

**A Survey on Canadians' Views Toward Israel/Palestine:**  
**Most Canadians Say Sanctions and Boycott are Reasonable**  
**Measures to Defend Palestinian Rights**

**Report on Part 2 of a Canadian national opinion survey  
conducted January 25 to February 2, 2017  
by EKOS Research Associates**

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## Executive Summary

**Study description:** This study reports on the findings of an EKOS national on-line survey of 1,000 Canadians conducted between January 25 to February 2, 2017, which explored **Canadians' views on whether it is reasonable for our government to impose sanctions on Israel and for civil society to organize boycotts to pressure Israel to respect international law.** This report addresses four other questions in addition to those analyzed in Part 1: ["Disconnect: Canadians' views of the Israeli government vs. Canadian government policy toward Israel and Palestine."](#)

**We found that Canadians' views are far more in line with those of the international community than with those of their own government.** Canadians consider both sanctions on Israel and the Palestinian call for boycott to be reasonable measures to ensure Israel's respect for international law. And Canadians generally oppose Parliament's condemnation of those who advocate for such boycotts. **These results contrast starkly with the Canadian government's policy of uncritical support for Israel, and its hostility toward those who advocate for justice for the Palestinian people.**

**Over 91% of Canadians agree that sanctions are a "reasonable" means of censuring countries for international law or human rights violations.**

**Two-thirds (66%) of Canadians think sanctions specifically on Israel are a "reasonable" means of ensuring its respect for international law.** Aside from Conservatives, three-quarters or more of all other political party supporters agreed that sanctions on Israel would be reasonable, ranging from Liberals at 75% to the Bloc Québécois at 94%. Only 30% of Conservative Party supporters agreed that sanctions on Israel would be reasonable – a figure that is nonetheless striking, in light of the Conservative Party's refusal to utter any criticism of Israel.

**Over three-quarters (78%) of Canadians consider the Palestinians' call for boycott on Israel to be "reasonable."** Across age, ethnicity, religion, education, gender, and region over half of respondents in all categories agreed that the Palestinians' call for boycott is reasonable. Strong majorities of all political parties except the Conservative Party thought the Palestinian call for a boycott was reasonable (88% to 94%). Remarkably, Conservatives were almost equally split on whether or not they considered a boycott reasonable (49% yes, 51% no).

**Most Canadians (55%) oppose Parliament's condemnation of Canadians who promote the Palestinian call for boycotts of Israel.** Twice as many opposed as supported (26%) such a condemnation. Of those who expressed an opinion, more Conservatives supported (46%) than opposed (33%) the motion to condemn BDS advocates. Between 55% and 78% of supporters of all other political parties opposed the motion and only between 13% and 22% supported it.

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## **Introduction**

In this report, we release Part 2 of the results of a poll of Canadian attitudes on Israel/Palestine conducted by EKOS Research Associates. Before moving to a discussion of the new results, we provide below a summary of the findings of Part 1 of the survey.

## **Summary of results of Part 1**

On February 16, 2017, we released Part 1 of the results of a national survey of Canadians about their views on the Israel/Palestine conflict. We found that, of those who had an opinion:

1. Far more view the Israeli government negatively (46%) than positively (28%);
2. Far more see the Canadian government as pro-Israel (61%) than as pro-Palestinian (16%);
3. The plurality of Canadians view the media as unbiased (45%), but of those who perceive a bias, substantially more see the media as pro-Israel (34%) than as pro-Palestinian (21%).
4. Most significantly, almost all (91%) believe that criticism of the Israeli government is like that of any other country, and is not necessarily anti-Semitic.

These results showed a clear distinction between Conservative party supporters on the one hand and supporters of the Liberal, NDP, Green and Bloc Québécois parties on the other hand. Most Conservatives view Israel positively (58%). Far more than other parties, many Conservatives view the Canadian Government (36%) and the media (34%) as pro-Palestinian, and believe criticism of the Israeli government is anti-Semitic (20%). But high proportions of Conservatives, and in some cases, the majority, disagreed with those positions.

