment to real action against human rights abuses. Merner’s policy positions on Israel and Palestine have real substance, yet these tend to be more moderate than some other candidates—for example, he supports current GPC policy in favour of a ban on all settlement goods, but he does not support going further to cancel the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement. Of additional concern are his recent comments referring to BDS supporters as a “bunch of extremists,” and his plea to the GPC not to “divide among ourselves around issues that aren’t core to us.” These comments may indicate a tense relationship between the party and grassroots activists in the future. In this way, Merner would likely not be much of a departure from previous GPC leadership.

Courtney Howard’s candidacy for GPC leader is difficult to assess, as she did not complete our questionnaire, and has no meaningful public record on foreign policy generally, or regarding the Middle East specifically. She has, however, endorsed the CJPME/IJV pledge to oppose Israeli annexation, which calls on the Canadian government to consider all reasonable diplomatic and economic options to stop annexation. It is unlikely that Howard would make foreign policy or Middle East issues a priority as GPC leader.

Andrew West does not have a meaningful public record on foreign policy generally, or regarding the Middle East specifically. Neither did he submit responses to our questionnaire. He has, however, expressed support for current GPC policy on Palestine, and talked about the need for Canada to take a strong stand against human rights violators. He is one of only two GPC candidates not to endorse the pledge to oppose Israeli annexation, but has credited this to a lack of time, rather than principle. It is unlikely that the GPC would make foreign policy a priority under West’s leadership.

Glen Murray’s overall record on Middle East issues is complicated, and rather difficult to assess as he declined to submit responses to our questionnaire. The fact that he pledged to oppose Israeli annexation is a positive sign that he may support concrete action to avert violations of international law, and he has at times made sympathetic comments about the Palestinian people. However, his commitment to stand with Israel, his 2016 vote to condemn the BDS movement, and his general refusal to engage in discussion on these issues beyond a shallow reference to a two-state solution, should be major red flags for anyone who wants the GPC to take a proactive role in advancing justice in the region.

Annamie Paul is a foreign policy expert, but she has not been very forthcoming with her own positions on the Middle East, and she declined to submit responses to our questionnaire. While she is on record opposing Israel annexation as illegal, she is one of only two GPC candidates who did not endorse the anti-annexation pledge, and she has generally pursued a neutral “both

sides are at fault” approach to the conflict. She supports sanctions against Saudi Arabia but has not expressed support for any form of economic pressure against Israel, and instead is opposed to the BDS movement. There is a real concern that under Paul’s leadership the GPC’s foreign policy would not look much different than that of Trudeau’s Liberals, and the party would likely be quite dismissive, even hostile, towards social movements and other foreign policy critics.

CJPME/IJV Assessment of Green Party Leadership Candidates

Assessment Criteria

Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME) and Independent Jewish Voices Canada (IJV) have carefully assessed each leadership candidate's positions on the Middle East, taking into account their responses to an CJPME-IJV questionnaire on Middle East policy, as well as their public record on related issues. This includes comments, statements and actions through August 14, 2020, from sources including social media, press statements, quotes and references in the media, leadership town halls, the Hansard (the record of parliamentary debates), the candidates' campaign websites, and more.

Some of the criteria we have taken into consideration during the assessment include: 1) do they demonstrate support for international law and universal human rights; 2) have they been outspoken against injustice, and are they likely to be an advocate on these issues; 3) do they express support for meaningful and concrete action against human rights violators; 4) do their answers demonstrate a sense of urgency in responding to crises; 5) do they support non-violent social movements, and are they willing to engage with them on these issues.

We have decided not to award any candidate a grade of A+, as there is always more than anyone can do in support of these causes. The highest grade is therefore A. At the same time, as a progressive political party, none of the candidates expressed views which are fundamentally out of step with the principles of human rights and international law, and therefore the lowest grade awarded is a C-.

Disclosure: As noted in the assessment below, Dimitri Lascaris formerly served as board chair for CJPME, and as a Palestine solidarity activist he is known to IJV as well. Neither Lascaris nor his campaign team had any input or involvement at any stage of this evaluation process, and we undertook a neutral and fair assessment of all of the candidates to the best of our abilities.

Candidate Analyses

The candidate evaluations below are presented in alphabetical order.

Judy Green

Judy Green has repeatedly insisted—in debates, on social media, and in Questionnaire responses—that Canada's foreign policy must be based on basic human rights, and that Canada's application of these principles must be consistent, including the use of sanctions. She has criticized Canada for giving a "friends and family discount" to certain human rights violators, and has called to stop playing favourites.¹ In this regard, she has expressed opposition to the Saudi arms deal.²

Green demonstrates this same principle of consistency in her approach to Israel and Palestine. In particular, she has been outspoken on the issue of Israeli annexation. Green signed the

CJPME/IVJ pledge to oppose Israeli annexation, which calls on the Canadian government to consider all reasonable diplomatic and economic options to stop annexation, and she shared her support for the pledge on Facebook.³ Green had also previously shared the GPC statement on annexation, which mentions the possibility of sanctions, while calling on Trudeau to speak up on the matter.⁴

Green's responses to our Questionnaire also demonstrate her support for concrete action on Israel and Palestine. Green supports a two-state solution, and shows skepticism towards the alternative possibility of a single bi-national state, noting the legitimate concern that under such a solution the "un-equal power structure remains." However, she also supports GPC policy that negotiations towards two-states must be supported by diplomatic and economic sanctions against any party which takes illegal unilateral steps "on the ground." Green similarly supports labelling settlement products and revising CIFTA to exclude them from preferential tariff treatment, but does not support banning trade with settlements entirely.

Green would support ICC investigations into any country alleged to be committing war crimes, including Israel and the US, and supports a total moratorium on paid trips by pro-Israel groups so long as Israel continues to be an occupying power in the region. Green would also oppose the IHRA working definition of antisemitism as a threat to free speech and would oppose other attempts to conflate criticism of Israel with antisemitism, noting there must be a "clear separation of the state of Israel and the people who identify as Jewish, on either a historical and/or religious basis." Green noted that challenging JNF Canada's charitable status would not be a priority of her mandate as leader, but its priority status would increase if the GPC won significantly more seats and hence more resources.

Green also expressed strong support for phasing out the international arms trade and reorienting production towards equipment for disaster and pandemic relief, dramatically expanding immigration to prepare for environmental migrants, and taking action against Islamophobia and other forms of discrimination.

Green's commitment to a consistent application of international law is commendable, and her comments on the Questionnaire reveal a thoughtful approach to the issues. She supports taking concrete measures to challenge Israeli abuses, although this support is not as far-reaching as other candidates. Green does not have a significant record of speaking out on these issues, but she has made a few strong public comments during the campaign. (B+)

Meryam Haddad

Meryam Haddad has been very outspoken about Israeli annexation during the leadership race. She signed the CJPME/IVJ pledge to oppose Israeli annexation, which calls on the Canadian government to consider all reasonable diplomatic and economic options to stop annexation. Haddad tweeted her opposition to Israeli annexation and expressed support for "imposing economic and/or diplomatic sanctions against Israel,"⁵ and she brought up the need for

sanctions on Israel, along with other human rights violators, during a debate.⁶ Relatedly, she also tweeted in support of Green MP Paul Manley's petition to end the blockade of Gaza.⁷

Haddad provided very strong responses to our Questionnaire, on par with only Dimitri Lascaris. Haddad's choices were bold and far-reaching, showing support for meaningful action on human rights. Haddad expressed strong support for phasing out the international arms trade, and has elsewhere called for a focus on demilitarization.⁸ She also supports dramatically expanding immigration to prepare for environmental migrants, taking action against Islamophobia and other forms of discrimination, and full reconciliation with Indigenous peoples.

Haddad's responses to questions on Israel and Palestine were just as bold. She would support cancelling CIFTA and imposing sanctions on all trade with Israel; oppose Canada's voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN; support a moratorium on paid trips by pro-Israel lobby groups; oppose the IHRA working definition and other attempts to conflate criticism of Israel with antisemitism; support ICC investigations into the US and Israel; and would champion efforts to have JNF Canada's charitable status reviewed. Haddad also indicated support for considering any and all options for Israel-Palestine which are most likely to achieve peace and justice for all, whether a two-state solution or a single bi-national state, and that in the meantime the GPC must call for equal rights for everyone within Israel and under Israeli administration in the occupied territories.

These answers show that Haddad is very responsive to grassroots requests from social movements. Additionally, although Haddad has not spoken about the BDS movement directly, she appeared to allude to it while defending "non-violence" as a "core value of the Greens."⁹

Overall, Haddad's positions are very strong, demonstrating a commitment to urgent and drastic action on a range of important issues. She is more outspoken against Israeli annexation than most other candidates, and she chooses to bring up the topic of sanctions during debates. While she does not have a significant public record on these issues from prior to the campaign, she has nonetheless used her candidacy as a platform to champion these causes. As leader, there is good reason to believe that Haddad would be a strong and bold voice for human rights, and a friend to non-violent grassroots movements. (A-)

Courtney Howard

Courtney Howard has endorsed the CJPME/IJV pledge to oppose Israeli annexation, which calls on the Canadian government to consider all reasonable diplomatic and economic options to stop annexation. Apart from her endorsement, however, Howard did not complete our questionnaire, and she has no meaningful public record on foreign policy generally, or regarding the Middle East specifically.

