



CJPME

# **Assessment of the NDP Leadership Candidates on Middle East Policy**



**Prepared by Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East**

## **February 2012**



CJPME

CANADIANS FOR JUSTICE AND  
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST



February 20, 2012

Dear Members and Followers of the New Democratic Party,

Following the sad and untimely passing of Jack Layton last year, the NDP leadership race opened in September, 2011. Every NDP member who was signed up as of Feb. 18<sup>th</sup>, 2011 can vote for its new leader during the NDP convention to be held March 23-24<sup>th</sup>. This provides tens of thousands of Canadians with a key opportunity to help mould the leadership of Canada's official opposition, and possibly choose the next Prime Minister.

Some may downplay this opportunity to help shape the future of the NDP, thinking "all the leadership candidates are similar to one another." This could not be further from the truth: on many issues, the leadership candidates differ significantly. Some leadership candidates even assert that the best course for the party is closer to the centre: clearly a new and potentially game-changing strategy for the party.

The mission of Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME) is to empower Canadians of all backgrounds to promote justice, development and peace in the Middle East, and in Canada. As such, CJPME closely follows political developments in Canada, especially the selection of party leaders. For more information about CJPME, please visit its website at [www.cjpme.org](http://www.cjpme.org).

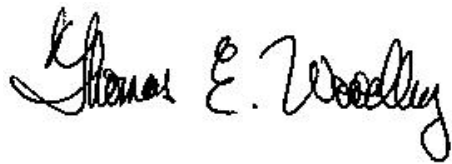
Over the past several months, CJPME has performed extensive research to assess the position of each NDP leadership candidate on the Middle East. As part of this research, in January, CJPME even issued a questionnaire to all of the candidates, of whom all but one submitted a written response. The current document consolidates CJPME's research, and assesses the possible direction of the NDP on the Middle East under the direction of each of the different possible leaders. CJPME's analysis of the leadership candidates considers all of the following:

- Response to a CJPME questionnaire in January on Middle East policy
- Response to a CJPME letter in November on adherence to long-standing NDP policy on the Middle East
- Actions or statements on public record regarding any of the following:
  - The 2006 war on Lebanon
  - The 2008-2009 Israeli assault on Gaza
  - The blockade of Gaza
  - Parliamentary motions on Israeli Apartheid Week
  - The Palestinian bid for membership in the UN and UNESCO
- Other comments on Middle East policy as reported by Canadian media
- Actions within caucus relating to positions on the Middle East
- Comments in recent candidates' meetings around Canada

CJPME provides this document so that you – an NDP member or follower – can best assess the NDP leadership candidates.

We know that Middle East-related issues are not the only concerns of NDP members. Nevertheless, we believe that several of the leadership candidates distinguish themselves – some positively, some negatively – on questions of Middle East policy. Our hope is that the enclosed leader assessment will help you make an informed choice when casting your ballots for a new NDP leader—a choice that is in accordance with your own personal convictions.

CJPME salutes all those who participate in the unfolding NDP leadership race: whether as leadership candidate, or as a participating NDP member. May the best interests of Canadians and the well-being of all the peoples of the Middle East be well served by the outcome of the upcoming NDP leadership vote.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Thomas E. Woodley". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Thomas" and last name "Woodley" clearly legible, and "E." in the middle.

Thomas E. Woodley  
President, Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East



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## Executive Summary

Over the past two months, Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME) conducted a comprehensive analysis of the Middle East positions of each of the New Democratic Party (NDP) leadership candidates. This analysis incorporated information gathered from a number of different sources: quotes in the media, Hansard (the record of parliamentary debates), and press statements. This analysis also took into account candidates' comments at leadership candidates' meetings in January and February, in response to queries about their positions on certain Middle East topics.

Most important in the data gathering and analysis was a CJPME questionnaire issued to each of the leadership candidates in January. All but one of the candidates (Singh) responded to the questionnaire, although two of them (Mulcair and Dewar) did not respond as per the instructions provided by CJPME. With the questionnaire, the candidates were asked to identify their stances on a scale of 1 to 5, with the implications of each choice clearly described in the question. Candidates were encouraged to provide commentary with their answers if they desired. The nine questions put to the candidates touched on the following: the militarization of Canadian foreign policy; Israel-Palestine and related issues; the weight to be given to human rights and commercial interests; the Arab Spring; and Canadian voting at the United Nations.

CJPME believes that its three policy pillars hold the key to a constructive Canadian role in the Middle East. They are: 1) the conviction that international law should be the lens through which Canada analyzes developments and determines its responses to them; 2) the conviction that Canada must hold all players to the same standard; and 3) the conviction that violence does not lead to solutions. Based on all the information collected, CJPME has determined that – in terms of their commitment to a constructive approach to the Middle East by Canada – the candidates rank as follows:

A+	Niki Ashton
A	Brian Topp
B+	Peggy Nash
B	Nathan Cullen
B	Paul Dewar
C	Martin Singh
C–	Thomas Mulcair

Naturally, the “grades” suggested above are not based simply on the “numbers” provided by the candidates’ answers to the questionnaire. Instead, they reflect a synthesis and interpretation of both the answers to the questionnaire and all the other information gathered through the CJPME analysis of the candidates’ track records.

Canadians who watch the Middle East closely have reason to be disappointed with the status quo in the Middle East. Many issues – e.g. the Israel-Palestine conflict; the tolerance of regional despots – have been allowed to simmer for decades without principled action by the international community. This failure to act, whether via commercial or diplomatic channels, has led to untold suffering and misery for millions in the Middle East. The NDP’s failure to initiate informed and vigorous debate on key Middle East questions over the past several years represents a lost opportunity.

Historically, the NDP has taken principled positions on the Middle East, so NDP leadership candidates cannot expect to distinguish themselves by repeating the same platitudes as those proffered by

candidates from other parties. Similarly, NDP leadership candidates cannot hope to be credible offering a magnanimous-sounding vision for Middle East policy, when, in fact, their personal record does not reflect such a vision. It is in this light that CJPME analysed the positions of each of the candidates.

Brian Topp and Niki Ashton were most forthright in outlining a principled approach to the Middle East. Each of them gave primacy to upholding international law and human rights among the other interests that Canada may have in the region. Both of them have been outspoken for a just and purposeful resolution to the Israel-Palestine conflict—one that addresses the underlying roots of the conflict. Both of them prefer the NDP's traditional commitment to opposing Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories, contained in the NDP's 2006 convention resolutions and the 2008 election platform. With Topp or Ashton at the helm, the NDP would undoubtedly provide more vocal and effective leadership on Middle East issues.

Both Peggy Nash and Nathan Cullen are well informed on the dynamics of the Middle East, and have frequently taken courageous and principled stances on topics related to the region. Nevertheless, they have not always been as firm as Ashton and Topp in terms of some of their convictions: e.g. the NDP platform on Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory. With Nash or Cullen as leader, NDP policy on the Middle East might become more pro-active, but not quite as energetically or assertively as it would under Topp and Ashton.

There was much on the public record concerning Paul Dewar and his positions on the Middle East: he served as NDP Foreign Affairs critic for several years. Dewar, however, both on the public record, and in his responses to CJPME's questionnaire, seemed hesitant to distinguish himself. Despite being critic for the NDP for the past several years – 2011 being one of the most remarkable years in Middle East history – Dewar failed to ignite constructive debate on the Middle East. Under Dewar, the NDP's Middle East policies would likely not regress, but the party would likely not create pressure for Canada to play a more constructive role in the region.

There was little information available on Martin Singh's Middle East positions, and he did not respond to the CJPME questionnaire. CJPME's analysis of Martin Singh's Middle East positions was based largely from what was gleaned from candidates meetings, when the odd question on the Middle East arose. Nevertheless, he clearly did not seek to distinguish himself by his Middle East policy.

Thomas Mulcair and his Middle East positions stand as a paradox. On the one hand, his statement in response to CJPME's questionnaire appears reasonable: seemingly concerned for the rights and aspirations of all peoples in the Middle East. However, his statement does not line up with his public record on the issue of Israel-Palestine. Over several years, in his statements to the media, in his dealings in caucus, and in his participation in different bodies (e.g. the CPCCA), he has clearly echoed the stances of Israel's right-wing parties. He has given little weight to Palestinian rights and grievances, or to the Israeli left's concerns about Israeli conduct. Moreover, his statement reads like one from a Conservative leader: unwilling to acknowledge the asymmetry in the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Most of the sections of CJPME's analysis document can be understood independent of the other information provided. Aside from statements heard during candidates meetings, and directly from NDP caucus members, all of the information used in CJPME's analysis can be found in the different sections of the document. Readers are encouraged to review the document in its entirety, and to share the information as widely as possible.



## Background on CJPME's Assessment of NDP Candidates

The new leader of the NDP will play a significant role in shaping public discourse in Canada on Middle East issues. Because of this, Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME) has carefully assessed each leadership candidate's positions on the Middle East, taking into account the following:

- Their responses to a letter sent November 17, 2011 querying them on their willingness to uphold the NDP long-standing policies based on international law regarding Middle East issues.
- Their responses to a CJPME-developed questionnaire on nine key Middle East issues, sent January 20, 2012.
- Their actions, *or lack thereof*, while serving in Parliament at key moments:
  - The 2006 war in Lebanon
  - The 22-day Israeli assault on Gaza initiated on December 27, 2008
  - The Israeli assault Gaza aid flotilla on May 31, 2010
  - The introduction of parliamentary motions aimed at stifling Israeli Apartheid Week
  - The Palestinian bid for membership in the UN and UNESCO
- Their comments on Middle East policy as reported in the media.
- Their actions within the NDP caucus to influence caucus stances on the Middle East.

### Overall assessment

A+	Niki Ashton
A	Brian Topp
B+	Peggy Nash
B	Nathan Cullen
B <sup>1</sup>	Paul Dewar
C <sup>2</sup>	Martin Singh
C –	Thomas Mulcair
N/A <sup>3</sup>	Romeo Saganash

### Reasons for assessment, candidate by candidate

#### Niki Ashton

Ms. Ashton answered all questions in the CJPME questionnaire in a way which displayed a commitment to balance and principles on the Middle East. She strongly supported adherence to international law when formulating Canadian policy on the Middle East. She understands the importance of specific commitments on Middle East issues, as enunciated in the NDP's 2006 convention resolutions and the

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dewar did not position himself on the spectrum of possible responses to each question of CJPME's questionnaire. Instead, he provided comments. CJPME assessed those comments and determined where each of his responses fell on the spectrum.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Singh was the only leadership candidate who provided no written response to CJPME's questionnaire. There is also virtually nothing in the public record pertaining to his positions on the Middle East.

<sup>3</sup> Given that he has withdrawn from the leadership race, Mr. Saganash's responses to CJPME's questionnaire will not be analysed here, for brevity's sake. It should be noted that he also posted a thoughtful plan for promoting peace in the Middle East at his website, and noted parallels in Palestinians' and Canadian native people's struggles for self-determination and against colonization.

2008 election platform. She has specifically criticized the Harper government's inflammatory rhetoric, especially Harper's fear-mongering around the term "Islamicization." She was also the only candidate to raise the issue of the Middle East at the Quebec City all candidates' debate on Canada's role in the world. As well, Ashton issued a strong statement on February 21 specifically focussed on the Palestinian issue. She called on Canada to support the Palestinians, adding "We cannot ignore the human rights of a people who have been occupied since 1967 in the West Bank and Gaza. We cannot ignore the plight of the Palestinians." She described the Harper government's foreign policy as "a toxic mix of ideology and partisan politics".

### **Brian Topp**

Mr. Topp answered almost all questions in the CJPME questionnaire in a way which displayed a commitment to a balanced, principled approach to the Middle East. Early in the leadership race, he distinguished himself by supporting the Palestinian bid for admission to the UN. He refused to back down from that stance despite considerable criticism from Canada's pro-Israel lobby. He supports the more detailed statements opposing Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories contained in the NDP's 2006 convention resolutions and the 2008 election platform. He has urged the Israeli government to end the blockade of Gaza.

### **Peggy Nash**

Ms. Nash demonstrated a courageous and balanced stance on Middle East issues in her first term as MP. She went on a fact-finding mission to Lebanon after the Israeli invasion in 2006 and later decried Harper's erroneous characterization of the Israeli attacks on Lebanon as "measured."<sup>1</sup> She also advocated in 2006 removing the political wing of Hezbollah from Canada's terrorist list, saying Canada should take its cue from Hezbollah's political rivals, which accept it as a political actor. However, in Ms. Nash's responses to CJPME's questionnaire, she expressed only mild opposition to the shifts in Canada's Middle East policies under Harper. While she didn't see the value in maintaining specific commitments to opposing Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories in the NDP platform, she nevertheless expressed a commitment to free speech on Israeli-Palestinian issues, and to ensuring Canadian corporate responsibility on the international scene.

### **Nathan Cullen**

Mr. Cullen's responses to the CJPME questionnaire expressed support for international law and responsible corporate conduct. In 2006 he criticized the federal government for its uncritical support of Israel's attack on Lebanon, saying that Canada was losing its capacity to act as a mediator in the conflict. In his responses to CJPME's questionnaire, he expressed mild preference for the more specific NDP stance against Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories enunciated in its 2008 platform, compared to that in the vaguer 2011 platform. However, he declined to commit himself to not vote in favour of parliamentary motions condemning Israeli Apartheid Week, and his explanation ignored the distinction between the criticism voiced by ordinary citizens and motions made by legislators.

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<sup>1</sup> Ms. Nash wrote to Harper, "How can we defend the attacks on innocent civilians, mostly children, in Lebanon and call Israel's response 'measured'? Hezbollah missiles should also be condemned and must stop. Of course Israel should be able to defend itself. The question of course is how. The current attacks on civilians and infrastructure are appalling. To take one side in this struggle when the major loss of life is on the other side is baffling. Did we have to wade in beside the US in this dispute?"

**Paul Dewar**

When responding to CJPME's questionnaire, Mr. Dewar chose not to specify his commitment to international law as a cornerstone for Canada's Middle East policy. The stances Mr. Dewar enunciated as NDP foreign affairs critic for several years were a clear improvement on those of the Harper government. However, at key moments he often failed to point out the asymmetry in the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. Mr. Dewar also appears unwilling to take a strong stance against Israeli colony-building ('settlements') in the occupied Palestinian territories, or to publicly press for an end to the occupation. He is strongly committed to promoting corporate responsibility in the Middle East.