Throughout the campaign, the only major international issue she has championed is for Canada to strengthen its contributions to international organizations such as the World Health Organization,¹⁰ which is certainly welcome. Her recently released platform includes a short section on foreign policy, notably calling on Canada to “recommit to defending human rights in all contexts,” and to “sign the United Nations Treaty on the Prevention of Nuclear Weapons.”¹¹

This lack of information makes it difficult to assess her candidacy. While her minimal comments are positive, her apparent lack of interest suggests that Middle East issues would not be a priority for her as GPC leader. (C+)

Amita Kuttner

Amita Kuttner’s foreign policy platform envisions Canada becoming a leader in global cooperation, in part by reforming NATO so that it de-escalates conflict, and by expanding peacekeeping.¹² Their stated philosophy is that human rights need to be the focus of Canadian foreign policy, and that Canada should not be “hypocritical” in their application. Kuttner also stated several times that “I always try to separate regimes from people, and try to have compassion for every individual.”¹³ This philosophy is evident in their public statements, and in the responses to our Questionnaire.

Kuttner provided additional comments to their Questionnaire responses, many of which connected the issues at hand to broader themes of decolonization. For example, they noted that we need to “get beyond the conversation of reconciliation to full decolonization of our society and government, fully respecting Indigenous rights and sovereignty,” and that a necessary expansion of immigration and border policies to accommodate climate migrants must also be “respectful of Indigenous rights and sovereignty.” Kuttner agrees that GPC policy must consider any and all options for Israel-Palestine which are most likely to achieve peace and justice for all, which may include a two-state solution or a single bi-national state, noting that they are “very intrigued by the possibility of a single bi-national state as a workable solution for justice and peace,” and that “for Canada to fully decolonize we should have some kind of plurinational state as well.”

Kuttner’s responses, while certainly strong, tended to emphasize a nuanced, more cautious approach to various issues, and particularly regarding implementation. On the arms trade, for example, they said that Canada should start by adhering to the principles of the ATT before moving “as quickly as possible” to a phase out of the industry. Similarly, on paid trips to Israel, as leader Kuttner would start by allowing MPs to accept paid trips from pro-Israel groups only if there was equal time and attention from local Palestinian advocacy groups, before moving towards a “phase-out altogether” of such trips. Kuttner also supports sanctions on Israel, beyond just the settlements, but shies away from imposing sanctions on all trade with Israel, correctly noting that “the goal here is to not keep essential supplies away from anyone.”

Kuttner would oppose the IHRA working definition of antisemitism, as well as any other attempts to conflate criticism of Israel with antisemitism, but “hesitates” to categorize the IHRA working definition of antisemitism as a threat to free speech. They noted a similar sentiment on Twitter: “Opposing annexation is neither anti-Jewish nor anti-Israel. Please be careful when calling anyone anti-semitic, especially those of us with Jewish family. It’s not something taken lightly.”¹⁴ On the other hand, they have also made ambiguous comments that “it is really important that we [the GPC] do not sow division in anything that we advocate for.”¹⁵ Since this came up during a debate on policy toward Israel, this was possibly an allusion to BDS (which is often criticized for being “divisive”).

Kuttner does not have a significant public record on Middle East issues, but they were quick to endorse the CJPME/IJV pledge to oppose Israeli annexation, and tweeted in support of Paul Manly’s petition to end the blockade of Gaza.¹⁶ Together with their thoughtful and substantive responses to the Questionnaire, it is clear that they are supportive of creative and meaningful ways to advance the cause of peace and human rights in the Middle East, and as GPC leader they would bring a decolonial lens to these issues, although their policy proposals would likely be somewhat more cautious than Lascaris or Haddad. (B+)

Dimitri Lascaris

Dimitri Lascaris has an extensive public record of support for Middle East issues as a long-time Palestine solidarity activist and BDS supporter. In particular, he regularly provides needed legal representation to Palestine solidarity activists.¹⁷ He has also been key to pushing the GPC to adopt strong Middle East policies: in 2016 as GPC Justice Critic, Lascaris tabled a resolution on “Palestinian Self-Determination and the Movement for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions”¹⁸ (this resolution was passed by GPC members but later replaced with a “compromise” policy that also expressed support for the tactics of sanctions, boycotts, and divestment).¹⁹ Due to his involvement in such initiatives, he is previously known to both CJPME and IJV. In previous years, Lascaris has served as chair of the CJPME board.

Lascaris has made foreign policy, including the Middle East, a distinguishing part of his campaign. His platform for a “progressive foreign policy” emphasizes peace and international cooperation, including withdrawing from NATO, a reduction of military spending, and nuclear disarmament. The platform calls to impose sanctions on Israel in response to occupation, and to ban arms deals with “Saudi Arabia, Israel, Egypt” and other human rights violators. His platform also calls to “reverse the Islamophobia and anti-Arab racism that is so clearly manifested by Canada’s foreign policy towards predominantly Muslim and Arab states.”²⁰

Lascaris has repeatedly criticized Canada’s deference to the foreign policy agenda of the US, referencing US aggression in Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan. He has said that Canada must not make an exception on human rights violations for friends of the US.²¹ He endorsed the CJPME/IJV pledge to oppose Israeli annexation, sharing his support on social media,²² and he even brought it up during a town hall, asking other candidates if they would also endorse

it.²³ Lascaris has also shared the GPC statement on Israeli annexation, calling for the use of sanctions if necessary.²⁴

It is not a surprise that Lascaris provided very strong responses to our Questionnaire, on par with only Meryam Haddad. For example, Lascaris would support cancelling CIFTA and imposing sanctions on all trade with Israel; oppose Canada's voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN; support a moratorium on paid-trips by pro-Israel groups; oppose the IHRA working definition and other attempts to conflate criticism of Israel with antisemitism; support ICC investigations into the US and Israel; and would champion efforts to have JNF Canada's charitable status reviewed. Lascaris also indicated support for considering any and all options for Israel-Palestine which are most likely to achieve peace and justice for all, whether a two-state solution or a single bi-national state, and that in the meantime the GPC must call for equal rights for everyone, both within Israel and under Israeli administration in the occupied territories.

It is worth noting that Lascaris' history of strident Palestinian solidarity activism has made him a target for criticism. Specifically, in 2018, Lascaris faced blowback over his tweets calling out two MPs for their extreme pro-Israel positions, saying: "Apparently, Liberal MPs Anthony Housefather and Michael Levitt are more devoted to apartheid Israel than to their own prime minister and colleagues in the Liberal caucus." These remarks were condemned as "antisemitic" by pro-Israel groups, who accused him of targeting the MPs because they are Jewish. Lascaris has strenuously defended himself and explained his remarks, noting that he condemns antisemitism, and that his remarks were about the MPs' support for Israel, not their ethnicity or religion.²⁵ At the time, IJV and CJPME both issued statements insisting that Lascaris "is not an antisemite,"²⁶ and IJV stated "categorically that the accusation of antisemitism against him is false and irresponsible."²⁷ While another GPC leadership candidate has argued that this controversy makes Lascaris an illegitimate candidate, our organizations strongly disagree.

While Lascaris' views on the Middle East are comparable to those expressed by several other leadership candidates, none of those other candidates share his significant experience in pro-Palestine activism. Nor do they carry the same baggage which is inevitably associated with those who speak critically on the issue of Israel and Palestine, and this should not be used to disqualify his candidacy. We are confident that as GPC leader, Lascaris would be a consistent and enthusiastic voice for international law and Palestinian human rights, and he would be responsive to the grassroots movements which he has worked alongside for so long. (A)

David Merner

David Merner has not often spoken about Middle East issues, but he signed the CJPME/IJV pledge to oppose Israeli annexation and shared support for it on Facebook, congratulating other GPC candidates for "stepping up to do the right thing."²⁸ Merner also responded to our questionnaire, but provided his own written responses rather than choosing from our

numbered lists. Regardless, his comments are thoughtful and show serious engagement with the issues.

Merner supports a Day of Remembrance to commemorate Islamophobia and calls on the GPC to lead by example by acknowledging January 29 in its communications. He also supports a transition plan to phase out Canada's international arms trade, starting by terminating federal loans and support for the General Dynamics LAV contracts with Saudi Arabia. Merner indicated that the GPC must consider any and all options for Israel-Palestine which are most likely to achieve peace and justice for all, including a two-state solution or a single bi-national state, noting that the latter could be "organized according to principles of federalism that led to the formation of successful federal states such as Australia, Canada, Switzerland, or the United States." He also says the GPC must call for equal rights for everyone living under Israeli administration in the occupied territories, and equal rights for everyone living in Israel, and that sanctions must be applied in a "consistent, even-handed way" to any entities that violate international law.

Merner's policy positions on Israel and Palestine have real substance, yet these tend to be more moderate than some other candidates. Merner did not indicate support for cancelling CIFTA, but he does support existing GPC policy to ban all trade with illegal Israeli settlements. He would not place a moratorium on paid trips by pro-Israel groups, but he would place conditions on such trips, including a requirement that equal time and attention is allotted to both Palestinian and Israeli advocacy groups, NGOs, and government entities. He did not indicate support for an ICC investigation of the US or Israel, but noted that ICC judges are the ultimate decision-makers on this issue.