**Thomas Mulcair**

Mr. Mulcair and Mr. Singh were the only leadership candidates who did not respond specifically to the questions in CJPME's questionnaire. CJPME representatives have also found Mr. Mulcair evasive in recent candidates' meetings, giving ambiguous answers to specific questions on Israel-Palestine. In a brief overall statement on the Middle East that he provided, Mr. Mulcair emphasized support for Resolution 242 on Israel-Palestine, and acknowledged that Israel's establishment of colonies in the occupied Palestinian territories violates international law. Nevertheless, his statement revealed an insensitive stance toward the Palestinian refugees – suggesting they be settled in a future Palestinian state, or in their countries of exile – and failing to see any need for redress, or a role for Israel in the resolution of the refugee problem.

Since being elected to Parliament, Mr. Mulcair has overall been a conservative voice in the NDP caucus on Middle East issues. In 2008, for example, he stated, "I am an ardent supporter of Israel in all situations and in all circumstances," indicating a lack of commitment to the NDP's principled and balanced approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In caucus, Mr. Mulcair pushed for a subdued NDP response to Israel's lethal 2008-2009 assault on Gaza, and to Israel's assault on the Gaza Aid Flotilla in 2010. He also led a caucus revolt in 2008 when Layton wanted to criticize the Harper government's decision not to participate in the United Nations Conference on Racism. He has also been active in an ad-hoc MPs' group demonising sharp criticism of Israel, and has smeared those who voice it as anti-Semites.

**Martin Singh**

Mr. Singh did not submit any responses to CJPME's questionnaire despite repeated reminders. He has publicly expressed support for Palestine's admission to the UN this year. Other than that, there is scant public information about his stances on Middle East issues.

## Synthesis of the candidates' responses to CJPME's questionnaire

On January 18, 2012, CJPME emailed all of the federal NDP leadership candidates a questionnaire asking them to indicate where they stand on nine key issues to do with Canada's policies on the Middle East. See below a summary of each candidate's responses:

Questions	Ashton	Cullen	Dewar <sup>1</sup>	Mulcair <sup>2</sup>	Nash	Singh <sup>3</sup>	Topp	Notes
<b>1. Views on the democratic movements in the Middle East</b> 1 = I would avoid linking commercial and diplomatic relations with a Middle East government to its human rights record 5 = I support giving human rights higher priority than commercial and diplomatic interests when dealing with Middle East governments.	5	4	4	N/A	5	N/A	5	Mulcair did not comment on the Arab Spring in his response to CJPME.
<b>2. Views on Canada's recent shift toward foreign policy priorities in the Middle East</b> 1 = I agree with the new set of priorities. I am comfortable with Canada playing foremost a military role in the Middle East. 5 = I oppose the current government's priorities. I would like Canada's role in the Middle East to be more one of developmental support, humanitarian support, and peace-keeping.	5	4	5	3	4	N/A	5	Cullen nuanced his position by adding, "Humanitarian and developmental support can often diffuse and prevent further conflicts far more lastingly than military intervention." Mulcair declined to indicate where he stood on the spectrum of possible responses, but wrote that he rejects "the one-sided approach taken by the current government."

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dewar did not position himself on the spectrum of possible responses to each question of CJPME's questionnaire. Instead, he provided comments. CJPME assessed those comments and determined where each of his responses fell on the spectrum.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mulcair did not use CJPME's questionnaire to respond to the questions. Instead, he provided a brief statement explaining his overall policy on the Middle East.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Singh was the only leadership candidate who provided no written response to CJPME's questionnaire.

Questions	Ashton	Cullen	Dewar <sup>1</sup>	Mulcair <sup>2</sup>	Nash	Singh <sup>3</sup>	Topp	Notes
<b>3. Views on Canadian aid in the Middle East</b> 1 = Believe that political concerns and alliances should be an important driver of aid policies. 3 = Believe that political concerns and alliances should be a concern when determining aid priorities. 5 = Believe that Canada should consistently respect Red Cross principles <sup>1</sup> of humanitarian aid	5	5	5	N/A	4	N/A	5	Mulcair did not comment on the Canadian aid in the Middle East in his response to CJPME.
<b>4. Views on Canadian Energy and Mining involvement in the Middle East</b> 1 = Believe that we should not interfere much with Canadian corporations operating in the Middle East. 5 = Believe that the Canadian government must ensure responsible corporate behaviour in the Middle East.	5	4	5	4	5	N/A	5	Mulcair declined to indicate where he stood on the spectrum of possible responses, but did write that if Prime Minister he would work to implement the recommendations of the National Roundtables on Corporate Social Responsibility to ensure Canadian corporations, especially in the mining and extracting industries, conform to international standards.

<sup>1</sup> The three Red Cross principles are 1) Humanity: To ensure “assistance without discrimination to the wounded on the battlefield,” and “to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found.” 2) Impartiality: To make “no discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions” and “to give priority to the most urgent cases of distress.” 3) Neutrality: To “not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature.”

Questions	Ashton	Cullen	Dewar <sup>1</sup>	Mulcair <sup>2</sup>	Nash	Singh <sup>3</sup>	Topp	Notes
<b>5. Views on the NDP position on the Israel-Palestine conflict</b> The NDP's 2008 election platform committed the NDP to opposing Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories, the Wall, the "settlements" (illegal Jewish-only colonies established in the Palestinian territories), its control of Gaza, and all actions causing the loss of the lives of civilians. These specific references were dropped in the 2011 election platform. The candidates were asked their stance on the platforms: 1 = Much prefer the 2011 platform 3 = The statements are equally good 5 = Much prefer the 2008 platform	5	4	3	2	2	N/A	3	Ashton was the only candidate who expressed strong preference for the 2008 platform, with its specific commitments. Dewar denied that there is any difference between the 2008 platform and the 2011 platform. Topp indicated that he believes both statements are equally good, adding that they "make different points but both are useful." Nash was the only candidate who indicated a preference for the 2011 platform. This may signal that if elected leader she will be reticent to energetically oppose the "settlements" and the Wall, or to press for an end to the occupation. Mulcair's written response aligned much more closely with the 2011 language.
<b>6. Views on Canada and Israel's colonies (i.e. "settlements") in the West Bank</b> 1 = I do not think focusing on the colonies or Canadian involvement with them is useful or strategic 5 = I think it is important that Canada take a firm diplomatic and legal position on Israel's colonies, and that it discourage Canadian organizations from being involved in Israeli colony development.	5	4	3	3	4	N/A	4	Dewar cited Canada's official policy—which acknowledges that the colonies violate international law and are an obstacle to peace—but he did not express support for any actions to discourage either colony expansion or Canadian involvement in such expansion, other than speaking with his Israeli counterpart. In his written response, Mulcair declined to rank his position, although he does acknowledge the "settlements" violate the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Questions	Ashton	Cullen	Dewar <sup>1</sup>	Mulcair <sup>2</sup>	Nash	Singh <sup>3</sup>	Topp	Notes
<b>7. Views on Palestinian Membership at the United Nations</b> 1 = Palestinian membership at the UN should be entirely dependent on negotiations with Israel 3 = Feel Palestinians have strong right, but also feel that negotiations with Israel are an important pre-requisite 5 = Palestine has an inherent right to be recognized as a member state of the UN	5	4	3	N/A	4	N/A	5	Ashton and Topp were the only candidates with a clear-cut position supporting Palestine's admission to the UN. Ashton noted, "The recognition of any nation-state by the United Nations should not be dependent on any single nation. Moreover, recognition of a nation state does not mean that the UN has taken a position on borders. There are numerous border disputes throughout the world between a number of otherwise very peaceful and established nations and this has not affected their membership in the United Nations." Dewar indicated that he believes "Palestinians have a legitimate right to seek UN recognition," but did not clarify if he thought Canada should vote for Palestine's admission as a full member of the UN. Mulcair declined to rank where he stood on the spectrum of possible responses.
<b>8. Views on Canada's Voting at the UN vis-à-vis the Middle East</b> 1 = Would publicly support Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN. 3 = Don't feel strongly about shift in Canada's votes on Middle East at UN. 5 = Would publicly oppose Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN.	5	5	5	2	5	N/A	5	Mulcair declined to rank where he stood on the spectrum of possible responses. His written response implies that the wording of UN resolutions on the Middle East is often problematic: a position often asserted by the Harper government.

Questions	Ashton	Cullen	Dewar <sup>1</sup>	Mulcair <sup>2</sup>	Nash	Singh <sup>3</sup>	Topp	Notes
<b>9. Views on Free Speech, &amp; Legislative motions against Israeli Apartheid Week</b> 1 = I would support a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week 5 = On the principle of "Free Speech," I would oppose a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week	5	N/A	3	N/A	5	N/A	3	<p>Cullen "respectfully declined" to answer the question, commenting, "I believe groups have the right to use terminology they prefer; I also believe others have the right to criticize it." His response ignores the fact that legislators' have greater responsibilities than ordinary citizens to protect freedom of expression and to avoid statements that will have a chilling effect on free speech.</p> <p>Dewar did not rank his agreement or disagreement, but noted both that the caucus had denied unanimous consent for such a motion and that the NDP does not use the word "apartheid" in reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He added that he would continue this approach if elected leader.</p> <p>Topp came down in the middle, which likely indicates an approach similar to Dewar's.</p> <p>Mulcair declined to rank where he stood on the spectrum of possible responses.</p>



## Other findings: Key Statements on the Middle East

### Niki Ashton

- Supports **peace** and **international law**.<sup>1</sup>
- Issued a strong statement on February 21 specifically focussed on the Palestinian issue. She called on Canada to support the Palestinians, adding “We cannot ignore the human rights of a people who have been occupied since 1967 in the West Bank and Gaza. We cannot ignore the plight of the Palestinians.” She described the Harper government’s foreign policy as “a toxic mix of ideology and partisan politics”.<sup>2</sup>
- Maintains that it is time for Canada to restore its reputation as a leader in **promoting peace and diplomacy internationally**. “It’s not good enough just to talk about peace. It is not good enough to seek to only marginally change foreign policy. It is vital to take a clear stand.”<sup>3</sup>
- Criticises Stephen Harper’s ideological and inflammatory rhetoric, especially with regard to his comments about “islamicization” when referring to the current situation in the Persian Gulf.<sup>4</sup>

### Nathan Cullen

- Says he is for **justice** and **neutrality**. In 2006, he declared that Canada had lost his ability to successfully facilitate a peace process and act as a mediator between parties because of its support of Israel’s military actions in Lebanon and its withdrawal of aid to Palestinians following Hamas’ victory at the 2006 democratic elections. “We’ve chosen a side, we can’t get them to talk to each other, we do not have that capacity anymore. Ultimately, these conflicts will be settled by words, not by guns.”<sup>5</sup>

### Paul Dewar

- Complained that **the Conservative government is all talk and no action** on Israel-Palestine peace, and that they “poke and prod as opposed to look for opportunities to bring people together.”<sup>6</sup>
- Criticised Stephen Harper’s response to the recent **Palestinian bid for statehood**, saying “The text for the application by the Palestinians hasn’t been presented yet... For the Prime Minister to say that he’s opposed to something that he hasn’t even read is unfortunate, because what we want to see here is moving negotiations forward and some have noted that this might actually get things moving.”<sup>7</sup>
- Spoke out in Parliament **against the extension of Canada’s military mission in Afghanistan**. He pointed out that as of November 2010 Canada had already surpassed NATO’s goals for training Afghan troops, and should instead **focus on development, diplomacy and**

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<sup>1</sup> Communication with CJPME.

<sup>2</sup> Niki Ashton, News Releases, February 21, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Niki Ashton, News Releases, January 16, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Niki Ashton, News Releases, January 16, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Canadian Jewish Political Affairs Committee (CJPAC), « MP Cullen slams feds for picking sides in Mideast ». July 23, 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Murphy, Jessica. “*Tories all talk, no action on Israel-Palestine peace: NDP*” Toronto Sun. September 23, 2011.

<sup>7</sup> “*Ten voices on the Palestinian bid for UN membership*” CBC News. September 22, 2011.

**transitional justice.** However, the government cancelled a civilian mission and extended military goals. Dewar highlighted this issue in Parliament, saying that it appeared that the Canadian government had “decided that it was more important that we satisfy NATO’s desires than the Afghan people’s desires.”<sup>1</sup>

- Raised concerns in Parliament that Canada may be encouraging **corruption in Afghanistan** by employing unlawful security forces for our personnel.<sup>2</sup>
- During the **Libyan revolution** last year, Dewar emphasized that Canada’s history of economic involvement (oil, gas and construction contracts) with Qaddafi should translate into responsibility for supporting Libyans in transition to a new government.
- **Supported the no-fly zone**, and agreed that there should be no Canadian soldiers on the ground in Libya.
- Voiced concerns in Parliament about human rights violations in Libya, specifically the use of rape as a weapon of war.
- Envisions the outcome of the revolution as “**a Libyan-led reconciliation and reconstruction**” process and that it was “not the place for Canada or anyone else to dictate terms from outside.”<sup>3</sup> Rather, Dewar believes that Canada’s primary role in facilitating reconstruction in Libya is to offer support for creating institutions and governance.

#### Thomas Mulcair

- Seems close to **pro-Israel** organizations and lobbies. On May 12 2011, he attended the Canadian Jewish Political Affairs Committee’s (CJPAC) third annual Montreal ACTION party.<sup>4</sup>
- Declared “**I am an ardent supporter of Israel in all situations and in all circumstances.**”<sup>5</sup>
- **Equates criticism of Israel’s conduct with anti-Semitism.** At the November 2010 Ottawa Conference on Combating Antisemitism, covered by CBC journalist Kady O’Mally, when asked to comment about the Anti-Apartheid Week on campuses “he did make the argument that almost always, there is anti-Semitism at the heart of such allegedly anti-Zionist sentiments.” As well, also according to O’Mally’s report, Mulcair “doesn’t think much of the excuse that someone is ‘anti-Zionist’, not anti-Semitic...”<sup>6</sup>
- Is considered, like Stephen Harper, a reliable **supporter of the pro-Israel segment** of the Jewish Canadian community within the sphere of Canadian politics.<sup>7</sup>
- Is opposed to any **boycott, divestment and sanctions** initiative against Israel, which, he considers, is the only democratic state in the Middle East. He publicly criticized his colleague Libby Davies’ comments that she supported a boycott of Israel and that the Israeli occupation of Palestinian land had begun in 1948. “We take decisions together, parties

<sup>1</sup> Dewar, Paul. “Afghanistan.” *Legislative Debates (Hansard)*. 40th Parl., 3rd Sess. November 25, 2010. Online.