One area for concern about Merner's candidacy is his attitude towards grassroots pro-Palestinian movements like BDS, which is mixed. On the one hand, Merner rightfully opposes "any attempts to conflate criticism of Israel with antisemitism" and would "oppose formalizing the use of the IHRA working definition," adding that the debate around IHRA should "be used to educate people with different, sincere, and legitimate perspectives." Other comments, however, give some pause. In January, Merner criticized BDS as a "very divisive issue in the Green Party," referring to BDS supporters as a "bunch of extremists" and said that "people want us to focus on the essentials and not let ourselves be distracted by the conflict in the Middle East."²⁹ Then during the BC Town Hall, after other candidates brought up sanctions in response to Israeli annexation, Merner intervened to urge caution: "Let's not divide among ourselves around issues that aren't core to us."³⁰

Merner's positions on the Middle East are quite strong, and he supports concrete action, including sanctions, as a response to violations of international law. As GPC leader, however, he would be more moderate than several other GPC candidates on these issues, and there is real concern about his comments on BDS. In this way, Merner would likely not be much of a departure from previous GPC leadership. (B)

Glen Murray

Glen Murray signed the CJPME/IJV pledge to oppose Israeli annexation, but he has not been forthcoming on his views about the Middle east, nor has he shown interest in these issues. During the BC Town Hall, after other candidates discussed the need for sanctions on Israel, Murray instead said that Canada needs to be “extraordinarily laser-focused” on priority areas, such as refugees.³¹

Murray declined to complete our questionnaire, noting only that his campaign is “supportive of the current Green Party policy of a two-state solution,” and shutting down the possibility of further dialogue during the leadership race: “Reviews or changes to these policies should occur through a thoughtful and inclusive review that ensures all voices are heard, so until there is a fulsome discussion amongst Green Party membership under our next leader, we won’t be commenting further.”³²

Murray’s previous record on Middle East issues is mixed. On the positive side, he helped found the Rainbow Railroad, a program which helps LGBT people escape persecution and violence around the world, including the Middle East.³³ At times, he has also expressed some sympathy for Palestinians: for example, at a “Spirit of Ramadan” event in Toronto in 2014, he spoke about “the difficult situations in Palestine and the Palestinians who still are fighting for their land.”³⁴

More significantly, however, Murray has demonstrated an intense hostility towards the non-violent BDS movement. As a cabinet minister in Ontario’s Liberal government in 2016, Murray spoke in favour of a motion to condemn BDS, which he voted to pass. During his speech, he boasted of “many trips” to Israel with the Canada-Israel Committee (a former pro-Israel lobby group), saying that “it’s also important that we never, ever, ever back away from our commitment to Israel,” and adding that the “situations with the Palestinians are also terrible.” In his speech he conflated BDS with antisemitism, although he added: “I just want to make sure that we stand also against Islamophobia, and join the Israelis who are trying to work to support Palestinians as well.” He praised the anti-BDS motion as a “good” motion and said that “we need to do a lot more than pass motions, though.”³⁵

Murray’s overall record on Middle East issues is complicated. His support for the anti-annexation pledge is a positive sign that he may support concrete action to avert violations of international law. However, his commitment to stand with Israel, his severe condemnations pro-Palestinian activists, and his general refusal to engage in discussion on these issues beyond a shallow reference to a two-state solution, should be major red flags for anyone who wants the GPC to take a proactive role in advancing justice in the region. (C+)

Annamie Paul

Annamie Paul declined to complete our Questionnaire, citing “numerous problematic design elements.”³⁶ Nonetheless she has made a number of comments on these topics which are instructive about where she stands.

Paul has spoken out about the need for Canada, and the GPC, to be consistent in championing human rights, saying, “I don’t think we have the luxury of picking and choosing the issues we do and don’t engage in.”³⁷ She says that Canada should rebuild its credibility on the world stage by ensuring we have just trade agreements that respect labour and human rights.³⁸ As a GPC candidate in the 2019 election, she said that Canada should be “actively seeking to loosen its economic ties with (Saudi Arabia),” including by halting imports of Saudi oil and ending arms sales.³⁹

On the issue of Israel and Palestine, however, Paul has pursued a neutral “both sides are at fault” approach, emphasizing that “there has been violence in both directions. This is not a one-sided conflict.”⁴⁰ Paul has “stressed the unlikelihood of pleasing everyone on either side of the Israel and Palestine divide,” complaining: “I don’t feel that there’s anything these days that you can say in terms of that conflict where you’re not going to attract criticism that you were too soft or you were too hard.”⁴¹

Paul is on record as being opposed to Israeli annexation, saying: “It would be an illegal annexation and counter-productive to efforts to move toward a peaceful solution, in that region.”⁴² She has also said that she “expect[s] the Government of Canada to speak out forcefully against both of these actions and any other violations of international law and to work with the international community to bring Israel back into compliance with international law.”⁴³

However, Paul is one of only two GPC candidates who declined to sign the MP pledge to oppose Israeli annexation, which may suggest that she doesn’t support concrete measures to avert annexation, such as sanctions. Similarly, when asked whether she supports the resolution passed by the GPC in 2016 which supports imposing sanctions on Israel, she did not give an answer, but stated that she advocates for dialogue “as the preferred means for the resolution of the conflict.”⁴⁴

More troubling, Paul has expressed hostility towards pro-Palestinian activists, emphasizing the GPC’s opposition to BDS,⁴⁵ and suggesting that the questions she has received about Israel, BDS, and annexation, have been motivated by antisemitism because she is Jewish.⁴⁶

Despite being a foreign policy expert, she has not been very forthcoming with her own positions, and has in fact been quite defensive in response to questions about her foreign policy stances.⁴⁷ There is a real concern that under Paul’s leadership the GPC’s foreign policy would not look much different than that of Trudeau’s Liberals, and the party would likely be quite dismissive, even hostile, towards social movements and other foreign policy critics.

(C-)

Andrew West

Andrew West does not have a meaningful public record on foreign policy generally, or regarding the Middle East specifically. Neither did he submit responses to our Questionnaire. He has, however, talked about the need for Canada to take a strong stand against human rights violators, and that Canada should contribute more to the International Criminal Court. He has also said that Canada must “up our game” by providing more support for the military for peacekeeping purposes.⁴⁸

West did not sign the CJPME/IJV pledge to oppose Israeli annexation. When another candidate questioned him about this at the BC Town Hall, West noted that he hasn’t been “focusing on that,” and that this was because of “time, more than anything else.” He added, however: “I support the Green Party’s platform about what they stand for [regarding] Palestine,” and said “I don’t want to see any annexation of Palestinian lands, you can put that clear.” He said that Canada should also focus on other countries like Syria and China: “I’m not focusing on just one area [Israel], I’m focusing on all areas.”⁴⁹

It is disappointing that West has decided not to make foreign policy a priority for his campaign. His stated support for current GPC policy on Palestine is welcome, as it implies support for urgent and concrete action in response to Israel’s human rights violations, but this must be weighed against his apparent disinterest in the issues. (C+)

Comprehensive Assessment Ranking

Given the above analysis and discussion, the CJPME and IJV summary rating for each of the candidates is as follows:

A	Dimitri Lascaris
A-	Meryam Haddad
B+	Judy Green
B+	Amita Kuttner
B	David Merner
C+	Courtney Howard
C+	Andrew West
C	Glen Murray
C-	Annamie Paul

Appendix A: Questionnaire and Candidates' Responses

A. Canada and the International Arms Trade

In the past few years, several of the largest arms importers in the world have been Middle Eastern countries, including Saudi Arabia at #1 (which accounts for 12 percent of all arms purchases), Egypt at #3 (almost 6 percent), the UAE, Iraq and Qatar at #8, #9 and #10 respectively.⁵⁰ There is no doubt that the easy availability of weapons in the international arms trade fuels conflict in the Middle East. As recently observed in Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Libya and other Middle East theatres of war, arms are repeatedly turned against civilians, and often result in war crimes.

There is strong evidence that war, its various impacts, and the arms trade which enables it, contribute significantly to the global climate crisis. For example, the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) is the world's largest institutional user of petroleum and thus the single largest producer of greenhouse gases in the world.⁵¹

Last summer, the Canadian government finally acceded to the International Arms Trade Treaty (ATT),⁵² years after most of its Western allies. The ATT⁵³ covers military weapons systems large and small, and obliges arms exporting countries to carefully control the delivery of arms, maintain export prohibitions, carry out export risk assessments, and provide documentary proof of their implementation of the treaty.⁵⁴ The ATT is designed to eliminate the illicit trade in arms, and prevent arms from getting to states that violate human rights.

Unfortunately, the Trudeau government's legislation to enable accession (Bill C-47) contained loopholes which allow certain ATT restrictions to be circumvented.^{55 56} Notably, Canada's implementation of the ATT excludes arms exports to the US, which account for over half of Canada's arms exports. In addition, Bill C-47 leaves loopholes in the export permit approval process, which will permit many arms sales which would otherwise be barred by the ATT.⁵⁷ For example, Canada's contract to sell Light Armoured Vehicles to Saudi Arabia has been unaffected.⁵⁸

Question

As a leader of the GPC, on a scale from 1 to 4 below, please indicate how closely you believe Canada should adhere to the mechanisms set forth in the International Arms Trade Treaty (*If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.*)

1	Canada needs to take a flexible approach to the ATT, giving strong deference to Canada's commercial and diplomatic concerns.
2	Canada needs to adhere to the principles of the ATT, but existing contracts should be grandfathered, and sales to the US should be excluded, and not fall under the new regime.
3	Canada should fully adhere to the principles of the ATT, even if it means cancelling existing arms contracts, and turning down arms deals with clients like Saudi Arabia and the US.
4	Canada should phase out its international arms trade, and retool existing production facilities for socially useful production.

Responses

Judy Green	4 – We do need to phase out the international arms trade. I would like to see Canadian companies manufacture and supply the tools our military are going to increasingly require as they deploy, in Canada and abroad, to extreme weather events, pandemics, search & rescue while ensuring that we can continue to defend our borders.
Meryam Haddad	4
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	4 – I would start at 3 immediately and move as quickly as possible to 4.
Dimitri Lascaris	4
David Merner	N/A – Canada should fully adhere to the principles of the ATT. It should also phase out its international arms trade by working closely on developing, funding, and implementing a transition plan with arms producers, unions and workers’ representatives in the arms sector, as well as the community leaders where these jobs are located. The first step in the development, funding, and implementation of this plan should be the termination of the federal loans and supports for the General Dynamics LAV contracts with Saudi Arabia. This work should set the pattern for the national phase out.
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

B. Islamophobia and Other Systemic Racism in Canada

Events in recent months have elevated the discussion of systemic racism in Canada, particularly due to the mobilization of the Black Lives Matter movement.⁵⁹ Racism against Indigenous people is the oldest form of racism in Canada, and is tied to the unbridled exploitation of Canada natural resources.⁶⁰ More recently, anti-Arab racism and Islamophobia entered broadly into the public discussion⁶¹ especially starting in early 2017 with the Quebec City Mosque Massacre on January 29, and Parliament's Motion M-103⁶² which called for a study of religious discrimination in Canada.

Islamophobia manifests itself as vandalism of Muslim property (e.g. mosques and schools) and physical assaults on Muslims, including violence against Muslim women wearing the hijab or other Muslim-associated garb. It also manifests itself in anti-Muslim sentiments. Sadly, different polls have indicated that Muslims suffer the most dislike in Canada both as a people-group⁶³ and as a religious group.⁶⁴ Such polls indicate that such anti-Muslim sentiment is highest in Quebec, and highest among Conservative voters. Anti-Muslim sentiment in Quebec has resulted in a number of legislative bills in recent years which threaten to make it harder for Muslims to receive government services, or obtain employment in the public service.⁶⁵

The Muslim community in Canada has asked for the government to designate January 29th as a national day of remembrance and action on Islamophobia and other forms of religious discrimination,^{66 67} just as December 6th is national day of remembrance and action on violence against women.

The Parliamentary Report⁶⁸ resulting from Motion M-103 (2017), which was released in February 2018, contained 30 recommendations, none of which have been specifically funded by Parliament. While many Muslims felt the report ignored some of their specific concerns, they joined other religious minorities and Indigenous groups in supporting the report's recommendations.⁶⁹

Question

As leader of the GPC, will you work to recognize January 29th as a National day of Remembrance and Action on Islamophobia and other forms of religious discrimination?

Yes
No

Responses

Judy Green	Yes - First, we must recognize the problem and talk about it. We must listen to the lived experience of those in these communities and those effected by religious discrimination. A National Day of remembrance helps accomplish all this critical self-reflection.
Meryam Haddad	Yes
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	Yes
Dimitri Lascaris	Yes
David Merner	Yes - The Green Party should lead by example and recognize January 29 in its communications work.
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

Question

Parliament's M-103 report on religious racism in Canada made 30 recommendations about how to combat religious discrimination. As leader of the GPC, will you work to implement these recommendations? *(If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline your choice.)*

Yes
No

Responses

Judy Green	Yes
Meryam Haddad	Yes
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	Yes
Dimitri Lascaris	Yes
David Merner	Yes
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

Question

Seriously addressing systemic racism, especially that against Indigenous people, could have a significant price in the short-term, as Canada will be required to rethink its economy and ways to train and develop its workforce. As a leader of the GPC, on a scale from 1 to 3 below, what short-term actions are you prepared to take to end systemic racism? *(If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)*

1	Canada's existing economic model, its relationship with Indigenous people, and its workforce development programs only need minor tweaking for the coming decades.
2	
3	Canada needs to do important rethinking with all three areas: its economy, its relationship with Indigenous peoples, and its workforce programs, but in a gradual way, to minimize disruptions to the economy and society.
4	
5	Canada needs a rapid and complete replacement of its existing economic model, a full reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, and a total overhaul of its workforce development programs to thrive in the coming decades.

Responses

Judy Green	5 - We are seeing a pivotable point in human history due to the Climate Crisis, Covid-19 pandemic, and Black Lives Matter. These challenges have each, in their own way, identified huge issues with our current systems. It is clear, tweaking of the current broken colonial systems is not enough. We need a total refocus on the future we all want, then we need to work together to create a roadmap to get us all there.
Meryam Haddad	5
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	5 - We also need to get beyond the conversation of reconciliation to full decolonization of our society and government, fully respecting Indigenous rights and sovereignty.
Dimitri Lascaris	5
David Merner	N/A - Canada needs a rapid and complete rethink of its existing economic model, a full reconciliation with its Indigenous peoples, and a total overhaul of its workforce development, poverty elimination, educational funding and debt forgiveness, and other social justice programs to drive rapid change. The Green Party must retain and build on its longstanding status as Canada's most progressive social justice party; in particular, we must retain our social justice lead over the NDP which has never campaigned on the Guaranteed Livable Income, nor on free tuition for trade school, college, and university. With respect to workforce development issues, this is a matter of personal interest as I earned a Masters of Science in Management (Labour Relations) and have worked in fields closely related to workplace democracy, inclusion, and human rights. Alas, Indigenous issues are of personal interest to me, partly because I went into law to help address the longstanding and ongoing injustices against Indigenous peoples in Canada. The Green Party must remain the most progressive leader on these issues in Canadian politics.
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

C. Canada and Environmental Immigrants and Refugees

In 1990, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, the UN body for assessing the science related to climate change, forecasted that the greatest single result of climate change could be human migration, predicting that people would be displaced by shoreline erosion, coastal flooding and agricultural disruption.⁷⁰ In 2018, 28 million people were displaced in 148 countries, of which 17.2 million were displaced because of natural disasters.⁷¹ Some experts predict that there will be 200 million forced environmental migrants by 2050.⁷²

Additional study of the Syrian refugee crisis of recent years reveals that, in addition to the Syrian civil war, climate change helped drive many Syrians from their homes. In fact, Syrians have been moving out of northern and northeast Syria for 20 years as a result of climate-induced hardship. Even before the Syrian Civil War erupted in 2011, there were already 1 million Syrians living in Lebanon.⁷³ Other refugee and migration crises around the world also have an important climate element.

Experts on forced-migration disagree with the use of the term “climate refugee” because a refugee is legally defined as a person who can’t return to their country for fear of persecution for race, religion, nationality, or other reasons. As an alternative, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has defined “environmental migrants” as people who are obliged to leave their homes because of changes in the environment that adversely impact their lives.⁷⁴

A recent ruling by the UN Human Rights Committee has made clear that countries receiving environmental migrants may be forced to accept them, as rejecting them may be incompatible with the right to life with dignity.⁷⁵ A parliamentary background paper from 2010 suggested that Canada’s Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) might not need to be modified to accommodate environmental migrants.⁷⁶ Instead, environmental migrants could be accommodated through policy or regulatory changes, like granting permanent residency on humanitarian and compassionate grounds, and other avenues.

Successive Canadian governments have done little to avert the climate emergency, but Canada is well placed to help people from other countries who are losing homes and livelihoods as a result of climate change. Canada is relatively wealthy, and has far more resources than other countries to adapt to climate-related adversity. As such, Canada will have a critical role to play in addressing looming environmental migration.

Question

As a leader of the GPC, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, on how aggressively you would push to expand Canada’s existing immigration and refugee resettlement programs to accommodate victims of climate change. *(If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)*

1	Canada’s existing immigration and refugee acceptance programs are functioning well, and require only minor tweaks.
2	
3	Canada needs to grow its immigration and refugee resettlement programs, but preferably in response to specific crises as they occur.
4	
5	Canada needs to dramatically expand its immigration and refugee resettlement programs, to help the world cope with the ravages of climate change.