<sup>2</sup> Dewar, Paul. “Afghanistan.” *Legislative Debates (Hansard)*. 40th Parl., 3rd Sess. December 16, 2010. Online.

<sup>3</sup> Dewar, Paul. “Libya.” *Legislative Debates (Hansard)*. 41st Parl., 1st Sess. September 26, 2011. Online.

<sup>4</sup> Canadian Jewish Political Affairs Committee. “Young Professionals and Political Leaders united for ACTION.” May 19, 2011.

<sup>5</sup> “‘Tribune Juive’ fête les 60 ans d’Israël.” *The Canadian Jewish News*. April 30, 2008.

<sup>6</sup> “NDP Deputy Leader Thomas Mulcair at the Ottawa Conference on Combating Antisemitism.” *Inside Politics Blog. CBC News*, November 9, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> “Mulcair the Mensch.” *The Canadian Jewish News*. May 9, 2011, p.16.

formulate policies together, and to say that you're personally in favour of boycott, divestment and sanctions for the only democracy in the Middle East is, as far as I'm concerned, grossly unacceptable."<sup>1</sup> He reportedly urged Jack Layton and the rest of the caucus to strip her of her post as deputy leader.

- He managed to dampen down the NDP caucus's criticism of the "Cast Lead" Israeli operation in January 2009, that left 1400 Palestinians dead, and the subsequent Israeli attack on the Gaza aid flotilla in May 2010, in which 9 civilians were killed.<sup>2</sup>
- He opposed Canada's participation to the 2009 Durban II conference against racism, claiming that it promoted anti-Semitism and sought to delegitimize Israel. He thus successfully contributed to changing the NDP's initial position with regards to this conference, which was that Canada ought to attend it.<sup>3</sup>

### Peggy Nash

- Went on a fact-finding mission to **Lebanon** after the Israeli invasion in 2006, where she toured devastated towns with the National Council on Canada-Arab relations. While in Lebanon, she decried Harper's complacency towards the Israeli invasion, declaring that "Canada could have been a voice of peace calling for a ceasefire and a negotiated agreement."<sup>4</sup>
- Wrote a letter to PM Stephen Harper, in which she discussed the war in Afghanistan as well as other Canadian operations in the Middle East. **She opposes the war in Afghanistan**, and believes that the lives of Canadian troops are being consumed in unwise missions that will only further animosity in the region.<sup>5</sup>
- Advocated **removing the political wing of Hezbollah from Canada's terrorism list**, saying that such a move would better encourage negotiations. "It's just not helpful to label them a terrorist organization," said Nash. "If the political parties can figure out a way to work with Hezbollah and try to get along internally, then we should perhaps take a cue from that."<sup>6</sup>
- Criticized PM Stephen **Harper's characterization of the Israeli attacks as "measured"**. "How can we defend the attacks on innocent civilians, mostly children, in Lebanon and call Israel's response 'measured'?" she asked.
- Believes that it is "up to Israel, as the much larger power, to step back" from the conflict.<sup>7</sup>
- "I am also **very troubled by Canada's recent role in the Middle East**. The erosion of our reputation as an honest broker middle nation will have far-reaching consequences. Traditionally we have been a nation whose flag meant fair play, common sense, and balanced independent foreign policy. Sometimes we do take sides in a dispute. Our decisions are based on what is important for Canadians and Canadian values, and in

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<sup>1</sup> "NDP deputy leader faces backlash over Israel comments." *National Post*. June 14, 2010.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "The soul of the NDP." *Jewish tribune*. September 3, 2008.

<sup>4</sup> "MPs blast Harper during tour of Lebanon." CBC News. August 21, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Nash, Peggy. "Letter to the Prime Minister." CJPAC, August 4, 2006.

<sup>6</sup> "Lebanon PM chastises Ottawa on conflict" CBC News. August 21, 2006.

<sup>7</sup> Nash, Peggy. "Harper's Response is Appalling." CJPAC. July 24, 2006.

**compliance with human rights and international law**, not based on what is important for Washington.”<sup>1</sup>

#### Martin Singh

- CJPME has not found any information regarding Martin Singh’s positions on the Middle East. Please contact us if you wish to share any information with us regarding this at [info@cjpme.org](mailto:info@cjpme.org).

#### Brian Topp

- Supports **respect for international law and existing treaties**.<sup>2</sup>
- With respect to the Israel-Palestine conflict, declares that he supports the provisions voted on by members at the various NDP conventions. He specifically mentions that he supports a resolution from the 2006 convention stating that the Israeli Wall and colony expansion in East Jerusalem and in the West Bank are obstacles to peace and to the creation of a viable Palestinian state. In doing so, he confirms his engaged support for a two-state solution and his opposition to Israel’s unilateral actions in East Jerusalem and in the rest of the West Bank. The resolution also specifically commits the NDP to pressing the Canadian government to facilitate an international conference to resolve the issue of the Palestinian refugees.<sup>3</sup>
- Says that he is against the **blockade of Gaza** and has, among other things, urged the Israeli Government to put an end to it. He has expressed support for the UNSC’s Resolution 1860, which calls for “an immediate ceasefire in Gaza leading to a full Israeli withdrawal, unimpeded provision through Gaza of food, fuel and medical treatment, and intensified international arrangements to prevent arms and ammunition smuggling.”<sup>4</sup>
- With respect for the **Gaza aid flotilla**, declared that he agreed with the party’s statement on the flotilla. The statement indicated that the party’s policies do not specify support such initiatives, but asked that all measures be taken to ensure the safety of the flotilla participants.<sup>5</sup>
- Maintains that Canada should approve the Palestinians’ bid for statehood at the UN: “But on the fundamental issue of recognition of a Palestinian state, as a step forward a peace... it would be right for Canada to stand with most of the world. And to recognize Palestine.”<sup>6</sup>
- Criticizes Harper Government’s position on the Israel-Palestine conflict and maintains that the only way to promote peace in the region is to grant equal rights to the Palestinians and the Israelis: “... the rights of the Israeli people to legitimacy, to security, and to freedom from terror. And to the concurrent rights of the Palestinian people to those same rights.”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nash, Peggy. “Letter to the Prime Minister.” CJPAC. August 4, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Communication with CJPME.

<sup>3</sup> Communication with CJPME.

<sup>4</sup> NDP declarations, “Statement on Gaza flotillas,” June 9, 2011.

<sup>5</sup> NDP declarations, “Statement on Gaza flotillas,” June 9, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Brian Topp, “On Palestine, Harper and Nov. 4.” Globe and Mail. September 22, 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Brian Topp, “And now for something completely different: debating real issues in Parliament.” Globe and Mail. May 20, 2011.

**Appendix 1:**

**Full text of CJPME Questionnaire**



# NDP Leadership Candidate

## Middle East Positions

### *Questionnaire*

*Nine questions of interest to Canadians  
Assembled by Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East*



*January, 2012*

January 18, 2012  
Montreal

Dear NDP Leadership Candidate,

My organization, Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME) is a human rights organization focused on issues in the Middle East. Our mission is to empower Canadians of all backgrounds to promote justice, development and peace in the Middle East. CJPME is a grassroots, secular, non-partisan organization with 35,000 members across Canada, and local Chapters in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, London, Edmonton and Moncton.

CJPME and its constituents are keenly interested in the NDP leadership race. CJPME wishes to help its constituents understand the positions of the different NDP leadership candidates, foremost in regards to the Middle East. International events of the past 12 months have intensified many Canadians' interest in Middle East, and their desire to see lasting and positive change. Many Canadians believe that Canada – and ultimately the NDP – have a role to play in creating a better Middle East.

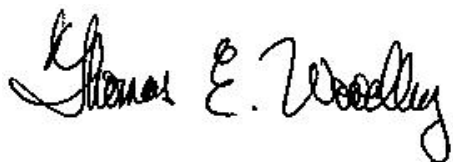
With this in mind, we kindly ask you to answer the questions in this questionnaire: each of the nine questions focuses on a different topic of interest between the NDP, Canada and the Middle East. You may answer each by simply choosing your position on a sliding scale. If so desired, you may also add comments to clarify your position. We have designed the questionnaire such that answering the questions could take as little as 3-4 minutes.

CJPME plans to collate the responses from each of the NDP Leadership race, and make the responses available to our constituents, many of whom are members of the NDP. As such, we would like to have your response to the questionnaire by Monday, Feb. 6 at the latest. You may scan, fax, mail or email your completed questionnaire.

To send in your completed questions, or if you have any questions in regards to the following questionnaire, please feel free to address them to Patricia Jean, our Political Affairs Director:

Ms. Patricia Jean  
patricia.jean@cjpme.org  
9880 Clark St., Suite 225  
Montreal, QC H3L 2R3  
438-380-5410

We know that Middle East-related issues are not your only concerns, but we are convinced Middle East issues are among the most important for many Canadian voters. Thank you in advance for taking the time to complete this brief questionnaire. Best of luck as the leadership race continues.



Thomas E. Woodley  
President, Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East





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# 1 Views on the Democratic Movements in the Middle East

The Middle East has a long and unfortunate history of dictatorial and despotic leaders. Nevertheless, for many years, Canada seemed happy to “do business” with such leaders (e.g. Mubarak, Gaddafi) despite serious human rights violations in those countries.<sup>1</sup> When popular opposition in Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries exploded in early 2011, the Canadian government initially avoided supporting these popular movements.<sup>2</sup> In other parts of the world (e.g. China, Iran, etc.), however, Canada has appropriately used its diplomatic and commercial relations to demand improvements in the human rights record of the regime.<sup>3 4</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on a scale from 1 to 5 below, how strongly would you support linking Canada’s commercial and diplomatic relations with the Middle East to the human rights record of the governments in question? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would avoid linking commercial and diplomatic relations with a Middle East government to its human rights record			I support giving human rights higher priority than commercial and diplomatic interests when dealing with Middle East governments.	
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> "Senator Andreychuk to Lead Oil and Gas Trade Mission to Libya," Canada News Centre. Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. October 27, 2008 No. A/59 . <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?crtr.sj1D=&mthd=advSrch&crtr.mnthndVI=&nid=422519&crtr.dpt1D=&crtr.tp1D=&crtr.lc1D=&crtr.yrStrtVI=2008&crtr.kw=&crtr.dyStrtVI=26&crtr.aud1D=&crtr.mnthStrtVI=2&crtr.yrndVI=&crtr.dyndVI=> . Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>2</sup> "Harper's 'toothpaste' remark shows Egypt stumble: MPs," CTV News (ctv.ca). February 13, 2011.

<http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/TopStories/20110213/opposition-criticizes-toothpaste-remarks-110213/> Accessed January 20, 2012

<sup>3</sup> "Cda. won't appease China on human rights: Harper," CTV News (ctv.ca). November 15, 2006.

[http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20061115/china\\_ssub\\_061114/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20061115/china_ssub_061114/) Accessed January 19, 2012. However, more recently the Canadian government appears to be less committed to using trade to pressure on China to improve its human rights record; see "Stephen Harper travelling to China next month," CBC News. January 11, 2012.

<http://www.cbc.ca/m/rich/politics/story/2012/01/11/pol-harper-china-trip.html> Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>4</sup> "Canada Supports Intensified Restrictions on Iran - Background - Canada's Response to Human Rights Situation in Iran," Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. July 8, 2011. ( <http://www.international.gc.ca/media/aff/news-communiques/2011/194.aspx?view=d> Accessed January 19, 2012

## 2 Views on Foreign Policy Priorities in the Middle East

Despite rich natural resources, much of the Middle East has struggled for decades with conflict, poverty, and under-development. Since 2006, Canada's approach to the Middle East has moved decidedly away from constructive engagement, developmental support and peace-keeping activities, to a more militarily-oriented type of involvement. Since 2006, for example, Canada has been militarily involved in Israel-Palestine, Afghanistan and Libya. When in opposition, the Conservatives asserted that they would have joined the USA in its war in Iraq.<sup>1</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on the scale from 1 to 5 below, do you agree with the recent change in direction in terms of Canadian priorities in the Middle East, or do you oppose it? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I agree with the new set of priorities. I am comfortable with Canada playing foremost a military role in the Middle East.			I oppose the current government's priorities. I would like Canada's role in the Middle East to be more one of developmental support, humanitarian support, and peace-keeping.	
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> "Most Canadians support war, Harper tells Us TV," CTV News.. April 4, 2003.  
([http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper\\_fox\\_interview\\_030404/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper_fox_interview_030404/)) Accessed January 19, 2012.

### 3 Views on Canadian Aid in the Middle East

Following the election win of the Conservative party in Canada in 2006, a large number of changes were made to CIDA and other programs of aid and development in the Middle East. Canada closed off funding to some Middle East development and governance programs, and modified others. Canada's participation in the blockade of Gaza (solidly imposed since 2007), and its reduction in funding to the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian refugees also represented significant shifts.

The Red Cross has established three principles for international aid. Unfortunately, there is little apparent adherence to the Red Cross principles by the current Canadian government. These principles are<sup>1</sup>:

- Humanity: To ensure "assistance without discrimination to the wounded on the battlefield," and "to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found."
- Impartiality: To make "no discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions" and "to give priority to the most urgent cases of distress."
- Neutrality: To "not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature."

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating your belief in the importance of Red Cross principles for Canada aid policy in the Middle East. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that political concerns and alliances should be an important driver of aid policies	Believe that political concerns and alliances should be a concern when determining aid priorities	Believe that Canada should consistently respect Red Cross principles of humanitarian aid		
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> "The Seven Fundamental Principles," International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Accessed Wednesday, Jan. 18, 2012, <http://www.ifrc.org/en/who-we-are/vision-and-mission/the-seven-fundamental-principles/>

## 4 Views on Canadian Energy and Mining involvement in the Middle East

Many Canadian companies have been involved over the years in the extraction of petroleum resources, minerals and metals from the Middle East. They and the Canadian government often paid little heed when petroleum wealth was used to enrich the elite, while ordinary citizens went without decent hospitals, schools, universities, social services and much needed infrastructure.

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating the degree to which you are willing to take action to ensure that Canadian corporations engage with responsible Middle East governments, and that petroleum wealth benefits average citizens of the host countries. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that we should not interfere much with Canadian corporations operating in the Middle East.			Believe that the Canadian government must ensure responsible corporate behaviour in the Middle East.	
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

## 5 Views on the NDP Position on the Israel-Palestine Conflict

In 2008, the NDP election platform provided some key details on a vision for the resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict. It stated: “Work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for UN resolutions and international law. This means recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peaceful co-existence in viable, independent states with negotiated, agreed-upon borders; [...] no settlements remaining in the Palestinian state; an end to Israeli occupation of Palestinian land; an end to loss of life of innocent civilians; and an international peacekeeping presence.”<sup>1</sup> The references to the settlements and the occupation were taken directly from the resolutions passed at the 2006 NDP Convention.

In 2011, the NDP election platform on Israel-Palestine was less specific: “We will work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for United Nations resolutions and international law. This includes recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peace in viable, independent states with negotiated and agreed-upon borders.”<sup>2</sup> No specific mention is made of the need to end Israel’s military occupation and colonization (i.e. “settlements.”)

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, according to which statement you think is better? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Much prefer the 2011 platform	The statements are equally good			Much prefer the 2008 platform
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> NDP Platform – 2008, « Canada’s role in the world », p. 44. <http://mikewatkins.ca/2008/10/20/election-08-party-platforms/file/8b4eab04594b/2008-ndp-platform-e.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> NDP Platform – 2011, Section 6.3 “Increasing the Promotion of Health, Development and Human Rights.”

## 6 Views on Canada and Israel's colonies (i.e. "settlements") in the West Bank

The establishment and expansion of illegal Israeli colonies (a.k.a. "settlements") in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, is considered by many to be the biggest obstacle to progress in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Even Canada's Conservative government has made lukewarm condemnations of Israel's expansion of its illegal colonies. To date, there are over 500,000 Jewish Israelis living in about 120 different illegal colonies. Palestinian leaders have refused to enter into negotiations as long as Israel refuses to implement a freeze of colony expansion.

Some Canadian companies and charitable organizations are involved in the construction, development and support of these colonies.

As leader of the NDP, on a scale of from 1 to 5 below, would you favour action to discourage Israeli colony expansion, and to prevent Canadian involvement in such colonies? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I do not think focusing on the colonies or Canadian involvement with them is useful or strategic			I think it is important that Canada take a firm diplomatic and legal position on Israel's colonies, and that it discourage Canadian organizations from being involved in Israeli colony development.		
1	2	3	4	5	

If desired, please provide additional comments:

## 7 Views on Palestinian Membership at the United Nations

In the Fall of 2011, Mahmoud Abbas, in his dual capacity as President of the Palestinian Authority and Chairman of the Executive committee of the PLO presented a request to the UN Security Council asking for membership at the UN.<sup>1</sup> The Harper government dismissed Palestine's request as a "unilateral" action,<sup>2</sup> despite the fact that taking the question to the UN is a decidedly multi-lateral process. Israel approached the UN similarly in the late 1940s, and was granted membership. The Harper government vowed to oppose Palestine's membership bid, and even lobbied at the UN to have other countries oppose the bid.

On the scale, from 1 to 5 below, do you believe that Palestine should be admitted to the UN (as Israel was in 1949, despite the fact that its borders were undefined at that time), or do you believe Palestinian membership at the UN should be withheld until Israel agrees not to oppose it. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Palestinian membership at the UN should be entirely dependent on negotiations with Israel		Feel Palestinians have strong right, but also feel that negotiations with Israel are an important pre-requisite		Palestine has an inherent right to be recognized as a member state of the UN	
1	2	3	4	5	

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> United Nations General Assembly Security Council, Doc: A/66/371-S/2011/592. Application of Palestine for admission to membership in the United Nations, 23 September 2011, Annex 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Canada opposes Palestinian 'unilateral actions' at UN." CBC News (cbc.ca) September 26, 2011.



## 8 Views on Canada's Voting at the UN vis-à-vis the Middle East

Since 2004, Canada's votes on key UN General Assembly resolutions relating to the Middle East have shifted significantly. For example:

- On the recurring resolution condemning "Israel's decision to effectively annex the Syrian Arab Golan," Canada's vote went from Yes (2004), to abstain (starting in 2011.)
- On the recurring resolution supporting "Permanent sovereignty of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory", Canada's vote shifted from Yes (2004), to abstain, to No (starting in 2007).
- On the recurring resolution supporting "The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination," Canada's vote shift from Yes (2004), to abstain, to No (starting in 2011)

Similar voting shifts demonstrating diplomatic support of Israeli government interests occurred with most of the other of the 20 or so resolutions on the Middle East passed each Fall.

As a leader of the NDP, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, on whether you would support these new positions advanced by Harper's Conservative government at the UN, or whether you would oppose them? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Would publicly support Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN	Don't feel strongly about shift in Canada's votes on Middle East at UN			Would publicly oppose Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

## 9 Views on Free Speech, & Legislative motions against Israeli Apartheid Week

In the past few years, several motions condemning Israeli Apartheid Week (one at Canada's House of Commons,<sup>1</sup> one in the Ontario Legislature<sup>2</sup>, and one in the Manitoba Legislature<sup>3</sup>) have been put to the vote. Although the motion in the House of Commons and in Manitoba failed, the one in the Ontario legislature passed – with the support of one or two Ontario NDP MLAs. While these votes are largely symbolic, they also have important repercussions for the right of free speech in Canada.

As a leader of the NDP, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, as to whether you would support future such motions in the House of Commons, or whether you would oppose them. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would support a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week				On the principle of "Free Speech," I would oppose a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> House of Commons Debates. Official Report (Hansard), Thursday, March 11, 2010. 15:20. Motion by Mr. Tim Uppal.

<sup>2</sup> Benzie, Robert. "MPPs decry linking Israel to 'apartheid'." Toronto Star. February 26, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> "Manitoba NDP kills resolution to condemn Israeli Apartheid Week in province," Jewish Tribune. April 20, 2010.

## **Appendix 2:**

### **Complete answers from the NDP candidates**



**Niki Ashton**



# NDP Leadership Candidate

## Middle East Positions

### *Questionnaire*

*Nine questions of interest to Canadians  
Assembled by Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East*



*January, 2012*

## 1 Views on the Democratic Movements in the Middle East

The Middle East has a long and unfortunate history of dictatorial and despotic leaders. Nevertheless, for many years, Canada seemed happy to “do business” with such leaders (e.g. Mubarak, Gaddafi) despite serious human rights violations in those countries.<sup>1</sup> When popular opposition in Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries exploded in early 2011, the Canadian government initially avoided supporting these popular movements.<sup>2</sup> In other parts of the world (e.g. China, Iran, etc.), however, Canada has appropriately used its diplomatic and commercial relations to demand improvements in the human rights record of the regime.<sup>3 4</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on a scale from 1 to 5 below, how strongly would you support linking Canada’s commercial and diplomatic relations with the Middle East to the human rights record of the governments in question? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would avoid linking commercial and diplomatic relations with a Middle East government to its human rights record			I support giving human rights higher priority than commercial and diplomatic interests when dealing with Middle East governments.	
1	2	3	4	<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> "Senator Andreychuk to Lead Oil and Gas Trade Mission to Libya," Canada News Centre. Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. October 27, 2008 No. A/59 . <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?crtr.sj1D=&mthd=advSrch&crtr.mnthndVI=&nid=422519&crtr.dpt1D=&crtr.tp1D=&crtr.lc1D=&crtr.yrStrtVI=2008&crtr.kw=&crtr.dyStrtVI=26&crtr.aud1D=&crtr.mnthStrtVI=2&crtr.yrndVI=&crtr.dyndVI=> . Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>2</sup> "Harper's 'toothpaste' remark shows Egypt stumble: MPs," CTV News (ctv.ca). February 13, 2011.

<http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/TopStories/20110213/opposition-criticizes-toothpaste-remarks-110213/> Accessed January 20, 2012

<sup>3</sup> "Cda. won't appease China on human rights: Harper," CTV News (ctv.ca). November 15, 2006.

[http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20061115/china\\_ssub\\_061114/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20061115/china_ssub_061114/) Accessed January 19, 2012. However, more recently the Canadian government appears to be less committed to using trade to pressure on China to improve its human rights record; see "Stephen Harper travelling to China next month," CBC News. January 11, 2012.

<http://www.cbc.ca/m/rich/politics/story/2012/01/11/pol-harper-china-trip.html> Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>4</sup> "Canada Supports Intensified Restrictions on Iran - Background - Canada's Response to Human Rights Situation in Iran," Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. July 8, 2011. ( <http://www.international.gc.ca/media/aff/news-communiques/2011/194.aspx?view=d> Accessed January 19, 2012



## 2 Views on Foreign Policy Priorities in the Middle East

Despite rich natural resources, much of the Middle East has struggled for decades with conflict, poverty, and under-development. Since 2006, Canada's approach to the Middle East has moved decidedly away from constructive engagement, developmental support and peace-keeping activities, to a more militarily-oriented type of involvement. Since 2006, for example, Canada has been militarily involved in Israel-Palestine, Afghanistan and Libya. When in opposition, the Conservatives asserted that they would have joined the USA in its war in Iraq.<sup>1</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on the scale from 1 to 5 below, do you agree with the recent change in direction in terms of Canadian priorities in the Middle East, or do you oppose it? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I agree with the new set of priorities. I am comfortable with Canada playing foremost a military role in the Middle East.		I oppose the current government's priorities. I would like Canada's role in the Middle East to be more one of developmental support, humanitarian support, and peace-keeping.	
1	2	3	4 <b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> "Most Canadians support war, Harper tells Us TV," CTV News.. April 4, 2003.  
([http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper\\_fox\\_interview\\_030404/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper_fox_interview_030404/) Accessed January 19, 2012.

### 3 Views on Canadian Aid in the Middle East

Following the election win of the Conservative party in Canada in 2006, a large number of changes were made to CIDA and other programs of aid and development in the Middle East. Canada closed off funding to some Middle East development and governance programs, and modified others. Canada's participation in the blockade of Gaza (solidly imposed since 2007), and its reduction in funding to the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian refugees also represented significant shifts.

The Red Cross has established three principles for international aid. Unfortunately, there is little apparent adherence to the Red Cross principles by the current Canadian government. These principles are<sup>1</sup>:

- Humanity: To ensure "assistance without discrimination to the wounded on the battlefield," and "to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found."
- Impartiality: To make "no discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions" and "to give priority to the most urgent cases of distress."
- Neutrality: To "not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature."

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating your belief in the importance of Red Cross principles for Canada aid policy in the Middle East. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that political concerns and alliances should be an important driver of aid policies	Believe that political concerns and alliances should be a concern when determining aid priorities	Believe that Canada should consistently respect Red Cross principles of humanitarian aid
1	2	3
		4
		<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> "The Seven Fundamental Principles," International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Accessed Wednesday, Jan. 18, 2012, <http://www.ifrc.org/en/who-we-are/vision-and-mission/the-seven-fundamental-principles/>

## 4 Views on Canadian Energy and Mining involvement in the Middle East

Many Canadian companies have been involved over the years in the extraction of petroleum resources, minerals and metals from the Middle East. They and the Canadian government often paid little heed when petroleum wealth was used to enrich the elite, while ordinary citizens went without decent hospitals, schools, universities, social services and much needed infrastructure.

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating the degree to which you are willing to take action to ensure that Canadian corporations engage with responsible Middle East governments, and that petroleum wealth benefits average citizens of the host countries. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that we should not interfere much with Canadian corporations operating in the Middle East.			Believe that the Canadian government must ensure responsible corporate behaviour in the Middle East.		
1	2	3	4	<b><u>5</u></b>	

If desired, please provide additional comments:

## 5 Views on the NDP Position on the Israel-Palestine Conflict

In 2008, the NDP election platform provided some key details on a vision for the resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict. It stated: “Work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for UN resolutions and international law. This means recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peaceful co-existence in viable, independent states with negotiated, agreed-upon borders; [...] no settlements remaining in the Palestinian state; an end to Israeli occupation of Palestinian land; an end to loss of life of innocent civilians; and an international peacekeeping presence.”<sup>1</sup> The references to the settlements and the occupation were taken directly from the resolutions passed at the 2006 NDP Convention.

In 2011, the NDP election platform on Israel-Palestine was less specific: “We will work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for United Nations resolutions and international law. This includes recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peace in viable, independent states with negotiated and agreed-upon borders.”<sup>2</sup> No specific mention is made of the need to end Israel’s military occupation and colonization (i.e. “settlements.”)

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, according to which statement you think is better? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Much prefer the 2011 platform	The statements are equally good			Much prefer the 2008 platform
1	2	3	4	<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

The 2008 platform is much closer to my personal view. I oppose the expansion of settlements in Palestinian territory, and I condemn attacks by either side on innocent civilians.

I do have one note of caution. I have been very clear in my campaign for Leader that I want to limit Canadian involvement in foreign conflicts and that I believe Canadians troops should be used at home except when authorized and requested by the United Nations. The parameters of an international peacekeeping presence would have to be very clearly defined under UN resolutions, and I would have to be satisfied that this was a peace-building mission rather than a de facto military mission before I would support Canada’s participation.

<sup>1</sup> NDP Platform – 2008, « Canada’s role in the world », p. 44. <http://mikewatkins.ca/2008/10/20/election-08-party-platforms/file/8b4eab04594b/2008-ndp-platform-e.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> NDP Platform – 2011, Section 6.3 “Increasing the Promotion of Health, Development and Human Rights.”

## 6 Views on Canada and Israel's colonies (i.e. "settlements") in the West Bank

The establishment and expansion of illegal Israeli colonies (a.k.a. "settlements") in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, is considered by many to be the biggest obstacle to progress in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Even Canada's Conservative government has made lukewarm condemnations of Israel's expansion of its illegal colonies. To date, there are over 500,000 Jewish Israelis living in about 120 different illegal colonies. Palestinian leaders have refused to enter into negotiations as long as Israel refuses to implement a freeze of colony expansion.

Some Canadian companies and charitable organizations are involved in the construction, development and support of these colonies.

As leader of the NDP, on a scale of from 1 to 5 below, would you favour action to discourage Israeli colony expansion, and to prevent Canadian involvement in such colonies? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I do not think focusing on the colonies or Canadian involvement with them is useful or strategic	I think it is important that Canada take a firm diplomatic and legal position on Israel's colonies, and that it discourage Canadian organizations from being involved in Israeli colony development.			
1	2	3	4	<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

## 7 Views on Palestinian Membership at the United Nations

In the Fall of 2011, Mahmoud Abbas, in his dual capacity as President of the Palestinian Authority and Chairman of the Executive committee of the PLO presented a request to the UN Security Council asking for membership at the UN.<sup>1</sup> The Harper government dismissed Palestine's request as a "unilateral" action,<sup>2</sup> despite the fact that taking the question to the UN is a decidedly multi-lateral process. Israel approached the UN similarly in the late 1940s, and was granted membership. The Harper government vowed to oppose Palestine's membership bid, and even lobbied at the UN to have other countries oppose the bid.