Responses

Judy Green	5 - Canada needs to plan an expansion based on need to ensure that Canada is prepared for the number of environmental migrants. I foresee ramping up as the crisis develops.
Meryam Haddad	5
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	5 - We have a particular responsibility towards this as we live in a prosperous nation in an area of the world that will remain habitable longer during the climate crisis. We must also make sure our immigration and border policies are respectful of Indigenous rights and sovereignty.
Dimitri Lascaris	5
David Merner	<p>N/A - Canada needs to expand its immigration and refugee resettlement programs, to help the world cope with the ravages of climate change. As a country that has consistently polluted more and contributed much more than its fair share to the global carbon deficit, Canada has the moral obligation set an example for the world in terms of generosity, openness, and excellent organization as we address the coming global refugee and immigration crises.</p> <p>Canada has been a world leader in refugee resettlement with our community-based resettlement programs. I know from personal experience with the resettlement of a Syrian refugee family in Victoria that this work is critically important both to refugee families and to our communities. Let's build on that leadership for the future.</p>
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

D. Canada and a Resolution to the Israel-Palestine Conflict

For decades, the official position of the Government of Canada has been to encourage a negotiated two-state solution between Israel and the Palestinians, with peace and security for both peoples.⁷⁷ The same position is held by all Canadian political parties, including the Green Party of Canada.⁷⁸

However, there have been no negotiations between the parties since 2014. In the interim, Israel's military control over the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) has only become more intractable, as Israel has expanded its colonies in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, increasing its settler population to at least 642,867 in 2019,⁷⁹ and has announced plans to annex up to thirty percent of the West Bank, formalizing its permanent control over the territory. These annexation plans suggest that Israel's leadership makes no distinction between Israel proper, and its "settlements" in the West Bank.⁸⁰

In fact, while the two-state solution has been the consensus position within Canadian political circles, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu has repeatedly insisted that there will never be a Palestinian state,⁸¹ while all of Israel's mainstream opposition parties support separation of Palestinians into a "state-minus," or an entity less than a sovereign state.⁸² Under Trump's peace plan, the best-case scenario would be a rump entity under the ultimate sovereignty of Israel, what many have likened to Bantustans – a pillar of South African-style apartheid.⁸³ Indeed, even without further annexation, the status quo in the OPT is increasingly described by human rights experts in terms of "apartheid."⁸⁴

As Western countries wait for a negotiated solution, Israel continues to oppress the Palestinian people on both sides of the Green Line, while its actions "on the ground" have deliberately undermined the material conditions which would make any two-state solution possible. Given the above, calls have grown to move away from the failed two-state paradigm and to pursue a single, binational, democratic state that would safeguard the equal rights and collective aspirations of all peoples.⁸⁵

Question

Along with over 60 sitting MPs, all three Green MPs have signed a pledge to oppose Israeli annexation. Have you signed, or do you commit to signing, the MP Pledge to oppose Israeli annexation (see: <http://MPpledge.ca>)? *(If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline your choice.)*

Yes
No

Responses

Judy Green	Yes - I have signed this pledge to oppose the planned annexation of Palestinian territories by the state of Israel.
Meryam Haddad	Yes
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	Yes
Dimitri Lascaris	Yes
David Merner	Yes
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

Question

Have you signed, or do you commit to signing, the ePetition to the Government of Canada to ban the importation of settlement goods and formally "differentiate" between Israel 'proper' and the OPT, which has been sponsored by Elizabeth May (<https://petitions.ourcommons.ca/en/Petition/Details?Petition=e-2710>)? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline your choice.)

Yes
No

Responses

Judy Green	Yes - I have already signed this ePetition to the Government of Canada to ban the importation of settlement goods and formally "differentiate" between Israel 'proper' and the OPT, which is in alignment with Green Party Policy on this issue.
Meryam Haddad	Yes
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	Yes
Dimitri Lascaris	Yes
David Merner	Yes
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

Question

As a leader of the GPC, on a scale from 1 to 5 below, what Middle East stance would you recommend for the Green Party between Israel and the Palestinians? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

1	In the absence of negotiations, the current GPC policy of calling for a negotiated two-state solution between Israel and the Palestinians is adequate under the current realities.
2	
3	In the absence of negotiations, the GPC policy of calling for a negotiated two-state solution between Israel and the Palestinians must be supported by diplomatic and economic sanctions against any party which takes illegal unilateral steps "on the ground."
4	
5	In the absence of negotiations, GPC policy must consider any and all options for Israel-Palestine which are most likely to achieve peace and justice for all, which may include a two-state solution or a single bi-national state. In the meantime, the GPC must call for equal rights for everyone living under Israeli administration in the occupied territories, and equal rights for everyone living in Israel. This call must be bolstered via diplomatic and economic sanctions.

Responses

Judy Green	3 - To my answer of #3, I would add: The problem with a single bi-national state is that the un-equal power structure remains.
Meryam Haddad	5
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	5 - I am very intrigued by the possibility of a single bi-national state as a workable solution for justice and peace. For Canada to fully decolonize we should have some kind of plurinational state as well.
Dimitri Lascaris	5
David Merner	<p>N/A - In the absence of negotiations, GPC policy must consider any and all options for Israel-Palestine which are most likely to achieve peace and justice for all, including a (1) two-state solution or (2) single bi-national state, organized according to principles of federalism that led to the formation of successful federal states such as Australia, Canada, Switzerland, or the United States. This is a matter of personal interest to me as I earned a Master's degree in Canadian politics with a focus on federalism and I've lived in the Middle East, and I have an ongoing personal interest in the region.</p> <p>The GPC must also call for equal rights for everyone living under Israeli administration in the occupied territories, and equal rights for everyone living in Israel. This call must be bolstered via diplomatic and economic sanctions applied in a consistent, even-handed way to entities operating in the private, public, or mixed public-private sectors (such as NGOs, advocacy groups, and militias) whenever such entities breach international law.</p>
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

E. Compliance with International Law and Trade with Settlements

The Government of Canada has long acknowledged that Israeli settlements in the West Bank violate Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention,⁸⁶ which was adopted into Canadian law as the *Geneva Conventions Act* (1985). Article 1 of the Convention stipulates that State Parties must "respect and ensure respect for the Convention in all circumstances."⁸⁷

In December 2016, UNSC resolution 2334 declared Israel's settlements "frankly illegal and without effect" and stipulated that all UN Member States must distinguish in their relations with Israel between Israel 'proper' and its illegal settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT), including East Jerusalem.⁸⁸ Canada fails to comply with UNSC 2334 by incorporating trade with settlements into the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement (CIFTA),⁸⁹ and by fighting in court to allow imports from settlement goods to continue to be labelled "Product of Israel."⁹⁰

Israel is currently threatening to annex up to thirty percent of the West Bank, formally incorporating most, if not all, of its settlements into the State of Israel,⁹¹ and therefore eliminating any distinction between Israel and its settlement presence in the OPT. For Canada to comply with international law, it would have to terminate bilateral trade and other economic relations with Israel's settlement enterprise. This has been a long-time demand of the Palestinian-led movement for boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS), which urges governments to use economic pressure to force Israeli compliance with international law.⁹²

Question

As leader of the GPC, please select your position from 1 to 5 below, on whether you would support Canada's strict observance to international law and UNSC resolutions, and therefore support sanctions or other measures to distinguish between Israel and its settlements. (*If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.*)

1	I would not support sanctions and would maintain the existing economic relationship with Israel.
2	I would support the labelling of settlement products, allowing concerned Canadians to identify such products if they wish, but otherwise permit trade to continue.
3	In addition to labelling settlement products, I would support revising CIFTA to exclude them from preferential tariff treatment, but I would not support banning trade with settlements.
4	I would support Canada's strict adherence to international law by banning all trade with Israeli settlements.
5	I would support cancelling CIFTA and placing sanctions on all trade with Israel.

Responses

Judy Green	3
Meryam Haddad	5
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	4 - In general, I support sanctions, and would support some sanctions beyond just the settlements. The goal here is to not keep essential supplies away from anyone, nor embolden human-rights abusing regimes, while putting pressure where it is most likely to create change.
Dimitri Lascaris	5
David Merner	N/A - I support the GPC policy adopted at our Calgary convention. As I understand it, that policy support Canada's strict adherence to international law by banning all trade with illegal Israeli settlements.
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

F. Canada's Voting at the United Nations

Since 2004, Canada's votes on UN General Assembly resolutions relating to the Middle East have shifted significantly. Whereas Canada under the Chrétien government voted on such resolutions in line with international law, Canada's last three governments have reversed that trend. For example:

- On the recurring resolution supporting "Permanent sovereignty of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory,"⁹³ Canada's vote shifted from Yes (2004), to Abstain, to No (starting in 2007).⁹⁴ The UN Charter forbids the acquisition of territory by force, and the Palestinian claim to the West Bank and Gaza is set out by Resolution 181 (1947) and supported by subsequent resolutions.
- On the recurring resolution condemning Israel's unilateral annexation of Jerusalem ("Jerusalem"),⁹⁵ Canada's vote shifted from Yes (2004), to No (starting in 2011),⁹⁶ even though the UN Charter forbids the acquisition of territory by force. The status of Jerusalem as a shared city is set out by Resolution 181 (1947) and supported by subsequent resolutions.
- On the recurring resolution commending "Operations of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency [UNRWA] for Palestine Refugees in the Near East,"⁹⁷ Canada's vote went from Yes (2004), to Abstain, to No (starting in 2011.)⁹⁸ The provision of health and educational services to people living under war and occupation is obligatory under the Fourth Geneva Convention. The Trudeau government's failure to support this resolution is made even more absurd by the fact that the Trudeau government typically gives at least \$20 million annually to UNRWA.⁹⁹

The Liberal government frequently cites its support for the "rules-based international order," most recently to express its objection to Russia's annexation of the Crimea,¹⁰⁰ but this is not consistent with their voting on UN resolutions relating to Israel and the Palestinians. Because of this, the Harper and Trudeau governments have put Canada in a small minority of nations (along with Israel and the US) that is massively outnumbered in vote after vote on resolutions related to Israel-Palestine. In fact, some pundits attribute Canada's failure to win a UN Security Council seat earlier this year to its failure to support international law in its voting on Israel-Palestine at the UN.^{101 102}

Question

As a leader of the GPC, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, on whether you would a) continue the Trudeau government's pattern of voting at the UN, or b) oppose it? *(If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)*

1	I would support Canada's current voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN, and oppose efforts to criticize Israel in UN forums.
2	
3	I don't feel strongly about Canada's voting pattern on Middle East issues at the UN, but would commit to supporting the "rules-based international order."
4	
5	I would publicly oppose Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN, which spurn international law and provide diplomatic cover to Israel.

Responses

Judy Green	5 - My overall vision for International Trade and relations is that all decisions are based first on basic human rights. Once a decision is made, regarding sanctions or censure, then that decision should be applied to all similar situations. Canada has historically had a bad habit of exempting 'friendly' countries who are major trading partner and given them a pass with respect to their human rights record. Canada must also improve our own human rights record, with respect to First Nations, Inuit, and Meti.
Meryam Haddad	5
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	5
Dimitri Lascaris	5
David Merner	N/A - I would publicly oppose Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN, which is very closely aligned with Donald Trump's foreign policy and also fails to consistently put respect for international law first.
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

G. Views on Paid Trips to Israel from Canadian Lobbyists

Canadian politicians are frequently invited on all-expenses-paid trips to Israel on behalf of pro-Israel lobby groups. Every year these trips make up a large portion of all paid travel for MPs, sometimes up to 30 percent.¹⁰³

These paid trips to Israel provide an exclusively Israeli perspective on the conflict and ignore Palestinian realities, even while taking participants into occupied areas.¹⁰⁴ They are designed to create empathy for the Israeli position, while no counterbalance is available which allows visitors to see Palestinian realities and perspectives. The result is that MPs are provided with an unbalanced experience, and do not receive full information upon which to make policy.

In the 1980s, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney placed a moratorium on MPs accepting paid trips to apartheid South Africa, which were common at the time, and were similarly designed to increase support for the dominant power.¹⁰⁵

Even if these trips incorporated more Palestinian voices, many believe on ethical grounds that it is inappropriate for MPs to accept paid travel to a region on behalf of advocates of the occupying power.

Question

As leader of the GPC, please select your position from 1 to 5 below, on whether you would consider a moratorium on Green MPs accepting all-expenses paid trips to the region. *(If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)*

1	I would not support a moratorium on paid trips to the region.
2	
3	I would allow MPs to accept paid trips by pro-Israel groups, but only if there is equal time and attention from local Palestinian advocacy groups.
4	
5	So long as Israel continues to be an occupying power in the region, I would support a total moratorium on paid trips by pro-Israel groups.

Responses

Judy Green	5
Meryam Haddad	5
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	4 - I fundamentally don't believe that MPs should be able to have expense paid trips by lobbyists because this allows government to be swayed by money and corporate interests. We need more voices to be able to be heard, it is especially inappropriate for MPs to take any sort of gift or offer from human rights abusing regimes. As it stands I would lean towards starting with equal time and moving towards a phase-out altogether.
Dimitri Lascaris	5
David Merner	N/A - I would allow MPs to accept paid trips by any group with a track record of compliance with international law and constructive engagement in non-violent peace building, but only if the time and attention spent in the Middle East is equally allocated to both Palestinian and Israeli advocacy groups, NGOs, and government entities.
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

H. Views on definitions of Antisemitism that conflate criticism of Israel with a hatred of Jews

In recent years there have been several efforts by pro-Israel groups to promote definitions of antisemitism which conflate it with criticism of Israel and Palestinian narratives or forms of protest. One example is the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism, which was adopted by Trudeau's cabinet in 2019,¹⁰⁶ and whose adoption has been debated by various provinces and municipalities.¹⁰⁷

There is a very real threat that the IHRA working definition will be used to shut down debate on Israel and Palestine and undermine the ability of pro-Palestinian groups to organize. Seven of the eleven examples of antisemitism included in the IHRA working definition relate in some way to Israel or Zionism.¹⁰⁸ Even proponents of the working definition admit that it targets specific forms of criticism and protest of Israel, including the BDS movement, Israeli Apartheid Week, and anti-Zionism, as antisemitic.¹⁰⁹ For this reason, IHRA has been opposed by the Ontario Civil Liberties Association,¹¹⁰ the British Columbia Civil Liberties Association,¹¹¹ and over 400 Canadian academics.¹¹² Kenneth Stern, the lead drafter of the IHRA working definition, has criticized right-wing politicians for "weaponizing" it to stifle free speech.¹¹³

The NDP's Jagmeet Singh has argued for a middle position, suggesting that the IHRA's threats to free expression on Israel and Palestine mean that it should not be formalized as a legal tool, but that it can still be used as an educational resource. Doing so, however, accepts and gives credence to the basic premises of the IHRA: that many forms of criticism of Israel -- including the BDS movement or support for a binational state with equal rights -- are in themselves antisemitic.¹¹⁴

Question

As leader of the GPC, please select your position from 1 to 5 below, on whether you would oppose adoption of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism, as well as other efforts to conflate criticisms of Israel and forms of protest, such as BDS, with antisemitism. *(If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)*

1	I would endorse the IHRA working definition.
2	
3	I would oppose formalizing the IHRA working definition but would support its use as an educational tool only.
4	
5	I would oppose the IHRA working definition as a threat to free speech, and oppose any other attempts to conflate criticism of Israel with antisemitism.

Responses

Judy Green	5 - It must be made clear that there is a clear separation of the state of Israel and the people who identify as Jewish, on either a historical and/or religious basis. Criticizing the actions of a nation-state has no relevance to the religion or ethnic background of peoples who may comprise the majority of that population, as those people do not reside exclusively within than nation.
Meryam Haddad	5
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	4 - We must be very careful with this discussion, as anything that pertains to the definition of free speech and hate speech. I would therefore go beyond opposing formalization but hesitate to categorize it as a threat to free speech. I would also oppose any other attempts to conflate criticism of Israel with anti-Semitism.
Dimitri Lascaris	5
David Merner	N/A - I oppose any attempts to conflate criticism of Israel with antisemitism and stand strongly for free speech. I would also oppose formalizing the use of the IHRA working definition; but the debate around that definition should be used to educate people with different, sincere, and legitimate perspectives. I respect the fact that you are very legitimately highlighting that debate in this questionnaire and helping candidates to learn from that debate.
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

I. Canada and the International Criminal Court

The International Criminal Court (ICC) was established in 1998 to investigate individuals accused of war crimes, genocide, aggression, and crimes against humanity.¹¹⁵

Within the last year, the ICC has given a greenlight to investigate the US over alleged war crimes in Afghanistan,¹¹⁶ and announced its intentions to investigate Israeli and Palestinian individuals over alleged war crimes in the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict.¹¹⁷ In response to these announcements, the ICC has faced attacks and sanctions coordinated by US President Trump and Israeli President Netanyahu, in an attempt to put a stop to any investigation.¹¹⁸

While Canada has expressed support for the ICC, it has actively intervened to try to stop the investigation into Israel, submitting a formal objection to claim that the court does not have proper jurisdiction because Palestine is not a state.¹¹⁹ Palestine is recognized as a state by 138 of 193 UN Member States, and voluntarily acceded to the jurisdiction of the ICC in 2015.¹²⁰ The ICC's chief prosecutor issued an opinion on April 30 stating that Palestine is indeed a state, and that an investigation should proceed.¹²¹

Question

As leader of the GPC, please select your position from 1 to 5 below, on whether you would support the mandate of the ICC to investigate US and/or Israeli crimes. *(If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)*

1	I would oppose ICC investigations of US and/or Israeli officials, and I would support Canadian intervention to assert that position.
2	
3	I would not support ICC investigations of US and/or Israeli officials, but would support the independence of the ICC, and would not advocate for Canadian intervention against them.
4	
5	I would support ICC investigations of any country alleged of committing war crimes, including the US and Israel.

Responses

Judy Green	5 - I had the unique opportunity to learn from my sister, who worked for the Department of Justice, Canadian War Crimes office, during the civil war in the former Yugoslavia. This was the first time in history that legal council could depose victims of war crimes, while the war was ongoing. We have learned a lot from that experience. The sooner the investigation, the sooner the world powers can put pressure on the perpetrators to stop the crimes against humanity.
Meryam Haddad	5
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	5
Dimitri Lascaris	5
David Merner	N/A - I support a liberal interpretation of the ICC's jurisdiction to investigate war crimes, genocide, aggression, and crimes against humanity. However, in determining the scope of that jurisdiction, I would support the application of established international law principles. The ICC prosecutor may make a determination for the purposes of her office, but the ICC judges are the ultimate decision-makers on this issue.
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	
Andrew West	

J. Views on the charitable status of the Jewish National Fund of Canada

At the national convention in Aug. 2016, the GPC passed Resolution G16-P010 which “calls upon the Canada Revenue Agency to revoke the charitable status of, or to refrain from conferring charitable status upon, any organization that is complicit in the violation of Canadian or international human rights law.”¹²²

As a registered charity, the Jewish National Fund Canada (JNF) raises millions of dollars each year for projects in Israel/Palestine each year which are tax deductible due to their charitable status. However, the JNF practices discrimination against non-Jews in Israel through its bylaws which prohibit the lease or sale of its lands to non-Jews.¹²³ Through charitable donations it raised, the JNF built Canada Park, which sits atop three destroyed Palestinian villages, whose more than 9000 residents were expelled from their homes, in the name of ‘environmentalism.’¹²⁴ The JNF today continues to displace Bedouins from their ancestral lands to make way for ‘green space’ as well as for Jewish-only settlements.¹²⁵

Many civil society groups across Canada, which include Jewish groups, have called for an end to JNF charitable status given these violations of international human rights law.