On the scale, from 1 to 5 below, do you believe that Palestine should be admitted to the UN (as Israel was in 1949, despite the fact that its borders were undefined at that time), or do you believe Palestinian membership at the UN should be withheld until Israel agrees not to oppose it. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Palestinian membership at the UN should be entirely dependent on negotiations with Israel	Feel Palestinians have strong right, but also feel that negotiations with Israel are an important pre-requisite	Palestine has an inherent right to be recognized as a member state of the UN
1	2	3
		4
		<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

The recognition of any nation-state by the United Nations should not be dependent on any single nation. Moreover, recognition of a nation state does not mean that the UN has taken a position on borders. There are numerous border disputes throughout the world between a number of otherwise very peaceful and established nations and this has not affected their membership in the United Nations.

<sup>1</sup> United Nations General Assembly Security Council, Doc: A/66/371-S/2011/592. Application of Palestine for admission to membership in the United Nations, 23 September 2011, Annex 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Canada opposes Palestinian 'unilateral actions' at UN." CBC News (cbc.ca) September 26, 2011.

## 8 Views on Canada's Voting at the UN vis-à-vis the Middle East

Since 2004, Canada's votes on key UN General Assembly resolutions relating to the Middle East have shifted significantly. For example:

- On the recurring resolution condemning "Israel's decision to effectively annex the Syrian Arab Golan," Canada's vote went from Yes (2004), to abstain (starting in 2011.)
- On the recurring resolution supporting "Permanent sovereignty of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory", Canada's vote shifted from Yes (2004), to abstain, to No (starting in 2007).
- On the recurring resolution supporting "The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination," Canada's vote shift from Yes (2004), to abstain, to No (starting in 2011)

Similar voting shifts demonstrating diplomatic support of Israeli government interests occurred with most of the other of the 20 or so resolutions on the Middle East passed each Fall.

As a leader of the NDP, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, on whether you would support these new positions advanced by Harper's Conservative government at the UN, or whether you would oppose them? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Would publicly support Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN	Don't feel strongly about shift in Canada's votes on Middle East at UN			Would publicly oppose Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN
1	2	3	4	<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

These positions have seriously compromised Canada's ability to provide leadership to promote peace and justice in the Middle East. It is particularly astonishing that Canada would vote NO to supporting the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

## 9 Views on Free Speech, & Legislative motions against Israeli Apartheid Week

In the past few years, several motions condemning Israeli Apartheid Week (one at Canada's House of Commons,<sup>1</sup> one in the Ontario Legislature<sup>2</sup>, and one in the Manitoba Legislature<sup>3</sup>) have been put to the vote. Although the motion in the House of Commons and in Manitoba failed, the one in the Ontario legislature passed – with the support of one or two Ontario NDP MLAs. While these votes are largely symbolic, they also have important repercussions for the right of free speech in Canada.

As a leader of the NDP, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, as to whether you would support future such motions in the House of Commons, or whether you would oppose them. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would support a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week				On the principle of "Free Speech," I would oppose a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week
1	2	3	4	<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

Citizens are free to criticize other citizens and if citizens want to condemn Israeli Apartheid Week, they have every right to do so. But votes by Members of Parliament are different in that they have the potential to place a chill on free speech by citizens. I would oppose this motion.

<sup>1</sup> House of Commons Debates. Official Report (Hansard), Thursday, March 11, 2010. 15:20. Motion by Mr. Tim Uppal.

<sup>2</sup> Benzie, Robert. "MPPs decry linking Israel to 'apartheid'." Toronto Star. February 26, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> "Manitoba NDP kills resolution to condemn Israeli Apartheid Week in province," Jewish Tribune. April 20, 2010.



**Nathan Cullen**



# NDP Leadership Candidate

## Middle East Positions

### *Questionnaire*

*Nine questions of interest to Canadians*

*Assembled by Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East*



*January, 2012*

## 1 Views on the Democratic Movements in the Middle East

The Middle East has a long and unfortunate history of dictatorial and despotic leaders. Nevertheless, for many years, Canada seemed happy to “do business” with such leaders (e.g. Mubarak, Gaddafi) despite serious human rights violations in those countries.<sup>1</sup> When popular opposition in Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries exploded in early 2011, the Canadian government initially avoided supporting these popular movements.<sup>2</sup> In other parts of the world (e.g. China, Iran, etc.), however, Canada has appropriately used its diplomatic and commercial relations to demand improvements in the human rights record of the regime.<sup>3 4</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on a scale from 1 to 5 below, how strongly would you support linking Canada’s commercial and diplomatic relations with the Middle East to the human rights record of the governments in question? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would avoid linking commercial and diplomatic relations with a Middle East government to its human rights record			I support giving human rights higher priority than commercial and diplomatic interests when dealing with Middle East governments.	
1	2	3	<b><u>4</u></b>	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

The history of Canada’s relationship with the Gaddafi regime is an example of why we need to give a higher priority to human rights violations as opposed to diplomatic, and more importantly, commercial interests. Our party raised this issue when the UN passed resolution 1973. The pattern of our relationship with regimes like Gaddafi only served to strengthen his capacity to use violence against his own people.

However, depending on the situation it is possible that continuing diplomatic relations could be an avenue for exerting a positive influence on a country. I believe we must decide on our actions based on individual cases that present themselves, but that human rights should always be a guiding principle.

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<sup>1</sup> "Senator Andreychuk to Lead Oil and Gas Trade Mission to Libya," Canada News Centre. Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. October 27, 2008 No. A/59 . <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?crtr.sj1D=&mthd=advSrch&crtr.mnthndVI=&nid=422519&crtr.dpt1D=&crtr.tp1D=&crtr.lc1D=&crtr.yrStrtVI=2008&crtr.kw=&crtr.dyStrtVI=26&crtr.aud1D=&crtr.mnthStrtVI=2&crtr.yrndVI=&crtr.dyndVI=> . Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>2</sup> "Harper's 'toothpaste' remark shows Egypt stumble: MPs," CTV News (ctv.ca). February 13, 2011.

<http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/TopStories/20110213/opposition-criticizes-toothpaste-remarks-110213/> Accessed January 20, 2012

<sup>3</sup> "Cda. won't appease China on human rights: Harper," CTV News (ctv.ca). November 15, 2006.

[http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20061115/china\\_ssub\\_061114/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20061115/china_ssub_061114/) Accessed January 19, 2012. However, more recently the Canadian government appears to be less committed to using trade to pressure on China to improve its human rights record; see "Stephen Harper travelling to China next month," CBC News. January 11, 2012.

<http://www.cbc.ca/m/rich/politics/story/2012/01/11/pol-harper-china-trip.html> Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>4</sup> "Canada Supports Intensified Restrictions on Iran - Background - Canada's Response to Human Rights Situation in Iran," Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. July 8, 2011. ( <http://www.international.gc.ca/media/aff/news-communiques/2011/194.aspx?view=d> Accessed January 19, 2012

## 2 Views on Foreign Policy Priorities in the Middle East

Despite rich natural resources, much of the Middle East has struggled for decades with conflict, poverty, and under-development. Since 2006, Canada's approach to the Middle East has moved decidedly away from constructive engagement, developmental support and peace-keeping activities, to a more militarily-oriented type of involvement. Since 2006, for example, Canada has been militarily involved in Israel-Palestine, Afghanistan and Libya. When in opposition, the Conservatives asserted that they would have joined the USA in its war in Iraq.<sup>1</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on the scale from 1 to 5 below, do you agree with the recent change in direction in terms of Canadian priorities in the Middle East, or do you oppose it? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I agree with the new set of priorities. I am comfortable with Canada playing foremost a military role in the Middle East.			I oppose the current government's priorities. I would like Canada's role in the Middle East to be more one of developmental support, humanitarian support, and peace-keeping.	
1	2	3	<b><u>4</u></b>	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

A long term strategy for engagement based on development and humanitarian support is essential.

The Conservative government has overseen an erosion of Canada's international reputation as a builder of peace. Humanitarian and developmental support can often diffuse and prevent further conflicts far more lastingly than military intervention.

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<sup>1</sup> "Most Canadians support war, Harper tells Us TV," CTV News.. April 4, 2003.  
([http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper\\_fox\\_interview\\_030404/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper_fox_interview_030404/) Accessed January 19, 2012.

### 3 Views on Canadian Aid in the Middle East

Following the election win of the Conservative party in Canada in 2006, a large number of changes were made to CIDA and other programs of aid and development in the Middle East. Canada closed off funding to some Middle East development and governance programs, and modified others. Canada's participation in the blockade of Gaza (solidly imposed since 2007), and its reduction in funding to the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian refugees also represented significant shifts.

The Red Cross has established three principles for international aid. Unfortunately, there is little apparent adherence to the Red Cross principles by the current Canadian government. These principles are<sup>1</sup>:

- Humanity: To ensure "assistance without discrimination to the wounded on the battlefield," and "to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found."
- Impartiality: To make "no discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions" and "to give priority to the most urgent cases of distress."
- Neutrality: To "not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature."

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating your belief in the importance of Red Cross principles for Canada aid policy in the Middle East. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that political concerns and alliances should be an important driver of aid policies	Believe that political concerns and alliances should be a concern when determining aid priorities	Believe that Canada should consistently respect Red Cross principles of humanitarian aid		
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

I support a balanced foreign policy, one key underpinning of which is truly humanitarian aid. Canadian international aid should not be hostage to political motivations but should be guided by the greatest need and the greatest opportunity to have a positive impact. A more just and equal world should be seen to be in the interest of everyone.

<sup>1</sup> "The Seven Fundamental Principles," International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Accessed Wednesday, Jan. 18, 2012, <http://www.ifrc.org/en/who-we-are/vision-and-mission/the-seven-fundamental-principles/>

## 4 Views on Canadian Energy and Mining involvement in the Middle East

Many Canadian companies have been involved over the years in the extraction of petroleum resources, minerals and metals from the Middle East. They and the Canadian government often paid little heed when petroleum wealth was used to enrich the elite, while ordinary citizens went without decent hospitals, schools, universities, social services and much needed infrastructure.

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating the degree to which you are willing to take action to ensure that Canadian corporations engage with responsible Middle East governments, and that petroleum wealth benefits average citizens of the host countries. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that we should not interfere much with Canadian corporations operating in the Middle East.			Believe that the Canadian government must ensure responsible corporate behaviour in the Middle East.		
1	2	3	<b><u>4</u></b>	5	

If desired, please provide additional comments:

Canadians expect our domestic corporations to act as responsible global citizens when they operate abroad. The Canadian government should be doing more to ensure that our enterprises are not propping up dictatorial regimes or contributing to conflict in foreign countries. This is true in the Middle East, just as it is true in Latin America or Africa.

I believe that it is a fundamental principle that a people should derive the benefits of natural resources in their territory – both in Canada and other countries.

## 5 Views on the NDP Position on the Israel-Palestine Conflict

In 2008, the NDP election platform provided some key details on a vision for the resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict. It stated: “Work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for UN resolutions and international law. This means recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peaceful co-existence in viable, independent states with negotiated, agreed-upon borders; [...] no settlements remaining in the Palestinian state; an end to Israeli occupation of Palestinian land; an end to loss of life of innocent civilians; and an international peacekeeping presence.”<sup>1</sup> The references to the settlements and the occupation were taken directly from the resolutions passed at the 2006 NDP Convention.

In 2011, the NDP election platform on Israel-Palestine was less specific: “We will work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for United Nations resolutions and international law. This includes recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peace in viable, independent states with negotiated and agreed-upon borders.”<sup>2</sup> No specific mention is made of the need to end Israel’s military occupation and colonization (i.e. “settlements.”)

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, according to which statement you think is better? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Much prefer the 2011 platform	The statements are equally good			Much prefer the 2008 platform
1	2	3	<b><u>4</u></b>	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

My overarching comment is I believe in a balanced foreign policy that includes promoting a viable, two-state solution. I also believe there are many facets to Canadian foreign policy beyond the Middle East, including climate change, multilateralism and helping alleviate large gaps between rich and poor. For these reasons, I support better trade deals and also taxes on currency speculation.

On the specific question, I believe continued settlement construction is unhelpful to building a lasting piece and so while I don’t believe NDP policy has necessarily shifted on this issue, I am comfortable with referring to settlements.

<sup>1</sup> NDP Platform – 2008, « Canada’s role in the world », p. 44. <http://mikewatkins.ca/2008/10/20/election-08-party-platforms/file/8b4eab04594b/2008-ndp-platform-e.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> NDP Platform – 2011, Section 6.3 “Increasing the Promotion of Health, Development and Human Rights.”



## 6 Views on Canada and Israel's colonies (i.e. "settlements") in the West Bank

The establishment and expansion of illegal Israeli colonies (a.k.a. "settlements") in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, is considered by many to be the biggest obstacle to progress in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Even Canada's Conservative government has made lukewarm condemnations of Israel's expansion of its illegal colonies. To date, there are over 500,000 Jewish Israelis living in about 120 different illegal colonies. Palestinian leaders have refused to enter into negotiations as long as Israel refuses to implement a freeze of colony expansion.

Some Canadian companies and charitable organizations are involved in the construction, development and support of these colonies.

As leader of the NDP, on a scale of from 1 to 5 below, would you favour action to discourage Israeli colony expansion, and to prevent Canadian involvement in such colonies? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I do not think focusing on the colonies or Canadian involvement with them is useful or strategic			I think it is important that Canada take a firm diplomatic and legal position on Israel's colonies, and that it discourage Canadian organizations from being involved in Israeli colony development.	
1	2	3	<b><u>4</u></b>	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

The continued construction of settlements is an impediment to the development of peaceful relations in the Middle East. Our government should be clear about Canada's opposition to these settlements.

## 7 Views on Palestinian Membership at the United Nations

In the Fall of 2011, Mahmoud Abbas, in his dual capacity as President of the Palestinian Authority and Chairman of the Executive committee of the PLO presented a request to the UN Security Council asking for membership at the UN.<sup>1</sup> The Harper government dismissed Palestine's request as a "unilateral" action,<sup>2</sup> despite the fact that taking the question to the UN is a decidedly multi-lateral process. Israel approached the UN similarly in the late 1940s, and was granted membership. The Harper government vowed to oppose Palestine's membership bid, and even lobbied at the UN to have other countries oppose the bid.