Resolution G16-P010 was originally drafted specifically addressing the issue of the charitable status of the JNF. At that time, Elizabeth May stated the following: “Approving this motion which creates a statement of principle about where we are as a party and charitable status of organizations that violate international law, that even though the Jewish National Fund is not mentioned, the context is clear, and I give you my word as leader of the party, that I will pursue the question of Jewish National Fund violations of the law, and whether they are appropriate for Canada charitable status”¹²⁶

In October 2017, the latest complaint (of several previous attempts) was submitted to the CRA and the Minister of National Revenue under the signature of four complainants, including both a rabbi and a man whose village was destroyed to make way for Canada Park.¹²⁷ The CRA has not yet officially responded to the complaint.

Question

As leader of the GPC, please select your position from 1 to 5 below, whether you would take on this commitment and pursue the question of Jewish National Fund violations of the law, and whether they are appropriate for Canada charitable status. *(If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)*

1	I would not support efforts to have JNF Canada’s charitable status reviewed.
2	
3	I would not make this a priority of my mandate as leader of the GPC.
4	
5	I would champion efforts to have JNF Canada’s charitable status reviewed.

Responses

Judy Green	3 - This is an important issue that must be addressed. However, the reality is that the competing crises of a global pandemic and climate change will take a vast amount of resources. Realistically, it would fall further down the list and would be addressed as resources become available. If we were to elect 50 MPs as one of my fellow contestants assures us we will, then it would rise near the top and be addressed as a priority.
Meryam Haddad	5
Courtney Howard	
Amita Kuttner	5 - We should prioritize the review of any charitable statuses that conflict with the advancement and preservation of human rights, at home and abroad.
Dimitri Lascaris	5
David Merner	N/A - As leader of the Green Party, I would support efforts to ensure that all charities comply with the law and qualify for charitable status.
Glen Murray	
Annamie Paul	

Appendix B: Email from Annamie Paul

Sent Saturday, July 25, 9:07 PM

Hello Michael,

Thank you for your email. I apologise for the slight delay in my response, but it has been a very busy week.

I have reviewed the attached questionnaire. In the interest of brevity, I would note that it unfortunately has numerous problematic design elements. To mention only a few examples: the questionnaire contains leading questions and many other forms of bias that anyone trained in bias is able to identify; it sets out extensive facts and assertions that the respondent is effectively required to accept in order to meaningfully answer a series of questions, which themselves are problematic in their construction; and the questionnaire is presented as being focused on the Middle East, but the vast majority of questions focus only on one country.

Based on everything I have learned as a lawyer and trained policy analyst, proper survey and research methodology is very important. It is especially so when being designed to canvass view on important topics, in the context of a leadership race, and for an evidence-based political party, such as the Green Party of Canada.

For these reasons, I am obliged to decline to complete the questionnaire. Rest assured that our campaign will continue to publicly comment on issues of concern throughout the race.

Sincerely,
Annamie

Annamie Paul
Leadership Candidate | Candidate à la chefferie
Green Party of Canada | Parti Vert du Canada

Appendix C: Email from Glen Murray

Sent Monday, August 3, 11:41 AM

Michael,

As you know this is an important issue that has many layers and requires a thoughtful process that engages all Greens. We will be releasing our foreign policy paper later in the campaign to address foreign policy in a broad context. Our campaign is supportive of the current Green Party policy of a two-state solution. Reviews or changes to these policies should occur through a thoughtful and inclusive review that ensures all voices are heard, so until there is a fulsome discussion amongst Green Party membership under our next leader, we won't be commenting further.

Glen Murray for Green Party of Canada Leader · Canada

¹ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>;
Ontario Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 30, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JOzsQITUUZ8>;
@RAWnGreen, *Twitter*, May 21, 2020, <https://twitter.com/RAWnGreen/status/1263478320315928579?s=20>;
@RAWnGreen, *Twitter*, March 16, 2020, <https://twitter.com/RAWnGreen/status/1239586923095752705?s=20>.

² @RAWnGreen, *Twitter*, July 8, 2020, <https://twitter.com/RAWnGreen/status/1280901732432777216?s=20>.

³ Judy N Green, *Facebook*, July 8, 2020,

https://www.facebook.com/judyngreenforwestnova/posts/1540245262813379?__tn__=-R

⁴ Judy N Green, *Facebook*, May 11, 2020,

https://www.facebook.com/judyngreenforwestnova/posts/1491078564396716?__tn__=-R

⁵ @MeryamHd2020, *Twitter*, June 16, 2020, <https://twitter.com/MeryamHd2020/status/1272936768141234179>

⁶ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>;
Ontario Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 30, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JOzsQITUUZ8>

⁷ <https://twitter.com/MeryamHd2020/status/1259518709854621697?s=20>

⁸ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

⁹ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

¹⁰ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

¹¹ Courtney Howard, "Platform Plank 3: Dynamic Stability in a Rapidly Changing World," accessed August 13, 2020 from <https://drcourtneyhoward.ca/plank-3/>

¹² Amita Kuttner, "Out Platform," accessed August 13, 2020, from <https://amitakuttner.ca/platform/>.

¹³ Ontario Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 30, 2020,

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JOzsQITUUZ8>

¹⁴ @AmitaKuttner, *Twitter*, July 7, 2020, <https://twitter.com/AmitaKuttner/status/1280631563546292224>

¹⁵ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

¹⁶ @AmitaKuttner, *Twitter*, May 9, 2020, <https://twitter.com/AmitaKuttner/status/1259207765068705792?s=20>

¹⁷ For example, Lascaris has represented Palestinian-Canadian Rehab Nazzal

(<https://dimitrilascaris.org/2020/02/23/trudeau-government-continues-to-ignore-a-canadian-brutalized-by-israels-military/>); David Kattenburg in the settlement wine labeling case (<https://electronicintifada.net/blogs/nora-barrows-friedman/settlement-wines-not-made-israel-canadian-court-rules>); York University's Students Against Israeli Apartheid (<https://www.cjnews.com/news/canada/jdl-head-banned-from-york-university>); and Toronto Al-Quds Day organizers (<https://dimitrilascaris.org/2019/05/30/al-quds-day-affirms-palestinian-rights/>).

¹⁸ Green Party of Canada, Resolution G16-P006, "Palestinian Self-Determination and the Movement for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions," submitted May 15, 2016, <https://www.greenparty.ca/en/convention-2016/voting/resolutions/g16-p006>

¹⁹ Dave Dormer, "Green Party votes to replace controversial Israel boycott policy," *CBC News*, December 4, 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/green-party-elizabeth-may-bds-israel-boycott-1.3881269>; Dimitri Lascaris interviewed by Derrick O'Keefe, "Why I was fired by Elizabeth May," *Ricochet*, September 4, 2016, <https://ricochet.media/en/1396/why-i-was-fired-by-elizabeth-may>

²⁰ Dimitri Lascaris, "Cooperative Foreign Policy for the Multipolar World," PDF copy accessible at "Team Dimitri Releases Foreign Policy Platform," August 12, 2020, https://www.teamdimitri.ca/team_dimitri_releases_foreign_policy_platform

²¹ Ontario Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 30, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JOzsQITUUZ8>; BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

²² Dimitri Lascaris, *Facebook*, July 7, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1805910232961619/permalink/2686999671519333/>

²³ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

²⁴ Dimitri Lascaris, *Facebook*, May 11, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/vote.dimitri/posts/2588318221388520>

²⁵ Dimitri Lascaris, "My Response to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Smear: Sir, I Will Not Be Deterred From Defending Human Rights," *blog*, September 11, 2018, <https://dimitrilascaris.org/2018/09/11/my-response-to-prime-minister-justin-trudeaus-smear-sir-i-will-not-be-deterred-from-defending-human-rights/>

²⁶ CJPME, "CJPME calls for an honest discussion of Canadian policy on Israel," September 28, 2018, https://www.cjpme.org/pr_2018_09_28; IJV Canada, "Dimitri Lascaris Is Not An Antisemite," archived web page, September 14, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180916194551/https://www.ijvcanada.org/2018/statement-dimitri-lascaris>

²⁷ IJV Canada, "Dimitri Lascaris Is Not An Antisemite," archived web page, September 14, 2018, <https://web.archive.org/web/20180916194551/https://www.ijvcanada.org/2018/statement-dimitri-lascaris>

²⁸ David Merner, *Facebook*, July 11, 2020, <https://www.facebook.com/DavidMernerESS/posts/3447765801951828>

²⁹ Hélène Buzzetti, "Israël s'invite chez les verts," *Le Devoir*, January 21, 2020, original French translated with Google Translate, <https://www.ledevoir.com/politique/canada/571196/israel-s-invite-chez-les-verts>

³⁰ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

³¹ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

³² Email communication, August 3, 2020. See Appendix C

³³ *Daily Xtra*, "Glen Murray hopes to hold on to Toronto Centre," February 9, 2014, <https://www.dailyxtra.com/glen-murray-hopes-to-hold-on-to-toronto-centre-58131>

³⁴ Terry Davidson, "'Spirit of Ramadan' in Toronto," *Toronto Sun*, July 29, 2014, <https://torontosun.com/2014/07/29/spirit-of-ramadan-in-toronto/wcm/4f6a4f77-6c06-454a-9cd9-748de875a16e>

³⁵ Legislative Assembly of Ontario, *Hansard*, December 1, 2016, 41st Parliament, 2nd Session, <https://www.ola.org/en/legislative-business/house-documents/parliament-41/session-2/2016-12-01/hansard>

³⁶ Email communication, July 25, 2020. See Appendix B.