On the scale, from 1 to 5 below, do you believe that Palestine should be admitted to the UN (as Israel was in 1949, despite the fact that its borders were undefined at that time), or do you believe Palestinian membership at the UN should be withheld until Israel agrees not to oppose it. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Palestinian membership at the UN should be entirely dependent on negotiations with Israel	Feel Palestinians have strong right, but also feel that negotiations with Israel are an important pre-requisite	Palestine has an inherent right to be recognized as a member state of the UN
1	2	3
		<b><u>4</u></b>
		5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

It is of course more desirable and practical to have something that is acceptable to all parties involved on the ground, but Palestinian attempts to use the UN to further their desire to have an independent state is a legitimate diplomatic and multi-lateral way to engage with the international community.

However, it would be dishonest of me to definitively take a position on a future bid before it is made. I do not support the Conservative government's decision to oppose, without seeing, the Palestinian Authority's bid before it was formally presented. Similarly, it is therefore neither possible nor responsible for me to speculate on my position on a future bid before it has been presented.

<sup>1</sup> United Nations General Assembly Security Council, Doc: A/66/371-S/2011/592. Application of Palestine for admission to membership in the United Nations, 23 September 2011, Annex 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Canada opposes Palestinian 'unilateral actions' at UN." CBC News (cbc.ca) September 26, 2011.

## 8 Views on Canada's Voting at the UN vis-à-vis the Middle East

Since 2004, Canada's votes on key UN General Assembly resolutions relating to the Middle East have shifted significantly. For example:

- On the recurring resolution condemning "Israel's decision to effectively annex the Syrian Arab Golan," Canada's vote went from Yes (2004), to abstain (starting in 2011.)
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- On the recurring resolution supporting "The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination," Canada's vote shift from Yes (2004), to abstain, to No (starting in 2011)

Similar voting shifts demonstrating diplomatic support of Israeli government interests occurred with most of the other of the 20 or so resolutions on the Middle East passed each Fall.

As a leader of the NDP, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, on whether you would support these new positions advanced by Harper's Conservative government at the UN, or whether you would oppose them? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Would publicly support Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN	Don't feel strongly about shift in Canada's votes on Middle East at UN			Would publicly oppose Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN
1	2	3	4	<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

Our current government's approach to the Middle East has not been helpful or productive to achieving peace and stability in the region.

## 9 Views on Free Speech, & Legislative motions against Israeli Apartheid Week

In the past few years, several motions condemning Israeli Apartheid Week (one at Canada's House of Commons,<sup>1</sup> one in the Ontario Legislature<sup>2</sup>, and one in the Manitoba Legislature<sup>3</sup>) have been put to the vote. Although the motion in the House of Commons and in Manitoba failed, the one in the Ontario legislature passed – with the support of one or two Ontario NDP MLAs. While these votes are largely symbolic, they also have important repercussions for the right of free speech in Canada.

As a leader of the NDP, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, as to whether you would support future such motions in the House of Commons, or whether you would oppose them. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would support a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week			On the principle of "Free Speech," I would oppose a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week		
1	2	3	4	5	

If desired, please provide additional comments:

I am going to respectfully decline to answer this question. I believe groups have the right to use terminology they prefer; I also believe others have the right to criticize it. As you note, these votes are symbolic. Indeed, in two of the three cases, involve legislatures with no jurisdiction in foreign affairs.

Canada's role in fostering a lasting peace and a viable two-state solution is important. As leader of the NDP, I would focus on this role. In this questionnaire, I have outlined my thoughts on important issues as they affect the Middle East.

<sup>1</sup> House of Commons Debates. Official Report (Hansard), Thursday, March 11, 2010. 15:20. Motion by Mr. Tim Uppal.

<sup>2</sup> Benzie, Robert. "MPPs decry linking Israel to 'apartheid'." Toronto Star. February 26, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> "Manitoba NDP kills resolution to condemn Israeli Apartheid Week in province," Jewish Tribune. April 20, 2010.

**Paul Dewar**



# NDP Leadership Candidate

## Middle East Positions

### *Questionnaire*

*Nine questions of interest to Canadians  
Assembled by Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East*



*January, 2012*

## 1 Views on the Democratic Movements in the Middle East

The Middle East has a long and unfortunate history of dictatorial and despotic leaders. Nevertheless, for many years, Canada seemed happy to “do business” with such leaders (e.g. Mubarak, Gaddafi) despite serious human rights violations in those countries.<sup>1</sup> When popular opposition in Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries exploded in early 2011, the Canadian government initially avoided supporting these popular movements.<sup>2</sup> In other parts of the world (e.g. China, Iran, etc.), however, Canada has appropriately used its diplomatic and commercial relations to demand improvements in the human rights record of the regime.<sup>3 4</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on a scale from 1 to 5 below, how strongly would you support linking Canada’s commercial and diplomatic relations with the Middle East to the human rights record of the governments in question? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would avoid linking commercial and diplomatic relations with a Middle East government to its human rights record					I support giving human rights higher priority than commercial and diplomatic interests when dealing with Middle East governments.	
1	2	3	4	5		

If desired, please provide additional comments:

As the New Democrat Foreign Affairs critic during the Arab Spring, I'm proud to have stood in solidarity with the democratic aspirations of people in the Middle East and North Africa. I attended solidarity rallies, first with the Iranian community in Canada in 2009, and as the Arab Spring began, with the Tunisian, Egyptian, Libyan and Syrian communities. I consistently called on the Harper government to back the democratic aspirations of the region.

I have been on the ground in places like Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Morocco, meeting with civil society and political activists to discuss ways that we could support ethnic reconciliation, democratic development, human rights promotion and women's empowerment in the Middle East. Of course, I do emphasize these priorities in our economic and diplomatic dealings with Middle Eastern governments. I also believe that Canada must play a supportive role in the development of civil society organizations in the Middle East. In fact, the organization Rights and Democracy was doing some of that work across the Middle East and North Africa, including in Israel and Palestine. Supporting the growth of a strong civil society is a place where I believe Canadian expertise and support can help build the necessary conditions to ensure democratic development.

<sup>1</sup> "Senator Andreychuk to Lead Oil and Gas Trade Mission to Libya," Canada News Centre. Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. October 27, 2008 No. A/59 . <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?crtr.sj1D=&mthd=advSrch&crtr.mnthndVI=&nid=422519&crtr.dpt1D=&crtr.tp1D=&crtr.lc1D=&crtr.yrStrtVI=2008&crtr.kw=&crtr.dyStrtVI=26&crtr.aud1D=&crtr.mnthStrtVI=2&crtr.yrndVI=&crtr.dyndVI=> . Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>2</sup> "Harper's 'toothpaste' remark shows Egypt stumble: MPs," CTV News (ctv.ca). February 13, 2011. <http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/TopStories/20110213/opposition-criticizes-toothpaste-remarks-110213/> Accessed January 20, 2012

<sup>33</sup> "Cda. won't appease China on human rights: Harper," CTV News (ctv.ca). November 15, 2006. [http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20061115/china\\_ssub\\_061114/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20061115/china_ssub_061114/) Accessed January 19, 2012. However, more recently the Canadian government appears to be less committed to using trade to pressure on China to improve its human rights record; see "Stephen Harper travelling to China next month," CBC News. January 11, 2012. <http://www.cbc.ca/m/rich/politics/story/2012/01/11/pol-harper-china-trip.html> Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>4</sup> "Canada Supports Intensified Restrictions on Iran - Backgrounder - Canada's Response to Human Rights Situation in Iran," Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. July 8, 2011. ( <http://www.international.gc.ca/media/aff/news-communiques/2011/194.aspx?view=d> ) Accessed January 19, 2012



## 2 Views on Foreign Policy Priorities in the Middle East

Despite rich natural resources, much of the Middle East has struggled for decades with conflict, poverty, and under-development. Since 2006, Canada's approach to the Middle East has moved decidedly away from constructive engagement, developmental support and peace-keeping activities, to a more militarily-oriented type of involvement. Since 2006, for example, Canada has been militarily involved in Israel-Palestine, Afghanistan and Libya. When in opposition, the Conservatives asserted that they would have joined the USA in its war in Iraq.<sup>1</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on the scale from 1 to 5 below, do you agree with the recent change in direction in terms of Canadian priorities in the Middle East, or do you oppose it? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I agree with the new set of priorities. I am comfortable with Canada playing foremost a military role in the Middle East.			I oppose the current government's priorities. I would like Canada's role in the Middle East to be more one of developmental support, humanitarian support, and peace-keeping.	
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

As a civil society activist, I was an early critic of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. When I was first appointed by Jack Layton as our party's foreign affairs critic, the NDP had recently adopted its position to end the war in Afghanistan and begin a peace process. Our party was under constant attack. I was tasked with promoting our position, not only to Canadians, but also to others who sincerely looked for a resolution to the conflict in Afghanistan. Throughout the Afghan war, including the latest extension of Canadians military operations in Afghanistan, we stood against the military role and gave voice to the need for a reconciliation process which has gradually become the accepted wisdom in international politics.

As Prime Minister, my focus on the Middle East would be on strengthening Canada's diplomatic influence with the objectives of preventing new conflicts (including preventing a war with Iran), helping with the resolution of current conflicts, promoting democratic development, human rights and women's empowerment. Our party has always been in support of a peacekeeping and conflict prevention role in the Middle East, as adopted in resolutions by our convention. I would consider such military roles with strict conditions including a clear UN Security Council mandate and a full parliamentary debate and vote with strict time-lines for review.

<sup>1</sup> "Most Canadians support war, Harper tells Us TV," CTV News.. April 4, 2003.  
([http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper\\_fox\\_interview\\_030404/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper_fox_interview_030404/)) Accessed January 19, 2012.

### 3 Views on Canadian Aid in the Middle East

Following the election win of the Conservative party in Canada in 2006, a large number of changes were made to CIDA and other programs of aid and development in the Middle East. Canada closed off funding to some Middle East development and governance programs, and modified others. Canada's participation in the blockade of Gaza (solidly imposed since 2007), and its reduction in funding to the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian refugees also represented significant shifts.

The Red Cross has established three principles for international aid. Unfortunately, there is little apparent adherence to the Red Cross principles by the current Canadian government. These principles are<sup>1</sup>:

- Humanity: To ensure "assistance without discrimination to the wounded on the battlefield," and "to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found."
- Impartiality: To make "no discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions" and "to give priority to the most urgent cases of distress."
- Neutrality: To "not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature."

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating your belief in the importance of Red Cross principles for Canada aid policy in the Middle East. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that political concerns and alliances should be an important driver of aid policies	Believe that political concerns and alliances should be a concern when determining aid priorities	Believe that Canada should consistently respect Red Cross principles of humanitarian aid		
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

Our aid policy should be focused on alleviating human suffering. That's why I have expressed to Israeli diplomatic representatives in Ottawa my hope for an end to the Gaza blockade, echoing the UN Security Council resolution 1860, which called for "unimpeded provision through Gaza of food, fuel and medical treatment, and intensified international arrangements to prevent arms and ammunition smuggling."

With regards to UNRWA, as you know, I was the first parliamentarian to raise the issue and call for the government to reverse its decision. Supporting the core budget of UNRWA is important to the organization's ability to provide quality services to Palestinian refugees. Conservative cuts undermine the work of the organization, contributing to both humanitarian and security concerns – as documents made available through access to information requests indicated, a number of Israeli diplomats also raised similar concerns with Canada.

<sup>1</sup> "The Seven Fundamental Principles," International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Accessed Wednesday, Jan. 18, 2012, <http://www.ifrc.org/en/who-we-are/vision-and-mission/the-seven-fundamental-principles/>

## 4 Views on Canadian Energy and Mining involvement in the Middle East

Many Canadian companies have been involved over the years in the extraction of petroleum resources, minerals and metals from the Middle East. They and the Canadian government often paid little heed when petroleum wealth was used to enrich the elite, while ordinary citizens went without decent hospitals, schools, universities, social services and much needed infrastructure.

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating the degree to which you are willing to take action to ensure that Canadian corporations engage with responsible Middle East governments, and that petroleum wealth benefits average citizens of the host countries. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that we should not interfere much with Canadian corporations operating in the Middle East.			Believe that the Canadian government must ensure responsible corporate behaviour in the Middle East.		
1	2	3	4	5	

If desired, please provide additional comments:

Ensuring corporate social responsibility is a cornerstone of my agenda for responsible trade. I have introduced private members legislation that would implement the recommendations of the advisory roundtable on Canada's corporate social responsibility, particularly with reference to the extractive industry. As Prime Minister, I will ensure the adoption of the legislation.

The principle behind my commitment to CSR is as follows: when we have evidence that our economic activities are directly or indirectly contributing to violations of human rights, business as usual is not an option. Canadian companies operating abroad should hold themselves to high standards of labour rights, human rights and environmental protection. Many Canadians were shocked to learn that Canadian-manufactured arms had been sold to Libya, that Canadian companies operated large projects in Libyan oil fields and one of them even built a prison while we were aware of the violations of human rights committed by the Gadhafi regime. Similarly, many were surprised to realize that Canada was the third largest foreign investor in Syria due to Canadian operations in Syrian natural gas industry. We need clear corporate social responsibility rules for Canadian companies operating abroad, along with an ombudsperson's office with the ability to hold offending companies to account.

I believe a strong CSR legislation will improve Canada's image abroad and strengthen local support for Canadian investments.

## 5 Views on the NDP Position on the Israel-Palestine Conflict

In 2008, the NDP election platform provided some key details on a vision for the resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict. It stated: “Work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for UN resolutions and international law. This means recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peaceful co-existence in viable, independent states with negotiated, agreed-upon borders; [...] no settlements remaining in the Palestinian state; an end to Israeli occupation of Palestinian land; an end to loss of life of innocent civilians; and an international peacekeeping presence.”<sup>1</sup> The references to the settlements and the occupation were taken directly from the resolutions passed at the 2006 NDP Convention.

In 2011, the NDP election platform on Israel-Palestine was less specific: “We will work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for United Nations resolutions and international law. This includes recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peace in viable, independent states with negotiated and agreed-upon borders.”<sup>2</sup> No specific mention is made of the need to end Israel’s military occupation and colonization (i.e. “settlements.”)

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, according to which statement you think is better? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Much prefer the 2011 platform	The statements are equally good			Much prefer the 2008 platform
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

As the foreign affairs critic since 2007 to October 2011, I can assure you that there has been no change to NDP's position. As leader I will maintain the same balanced approach, and as Prime Minister I will ensure Canadian policy on the region maintains the same balance.