³⁷ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

³⁸ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

³⁹ Kerri Breen, "What Canadian political parties are saying on the anniversary of Jamal Khashoggi's death," *Global News*, October 2, 2019, <https://globalnews.ca/news/5981067/canadian-political-parties-jamal-khashoggi/>

⁴⁰ Steve Arnold, "Annamie Paul seeks to make history as Green Party leader," June 10, 2020, <https://canadianjewishrecord.ca/2020/06/10/annamie-paul-seeks-to-make-history-as-green-party-leader/>

⁴¹ *Jewish Independent*, “Annamie Paul hopes to make history,” July 24, 2020, <http://www.jewishindependent.ca/paul-hopes-to-make-history/>

⁴² Steve Arnold, “Annamie Paul seeks to make history as Green Party leader,” June 10, 2020, <https://canadianjewishrecord.ca/2020/06/10/annamie-paul-seeks-to-make-history-as-green-party-leader/>

⁴³ Reddit AMA (“Ask Me Anything”) with Annamie Paul, July 22, 2020,

https://www.reddit.com/r/GreenPartyOfCanada/comments/hxsxv4/annamie_paul_candidate_for_green_party_leadership/

⁴⁴ Steve Arnold, “Annamie Paul seeks to make history as Green Party leader,” June 10, 2020,

<https://canadianjewishrecord.ca/2020/06/10/annamie-paul-seeks-to-make-history-as-green-party-leader/>. For the full text of the 2016 GPC resolution, see Green Party of Canada, Resolution S16-P013, “Measures to pressure the government of Israel to preserve the two-state solution: addendum to current Middle East policy,” submitted October 4, 2016, <https://www.greenparty.ca/en/sgm-2016/voting/resolutions/s16-p013>

⁴⁵ *Jewish Independent*, “Annamie Paul hopes to make history,” July 24, 2020, <http://www.jewishindependent.ca/paul-hopes-to-make-history/>.

⁴⁶ In an op-ed, Paul says that during the leadership campaign she has been “subjected to months of antisemitic attacks” in the form of questions about her positions on Israel and other matters: “The moment it became known that I was Jewish, I was bombarded with questions about my positions on Israel, the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign, and the proposed annexation of West Bank territories. Despite having posted public statements on these matters, questions persist. My loyalty to Canada has also been called into question, and I have been accused of taking bribes from Israel, leading a Zionist take-over of the Green Party of Canada and of spreading hasbarah.” Annamie Paul, “You Can Respond to Hate with Hate or Convert it to a Teaching Moment. We Chose the Latter,” *Canadian Jewish Record*, July 27, 2020, <https://canadianjewishrecord.ca/2020/07/27/you-can-respond-to-hate-with-hate-or-convert-it-to-a-teaching-moment-we-chose-the-latter/>

⁴⁷ To give another example, unrelated to the Middle East: During the Ontario Town Hall, Paul was asked by another candidate about why, as Green Party international affairs critics, she had released a statement supporting the coup against Evo Morales in Bolivia. Paul responded by saying that the question had used inflammatory language, then noted that she is a foreign policy expert who has access to excellent sources, and that the issue is nuanced. She did not address the substance of the question. Ontario Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 30, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JOzsQITUUZ8>

⁴⁸ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>; Ontario Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 30, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JOzsQITUUZ8>.

⁴⁹ BC Townhall with GPC Leadership Contestants, July 28, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TlmX6Ca67Pc>

⁵⁰ “SIPRI: Biggest Arms Exporters and Importers,” European Defence and Security, March 12, 2020, accessed July 11, 2020 at <https://euro-sd.com/2020/03/news/16688/sipri-biggest-arms-exporters-and-importers/>

⁵¹ Hussain, Murtaza “War on the World: Industrialized Militaries Are a Bigger Part of the Climate Emergency than you Know,” *The Intercept*, Sept. 5, 2019, accessed July 11, 2020 at <https://theintercept.com/2019/09/15/climate-change-us-military-war/>

⁵² “Deposition of Canada’s instrument of accession to the Arms Trade Treaty,” Global Affairs Canada, June 21, 2019, accessed July 11, 2020 at <https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2019/06/deposition-of-canadas-instrument-of-accession-to-the-arms-trade-treaty.html>

⁵³ “Arms Trade Treaty,” Arms Trade Treaty, accessed July 11, 2020 at <https://thearmstradetreaty.org/>

⁵⁴ Note that the ATT does not apply to recreational arms, nor the domestic trade in arms.

⁵⁵ “CANADA: Deeply Flawed Arms Trade Bill must be Amended to Stop Canadian Weapons Falling into Hands of Human Rights Abusers,” Amnesty International Canada, Oct. 13, 2017, accessed July 11, 2020 at <https://www.amnesty.ca/news/canada-deeply-flawed-arms-trade-bill-must-be-amended-stop-canadian-weapons-falling-hands-human>

⁵⁶ Chase, Steven, “Liberal bill leaves major hole in Arms Trade Treaty obligations, study says,” *Globe and Mail*, Nov. 1, 2017, accessed July 11, 2020 at <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/liberal-bill-leaves-major-hole-in-arms-trade-treaty-obligations-study/article36796196/>

⁵⁷ “Bill C-47: An Act to Facilitate Arms Exports to Countries Which Violate Human Rights,” The Rideau Institute, October, 2017, accessed July 11, 2020 at <https://www.rideauinstitute.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/ATT-Report-Bill-C-47-Oct31.pdf>

⁵⁸ See, for example, Jaramillo, Cesar, “In the midst of our COVID-19 crisis, Canada lifted its moratorium on arms exports to Saudi Arabia,” *Globe and Mail*, April 15, 2020, accessed July 11, 2020 at

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-in-the-midst-of-our-covid-19-crisis-canada-lifted-its-moratorium-on/>

⁵⁹ Cecco, Leyland, “Canada urged to open its eyes to systemic racism in wake of police violence,” *The Guardian*, June 14, 2020, accessed July 11, 2020 at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/14/canada-systemic-racism-history>

⁶⁰ See “Racism Against Aboriginal People,” University of Toronto Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), Jan. 4, 2019, accessed July 11, 2020 at

https://www.oise.utoronto.ca/deepeningknowledge/Teacher_Resources/Curriculum_Resources_%28by_subjects%29/Social_Sciences_and_Humanities/Racism_Against_Aboriginal_People.html

⁶¹ Abedi, Maham, “A look at Islamophobia in Canada, 3 years after the Quebec mosque shooting,” *Global News*, Jan. 29, 2020, accessed July 11, 2020 at <https://globalnews.ca/news/6472549/muslim-canadians-islamophobia-quebec-city-shooting/>

⁶² “M-103 SYSTEMIC RACISM AND RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION,” House of Commons, 42ND PARLIAMENT, 1ST SESSION, Mar. 23, 2017, accessed July 11, 2020 at

<https://www.ourcommons.ca/members/en/88849/motions/8661986>

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⁶⁴ “Religion and faith in Canada today: strong belief, ambivalence and rejection define our views,” Angus Reid Institute, Mar. 26, 2015, accessed July 11, 2020 at http://angusreid.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/2015.03.25_Faith.pdf

⁶⁵ Quebec’s Bill 94 (2010) would have required people to uncover their faces to identify themselves before receiving any government services. Quebec’s “Charter of Values” (2013) would have banned public servants from wearing any conspicuous religious symbols including turbans, kippahs, and hijabs. Bill 62 (2017) bans the wearing of face coverings for people giving or receiving a service from the state. Bill 21 (2019) prevents employment in the public service for people who wear religious garb.

⁶⁶ “Who’s on board? - Organizations,” I Remember January 29 Campaign, accessed July 11, 2020 at https://www.january29.ca/who_s_on_board

⁶⁷ “NCCM: New ‘Open Letter’ to Government Calls for January 29 to be National Day of Action against Hate and Intolerance,” National Council of Canadian Muslims, Nov. 22, 2018, accessed July 11, 2020 at <https://www.nccm.ca/en-fr-nccm-new-open-letter-to-government-calls-for-january-29-to-be-national-day-of-action-against-hate-intolerance/>

⁶⁸ “TAKING ACTION AGAINST SYSTEMIC RACISM AND RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION INCLUDING ISLAMOPHOBIA: Report of the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage,” Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, February, 2018, accessed July 11, 2020 at

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