<sup>1</sup> NDP Platform – 2008, « Canada’s role in the world », p. 44. <http://mikewatkins.ca/2008/10/20/election-08-party-platforms/file/8b4eab04594b/2008-ndp-platform-e.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> NDP Platform – 2011, Section 6.3 “Increasing the Promotion of Health, Development and Human Rights.”

## 6 Views on Canada and Israel's colonies (i.e. "settlements") in the West Bank

The establishment and expansion of illegal Israeli colonies (a.k.a. "settlements") in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, is considered by many to be the biggest obstacle to progress in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Even Canada's Conservative government has made lukewarm condemnations of Israel's expansion of its illegal colonies. To date, there are over 500,000 Jewish Israelis living in about 120 different illegal colonies. Palestinian leaders have refused to enter into negotiations as long as Israel refuses to implement a freeze of colony expansion.

Some Canadian companies and charitable organizations are involved in the construction, development and support of these colonies.

As leader of the NDP, on a scale of from 1 to 5 below, would you favour action to discourage Israeli colony expansion, and to prevent Canadian involvement in such colonies? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I do not think focusing on the colonies or Canadian involvement with them is useful or strategic			I think it is important that Canada take a firm diplomatic and legal position on Israel's colonies, and that it discourage Canadian organizations from being involved in Israeli colony development.	
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

Canada's official policy on settlements states: "As referred to in UN Security Council Resolutions 446 and 465, Israeli settlements in the occupied territories are a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. The settlements also constitute a serious obstacle to achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace."

As Prime Minister, I will express to my Israeli counterpart Canada's desire to see an end to settlement building activities and offer Canada's assistance to both sides for negotiating a just and lasting peace which recognizes the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peace in viable, independent states with negotiated and agreed-upon borders.

## 7 Views on Palestinian Membership at the United Nations

In the Fall of 2011, Mahmoud Abbas, in his dual capacity as President of the Palestinian Authority and Chairman of the Executive committee of the PLO presented a request to the UN Security Council asking for membership at the UN.<sup>1</sup> The Harper government dismissed Palestine's request as a "unilateral" action,<sup>2</sup> despite the fact that taking the question to the UN is a decidedly multi-lateral process. Israel approached the UN similarly in the late 1940s, and was granted membership. The Harper government vowed to oppose Palestine's membership bid, and even lobbied at the UN to have other countries oppose the bid.

On the scale, from 1 to 5 below, do you believe that Palestine should be admitted to the UN (as Israel was in 1949, despite the fact that its borders were undefined at that time), or do you believe Palestinian membership at the UN should be withheld until Israel agrees not to oppose it. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Palestinian membership at the UN should be entirely dependent on negotiations with Israel		Feel Palestinians have strong right, but also feel that negotiations with Israel are an important pre-requisite		Palestine has an inherent right to be recognized as a member state of the UN
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

Since November 2010, I held numerous meetings with Israeli and Palestinian diplomatic representatives, political leaders, academic and legal experts, and Canadian advocacy groups on both sides of this issue. While UN recognition will not automatically bring about an end to the conflict and the occupation, I believe Palestinians have a legitimate right to seek UN recognition. The request is particularly strengthened by the advancements that the Palestinian Authority has made in state-building and institution building in the West Bank – advancements that must be encouraged by Canada. Instead of arguing against Palestinian intention to seek UN recognition, Canada must support Palestinian civil society with further advancements in democratic development, human rights protection and women's empowerment so that a future Palestinian state can address the needs of the Palestinian people.

<sup>1</sup> United Nations General Assembly Security Council, Doc: A/66/371–S/2011/592. Application of Palestine for admission to membership in the United Nations, 23 September 2011, Annex 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Canada opposes Palestinian 'unilateral actions' at UN." CBC News (cbc.ca) September 26, 2011.

## 8 Views on Canada's Voting at the UN vis-à-vis the Middle East

Since 2004, Canada's votes on key UN General Assembly resolutions relating to the Middle East have shifted significantly. For example:

- On the recurring resolution condemning "Israel's decision to effectively annex the Syrian Arab Golan," Canada's vote went from Yes (2004), to abstain (starting in 2011.)
- On the recurring resolution supporting "Permanent sovereignty of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory", Canada's vote shifted from Yes (2004), to abstain, to No (starting in 2007).
- On the recurring resolution supporting "The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination," Canada's vote shift from Yes (2004), to abstain, to No (starting in 2011)

Similar voting shifts demonstrating diplomatic support of Israeli government interests occurred with most of the other of the 20 or so resolutions on the Middle East passed each Fall.

As a leader of the NDP, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, on whether you would support these new positions advanced by Harper's Conservative government at the UN, or whether you would oppose them? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Would publicly support Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN	Don't feel strongly about shift in Canada's votes on Middle East at UN	Would publicly oppose Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN		
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

I spoke against the Conservative decision in 2011 to vote against many resolutions that we have historically supported. The government cannot explain the changes in our voting pattern since the text of the resolutions and Canada's official on key issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have not changed.

As Prime Minister, I will assess UN resolutions on a one-by-one basis and I will support resolutions that are in accordance with our policy and values.

## 9 Views on Free Speech, & Legislative motions against Israeli Apartheid Week

In the past few years, several motions condemning Israeli Apartheid Week (one at Canada's House of Commons,<sup>1</sup> one in the Ontario Legislature<sup>2</sup>, and one in the Manitoba Legislature<sup>3</sup>) have been put to the vote. Although the motion in the House of Commons and in Manitoba failed, the one in the Ontario legislature passed – with the support of one or two Ontario NDP MLAs. While these votes are largely symbolic, they also have important repercussions for the right of free speech in Canada.

As a leader of the NDP, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, as to whether you would support future such motions in the House of Commons, or whether you would oppose them. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would support a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week				On the principle of "Free Speech," I would oppose a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week	
1	2	3	4	5	

If desired, please provide additional comments:

Our party did not agree to a unanimous consent motion on condemning Israeli Apartheid Week. At the same time, we do not use the term Apartheid with reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in our party positions. I will maintain the same approach.

<sup>1</sup> House of Commons Debates. Official Report (Hansard), Thursday, March 11, 2010. 15:20. Motion by Mr. Tim Uppal.

<sup>2</sup> Benzie, Robert. "MPPs decry linking Israel to 'apartheid'." Toronto Star. February 26, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> "Manitoba NDP kills resolution to condemn Israeli Apartheid Week in province," Jewish Tribune. April 20, 2010.



**Thomas Mulcair**



Thank you for contacting my campaign regarding issues concerning the Middle East, which are of utmost importance to me—as they are to party members and Canadians alike.

As Leader of the New Democratic Party, my approach to the Middle East would be rooted in our party's long standing values and policies. As I outlined in my recent policy announcement regarding foreign affairs, I am committed to an approach to foreign policy that integrates trade, aid, military, human rights, and climate change policies. Canada should offer preferential trade and assistance to countries based on their commitment to human rights, labour standards and environmental protection. As Prime Minister I would also work to implement the recommendations of the National Roundtables on Corporate Social Responsibility to ensure Canadian corporations, especially in the mining and extracting industries, conform to international standards.

Canada's role in the Middle East should be, first and foremost, that of an honest broker representing our common values—supporting all those committed to the pursuit of peace, justice, democracy and economic development that benefits the average citizen, not only the elite.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a human tragedy that has continued for far too long. I reject the one-sided approach taken by the current government. Support for Israel and the Palestinians is not a zero-sum game. Support for Israel's existence must not come at the expense of Palestinian national aspirations, and vice-versa. Both peoples have an absolutely equal right to self-determination.

### **Towards a two-state solution:**

The NDP has a longstanding policy of support for a negotiated two-state solution which includes the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peace in viable, independent states with negotiated, agreed-upon borders. A Palestinian state existing alongside a Jewish state—two states for two peoples—is the best guarantor for peace, security, prosperity, democracy, and social justice for both Israelis and Palestinians. An NDP government must work with both Israelis and Palestinians to forge that comprehensive peace accord and mark a final end to this conflict.

As we work toward the goal of a negotiated peace, I would follow the path laid out by our party caucus: Canada should support efforts by the Obama administration and other governments to negotiate language at the United Nations that would recognize the right of both states to exist while reaffirming the need for a negotiated settlement to the conflict rather than simply walking away from the table as has been the case with the current government. If we are to be an honest broker—if we reject the current government's one sided approach—we must hold both sides in this conflict to the same standard.

### **Borders:**

Israeli settlements in the West Bank have been one of the chronic impediments to peace and constitute a violation of the 4th Geneva Convention. The consensus on how best to resolve this issue, as articulated by U.S. President Barack Obama, is through mutually

agreed upon land swaps between Israel and the Palestinians in charting the definitive border between the two states. Based on UN Security Council Resolution 242, Israel must withdraw from territories occupied in 1967 in exchange for an end of conflict and acknowledgement of its right to exist in peace and security within recognized borders, free from threats or acts of force. An NDP government must push both sides to abide by Resolution 242 and reach a comprehensive peace agreement without delay.

### **Refugees:**

Canada, as the gavel holder of the Refugee Working Group tasked with finding a solution for Palestinian refugees, is well placed to take a leadership role on the world stage in resolving this fundamental aspect of the Israel-Palestinian conflict. With our history of peaceful dispute resolution, Canada can have a major impact in helping the parties to overcome this critical impasse, successfully ameliorating the situation of the Palestinian refugees and helping them to settle permanently, with dignity and full rights, in a Palestinian state or their host countries. Canada's government must step up to the plate and play a more active role in solving this pressing problem.

### **The debate here at home:**

The debate about issues in the Middle East is intense and yet highly sensitive to many of those involved. As leaders, we should encourage an open and constructive debate. Make no mistake, both anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim bigotry should be called out wherever they are seen, but our focus as should be to bring people together—transcending the boundaries that divide us. As a parliamentarian who has a long and deep history defending both the rights of both the Jewish and Muslim communities of Montreal—each of which have been amongst my strongest supporters in my own political career—those are not just words for me. I believe we can make those words a reality.

## **Peggy Nash**



# NDP Leadership Candidate

## Middle East Positions

### *Questionnaire*

*Nine questions of interest to Canadians  
Assembled by Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East*



*January, 2012*

## 1 Views on the Democratic Movements in the Middle East

The Middle East has a long and unfortunate history of dictatorial and despotic leaders. Nevertheless, for many years, Canada seemed happy to “do business” with such leaders (e.g. Mubarak, Gaddafi) despite serious human rights violations in those countries.<sup>1</sup> When popular opposition in Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries exploded in early 2011, the Canadian government initially avoided supporting these popular movements.<sup>2</sup> In other parts of the world (e.g. China, Iran, etc.), however, Canada has appropriately used its diplomatic and commercial relations to demand improvements in the human rights record of the regime.<sup>3 4</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on a scale from 1 to 5 below, how strongly would you support linking Canada’s commercial and diplomatic relations with the Middle East to the human rights record of the governments in question? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would avoid linking commercial and diplomatic relations with a Middle East government to its human rights record			I support giving human rights higher priority than commercial and diplomatic interests when dealing with Middle East governments.	
1	2	3	4	<b>5</b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

#5

#%<sup>1</sup> "Senator Andreychuk to Lead Oil and Gas Trade Mission to Libya," Canada News Centre. Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. October 27, 2008 No. A/59 . <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?crtr.sj1D=&mthd=advSrch&crtr.mnthndVI=&nid=422519&crtr.dpt1D=&crtr.tp1D=&crtr.lc1D=&crtr.yrStrtVI=2008&crtr.kw=&crt r.dyStrtVI=26&crtr.aud1D=&crtr.mnthStrtVI=2&crtr.yrndVI=&crtr.dyndVI=> . Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>2</sup> "Harper's 'toothpaste' remark shows Egypt stumble: MPs," CTV News (ctv.ca). February 13, 2011.

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<sup>4</sup> "Canada Supports Intensified Restrictions on Iran - Background - Canada's Response to Human Rights Situation in Iran," Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. July 8, 2011. ( <http://www.international.gc.ca/media/aff/news-communiques/2011/194.aspx?view=d> Accessed January 19, 2012



## 2 Views on Foreign Policy Priorities in the Middle East

Despite rich natural resources, much of the Middle East has struggled for decades with conflict, poverty, and under-development. Since 2006, Canada's approach to the Middle East has moved decidedly away from constructive engagement, developmental support and peace-keeping activities, to a more militarily-oriented type of involvement. Since 2006, for example, Canada has been militarily involved in Israel-Palestine, Afghanistan and Libya. When in opposition, the Conservatives asserted that they would have joined the USA in its war in Iraq.<sup>1</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on the scale from 1 to 5 below, do you agree with the recent change in direction in terms of Canadian priorities in the Middle East, or do you oppose it? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I agree with the new set of priorities. I am comfortable with Canada playing foremost a military role in the Middle East.			I oppose the current government's priorities. I would like Canada's role in the Middle East to be more one of developmental support, humanitarian support, and peace-keeping.	
1	2	3	<b>4</b>	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

#4

<sup>1</sup> "Most Canadians support war, Harper tells Us TV," CTV News.. April 4, 2003.  
([http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper\\_fox\\_interview\\_030404/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper_fox_interview_030404/) Accessed January 19, 2012.

### 3 Views on Canadian Aid in the Middle East

Following the election win of the Conservative party in Canada in 2006, a large number of changes were made to CIDA and other programs of aid and development in the Middle East. Canada closed off funding to some Middle East development and governance programs, and modified others. Canada's participation in the blockade of Gaza (solidly imposed since 2007), and its reduction in funding to the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian refugees also represented significant shifts.

The Red Cross has established three principles for international aid. Unfortunately, there is little apparent adherence to the Red Cross principles by the current Canadian government. These principles are<sup>1</sup>:

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- Neutrality: To "not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature."

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating your belief in the importance of Red Cross principles for Canada aid policy in the Middle East. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that political concerns and alliances should be an important driver of aid policies	Believe that political concerns and alliances should be a concern when determining aid priorities	Believe that Canada should consistently respect Red Cross principles of humanitarian aid		
1	2	3	<b>4</b>	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

#4

<sup>1</sup> "The Seven Fundamental Principles," International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Accessed Wednesday, Jan. 18, 2012, <http://www.ifrc.org/en/who-we-are/vision-and-mission/the-seven-fundamental-principles/>

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Many Canadian companies have been involved over the years in the extraction of petroleum resources, minerals and metals from the Middle East. They and the Canadian government often paid little heed when petroleum wealth was used to enrich the elite, while ordinary citizens went without decent hospitals, schools, universities, social services and much needed infrastructure.

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating the degree to which you are willing to take action to ensure that Canadian corporations engage with responsible Middle East governments, and that petroleum wealth benefits average citizens of the host countries. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that we should not interfere much with Canadian corporations operating in the Middle East.			Believe that the Canadian government must ensure responsible corporate behaviour in the Middle East.	
1	2	3	4	<b>5</b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

#5

## 5 Views on the NDP Position on the Israel-Palestine Conflict

In 2008, the NDP election platform provided some key details on a vision for the resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict. It stated: “Work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for UN resolutions and international law. This means recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peaceful co-existence in viable, independent states with negotiated, agreed-upon borders; [...] no settlements remaining in the Palestinian state; an end to Israeli occupation of Palestinian land; an end to loss of life of innocent civilians; and an international peacekeeping presence.”<sup>1</sup> The references to the settlements and the occupation were taken directly from the resolutions passed at the 2006 NDP Convention.

In 2011, the NDP election platform on Israel-Palestine was less specific: “We will work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for United Nations resolutions and international law. This includes recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peace in viable, independent states with negotiated and agreed-upon borders.”<sup>2</sup> No specific mention is made of the need to end Israel’s military occupation and colonization (i.e. “settlements.”)

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, according to which statement you think is better? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Much prefer the 2011 platform	The statements are equally good			Much prefer the 2008 platform
1	<b>2</b>	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

# 2

<sup>1</sup> NDP Platform – 2008, « Canada’s role in the world », p. 44. <http://mikewatkins.ca/2008/10/20/election-08-party-platforms/file/8b4eab04594b/2008-ndp-platform-e.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> NDP Platform – 2011, Section 6.3 “Increasing the Promotion of Health, Development and Human Rights.”

## 6 Views on Canada and Israel's colonies (i.e. "settlements") in the West Bank

The establishment and expansion of illegal Israeli colonies (a.k.a. "settlements") in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, is considered by many to be the biggest obstacle to progress in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Even Canada's Conservative government has made lukewarm condemnations of Israel's expansion of its illegal colonies. To date, there are over 500,000 Jewish Israelis living in about 120 different illegal colonies. Palestinian leaders have refused to enter into negotiations as long as Israel refuses to implement a freeze of colony expansion.

Some Canadian companies and charitable organizations are involved in the construction, development and support of these colonies.

As leader of the NDP, on a scale of from 1 to 5 below, would you favour action to discourage Israeli colony expansion, and to prevent Canadian involvement in such colonies? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I do not think focusing on the colonies or Canadian involvement with them is useful or strategic			I think it is important that Canada take a firm diplomatic and legal position on Israel's colonies, and that it discourage Canadian organizations from being involved in Israeli colony development.	
1	2	3	<b>4</b>	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

#4

## 7 Views on Palestinian Membership at the United Nations

In the Fall of 2011, Mahmoud Abbas, in his dual capacity as President of the Palestinian Authority and Chairman of the Executive committee of the PLO presented a request to the UN Security Council asking for membership at the UN.<sup>1</sup> The Harper government dismissed Palestine's request as a "unilateral" action,<sup>2</sup> despite the fact that taking the question to the UN is a decidedly multi-lateral process. Israel approached the UN similarly in the late 1940s, and was granted membership. The Harper government vowed to oppose Palestine's membership bid, and even lobbied at the UN to have other countries oppose the bid.

On the scale, from 1 to 5 below, do you believe that Palestine should be admitted to the UN (as Israel was in 1949, despite the fact that its borders were undefined at that time), or do you believe Palestinian membership at the UN should be withheld until Israel agrees not to oppose it. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Palestinian membership at the UN should be entirely dependent on negotiations with Israel		Feel Palestinians have strong right, but also feel that negotiations with Israel are an important pre-requisite		Palestine has an inherent right to be recognized as a member state of the UN
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

#4

<sup>1</sup> United Nations General Assembly Security Council, Doc: A/66/371-S/2011/592. Application of Palestine for admission to membership in the United Nations, 23 September 2011, Annex 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Canada opposes Palestinian 'unilateral actions' at UN." CBC News (cbc.ca) September 26, 2011.

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Since 2004, Canada's votes on key UN General Assembly resolutions relating to the Middle East have shifted significantly. For example:

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Similar voting shifts demonstrating diplomatic support of Israeli government interests occurred with most of the other of the 20 or so resolutions on the Middle East passed each Fall.

As a leader of the NDP, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, on whether you would support these new positions advanced by Harper's Conservative government at the UN, or whether you would oppose them? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Would publicly support Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN	Don't feel strongly about shift in Canada's votes on Middle East at UN			Would publicly oppose Canada's present voting patterns on Middle East issues at the UN
1	2	3	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

#5

## 9 Views on Free Speech, & Legislative motions against Israeli Apartheid Week

In the past few years, several motions condemning Israeli Apartheid Week (one at Canada's House of Commons,<sup>1</sup> one in the Ontario Legislature<sup>2</sup>, and one in the Manitoba Legislature<sup>3</sup>) have been put to the vote. Although the motion in the House of Commons and in Manitoba failed, the one in the Ontario legislature passed – with the support of one or two Ontario NDP MLAs. While these votes are largely symbolic, they also have important repercussions for the right of free speech in Canada.

As a leader of the NDP, please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, as to whether you would support future such motions in the House of Commons, or whether you would oppose them. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would support a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week				On the principle of "Free Speech," I would oppose a motion in the House of Commons condemning Israeli Apartheid Week	
1	2	3	4	<b>5</b>	

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> House of Commons Debates. Official Report (Hansard), Thursday, March 11, 2010. 15:20. Motion by Mr. Tim Uppal.

<sup>2</sup> Benzie, Robert. "MPPs decry linking Israel to 'apartheid'." Toronto Star. February 26, 2010.

<sup>3</sup> "Manitoba NDP kills resolution to condemn Israeli Apartheid Week in province," Jewish Tribune. April 20, 2010.



**Brian Topp**



# NDP Leadership Candidate

## Middle East Positions

### *Questionnaire*

*Nine questions of interest to Canadians  
Assembled by Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East*



*January, 2012*

## 1 Views on the Democratic Movements in the Middle East

The Middle East has a long and unfortunate history of dictatorial and despotic leaders. Nevertheless, for many years, Canada seemed happy to “do business” with such leaders (e.g. Mubarak, Gaddafi) despite serious human rights violations in those countries.<sup>1</sup> When popular opposition in Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries exploded in early 2011, the Canadian government initially avoided supporting these popular movements.<sup>2</sup> In other parts of the world (e.g. China, Iran, etc.), however, Canada has appropriately used its diplomatic and commercial relations to demand improvements in the human rights record of the regime.<sup>3 4</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on a scale from 1 to 5 below, how strongly would you support linking Canada’s commercial and diplomatic relations with the Middle East to the human rights record of the governments in question? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I would avoid linking commercial and diplomatic relations with a Middle East government to its human rights record			I support giving human rights higher priority than commercial and diplomatic interests when dealing with Middle East governments.	
1	2	3	4	<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> "Senator Andreychuk to Lead Oil and Gas Trade Mission to Libya," Canada News Centre. Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. October 27, 2008 No. A/59 . <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-eng.do?crtr.sj1D=&mthd=advSrch&crtr.mnthndVI=&nid=422519&crtr.dpt1D=&crtr.tp1D=&crtr.lc1D=&crtr.yrStrtVI=2008&crtr.kw=&crtr.dyStrtVI=26&crtr.aud1D=&crtr.mnthStrtVI=2&crtr.yrndVI=&crtr.dyndVI=> . Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>2</sup> "Harper's 'toothpaste' remark shows Egypt stumble: MPs," CTV News (ctv.ca). February 13, 2011.

<http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/TopStories/20110213/opposition-criticizes-toothpaste-remarks-110213/> Accessed January 20, 2012

<sup>3</sup> "Cda. won't appease China on human rights: Harper," CTV News (ctv.ca). November 15, 2006.

[http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20061115/china\\_ssub\\_061114/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/CTVNewsAt11/20061115/china_ssub_061114/) Accessed January 19, 2012. However, more recently the Canadian government appears to be less committed to using trade to pressure on China to improve its human rights record; see "Stephen Harper travelling to China next month," CBC News. January 11, 2012.

<http://www.cbc.ca/m/rich/politics/story/2012/01/11/pol-harper-china-trip.html> Accessed January 19, 2012

<sup>4</sup> "Canada Supports Intensified Restrictions on Iran - Background - Canada's Response to Human Rights Situation in Iran," Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. July 8, 2011. ( <http://www.international.gc.ca/media/aff/news-communiques/2011/194.aspx?view=d> Accessed January 19, 2012

## 2 Views on Foreign Policy Priorities in the Middle East

Despite rich natural resources, much of the Middle East has struggled for decades with conflict, poverty, and under-development. Since 2006, Canada's approach to the Middle East has moved decidedly away from constructive engagement, developmental support and peace-keeping activities, to a more militarily-oriented type of involvement. Since 2006, for example, Canada has been militarily involved in Israel-Palestine, Afghanistan and Libya. When in opposition, the Conservatives asserted that they would have joined the USA in its war in Iraq.<sup>1</sup>

As a leader of the NDP, on the scale from 1 to 5 below, do you agree with the recent change in direction in terms of Canadian priorities in the Middle East, or do you oppose it? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

I agree with the new set of priorities. I am comfortable with Canada playing foremost a military role in the Middle East.		I oppose the current government's priorities. I would like Canada's role in the Middle East to be more one of developmental support, humanitarian support, and peace-keeping.	
1	2	3	4 <b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

**Canada's international role should be about building peace, not preventing it.**

<sup>1</sup> "Most Canadians support war, Harper tells Us TV," CTV News.. April 4, 2003.  
([http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper\\_fox\\_interview\\_030404/](http://www.ctv.ca/CTVNews/Canada/20030404/harper_fox_interview_030404/) Accessed January 19, 2012.

### 3 Views on Canadian Aid in the Middle East

Following the election win of the Conservative party in Canada in 2006, a large number of changes were made to CIDA and other programs of aid and development in the Middle East. Canada closed off funding to some Middle East development and governance programs, and modified others. Canada's participation in the blockade of Gaza (solidly imposed since 2007), and its reduction in funding to the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian refugees also represented significant shifts.

The Red Cross has established three principles for international aid. Unfortunately, there is little apparent adherence to the Red Cross principles by the current Canadian government. These principles are<sup>1</sup>:

- Humanity: To ensure "assistance without discrimination to the wounded on the battlefield," and "to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found."
- Impartiality: To make "no discrimination as to nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions" and "to give priority to the most urgent cases of distress."
- Neutrality: To "not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious or ideological nature."

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating your belief in the importance of Red Cross principles for Canada aid policy in the Middle East. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that political concerns and alliances should be an important driver of aid policies	Believe that political concerns and alliances should be a concern when determining aid priorities	Believe that Canada should consistently respect Red Cross principles of humanitarian aid
1	2	3
		4
		<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

<sup>1</sup> "The Seven Fundamental Principles," International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, Accessed Wednesday, Jan. 18, 2012, <http://www.ifrc.org/en/who-we-are/vision-and-mission/the-seven-fundamental-principles/>

## 4 Views on Canadian Energy and Mining involvement in the Middle East

Many Canadian companies have been involved over the years in the extraction of petroleum resources, minerals and metals from the Middle East. They and the Canadian government often paid little heed when petroleum wealth was used to enrich the elite, while ordinary citizens went without decent hospitals, schools, universities, social services and much needed infrastructure.

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, indicating the degree to which you are willing to take action to ensure that Canadian corporations engage with responsible Middle East governments, and that petroleum wealth benefits average citizens of the host countries. (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Believe that we should not interfere much with Canadian corporations operating in the Middle East.			Believe that the Canadian government must ensure responsible corporate behaviour in the Middle East.	
1	2	3	4	<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

**We should be working towards corporate social responsibility around the world.**

## 5 Views on the NDP Position on the Israel-Palestine Conflict

In 2008, the NDP election platform provided some key details on a vision for the resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict. It stated: “Work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for UN resolutions and international law. This means recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peaceful co-existence in viable, independent states with negotiated, agreed-upon borders; [...] no settlements remaining in the Palestinian state; an end to Israeli occupation of Palestinian land; an end to loss of life of innocent civilians; and an international peacekeeping presence.”<sup>1</sup> The references to the settlements and the occupation were taken directly from the resolutions passed at the 2006 NDP Convention.

In 2011, the NDP election platform on Israel-Palestine was less specific: “We will work with partners for peace and justice in Israel and Palestine, within a framework of respect for United Nations resolutions and international law. This includes recognition of the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live in peace in viable, independent states with negotiated and agreed-upon borders.”<sup>2</sup> No specific mention is made of the need to end Israel’s military occupation and colonization (i.e. “settlements.”)

Please select your position, from 1 to 5 below, according to which statement you think is better? (If completing the form electronically, simply bold and underline the appropriate numeral.)

Much prefer the 2011 platform	The statements are equally good			Much prefer the 2008 platform
1	2	<b><u>3</u></b>	4	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

**These statements are making different points but are both useful.**

<sup>1</sup> NDP Platform – 2008, « Canada’s role in the world », p. 44. <http://mikewatkins.ca/2008/10/20/election-08-party-platforms/file/8b4eab04594b/2008-ndp-platform-e.pdf>

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I do not think focusing on the colonies or Canadian involvement with them is useful or strategic			I think it is important that Canada take a firm diplomatic and legal position on Israel's colonies, and that it discourage Canadian organizations from being involved in Israeli colony development.	
1	2	3	<b><u>4</u></b>	5

If desired, please provide additional comments:

**Canada should oppose illegal settlement activity as an obstacle to peace, mindful that settlements are not the only issue.**

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1	2	3
		4
		<b><u>5</u></b>

If desired, please provide additional comments:

**A two-state solution implies full diplomatic recognition of Palestine.**

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1	2	3
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1	2	<b><u>3</u></b>	4	5					

If desired, please provide additional comments:

**I respect the work of NGOs but believe the Canadian government should focus on Peace – not on angry discourse aiming to delegitimize either party.**

<sup>1</sup> House of Commons Debates. Official Report (Hansard), Thursday, March 11, 2010. 15:20. Motion by Mr. Tim Uppal.

<sup>2</sup> Benzie, Robert. "MPPs decry linking Israel to 'apartheid'." Toronto Star. February 26, 2010.

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