Supporters of the Liberal, NDP, Green and Bloc Québécois parties, on the other hand, were far more likely than Conservatives to hold negative opinions of the Israeli government (ranging from 55% to 78%), to perceive the Canadian government to be biased toward Israel (ranging from 70% to 77%), and to view the media as biased toward Israel (ranging from 36% to 43%).

In summary, Part 1 of the survey demonstrated a serious disconnect between the opinions of Canadians and the long-standing policies of our government.

## **Part 2: How do Canadians view sanctions and boycotts of Israel?**

In Part 2, we wanted to explore what proportion of Canadians think it is reasonable for our government and civil society to pressure Israel to comply with international law. We felt it was pertinent to assess Canadians' attitudes on these points, as recent years have seen important developments on this and related issues.

First, the Obama administration was unable to advance peace negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians. Most gallingly, during these attempts to restart negotiations, Israel insisted on continuing its illegal colonization of Palestinian territory. Israel's refusal to even slow its "settlement" expansion plans during negotiations created great international ire and frustration with Israel's leadership, especially in Europe.

In parallel, the Palestinian leadership sought to enhance its status at the UN, and was awarded Non-Member Observer State status at an overwhelming (138-9) General Assembly vote<sup>1</sup> in November 2012. Nevertheless, their application for full state status was blocked by the US in the Security Council two years later.<sup>2</sup> In response to international impatience with Israeli intransigence, and rising support for an independent Palestinian state, international grassroots efforts to pressure Israel economically to respect the rights of Palestinians has grown.

Even though Canada currently imposes sanctions on 21 other countries, no Canadian Government has ever seriously raised the possibility that Canada would impose sanctions on Israel. On the contrary, the Canadian Government has frequently pledged virtually unqualified support for Israel. Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's predecessor, Stephen Harper, repeatedly refused to criticize Israel. Harper called Israel "a light of freedom and democracy in what is otherwise a region of darkness" and pledged that Israel "will always have Canada as a friend."<sup>3</sup>

Little has changed under the Trudeau Government. Canada's votes on a series of annual UN resolutions relating to Israel and Palestine remained unchanged from Harper to Trudeau. As Ron Csillag of the *Canadian Jewish News* wrote in 2015, soon after Justin Trudeau took office, "Canada's votes were unchanged from last year, continuing a more Israel-friendly shift at the UN that began with former Liberal prime minister Paul Martin and continued under former Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper."<sup>4</sup>

Within weeks of taking office in late 2015, the Trudeau Government voted against 17 United Nations resolutions that were critical of Israel or that were supportive of Palestinian rights.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>"General Assembly Votes Overwhelmingly to Accord Palestine 'Non-Member Observer State' Status in United Nations," United Nations: Meetings Coverage and Press Releases, GA/11317 (Nov. 29, 2012) <https://www.un.org/press/en/2012/ga11317.doc.htm>

<sup>2</sup>" UN security council rejects Palestinian statehood bid," *The Guardian* (Dec. 30, 2014) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/30/un-security-council-rejects-palestinian-statehood-bid>

<sup>3</sup>"What Makes Canada's PM One of Israel's Staunchest Supporters.? *Jewish Telegraph Agency* (January 18, 2014), <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish/features/1.569292>.

<sup>4</sup>Ron Csillag "Trudeau government votes against UN anti-Israel resolutions." *Canadian Jewish News*. (November 26, 2015) <http://www.cjnews.com/news/canada/trudeau-government-opposes-annual-un-onslaught-against-israel>.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix 1 hereto.

One year later, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 2334 which declared Israeli settlements a “flagrant violation under international law and a major obstacle to the achievement of...peace.”<sup>6</sup> It is significant that the Trudeau Government issued no official response, even though the United States abstained, and all other Security Council members supported it, including Canada’s allies France, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand.<sup>7</sup>

On February 3, 2017, in a stunning show of contempt for Resolution 2334, Israel’s Knesset passed a “Settlement Regulation” Law to retroactively legitimize dozens of wildcat settlements under Israeli law. This sparked almost unanimous international condemnation. But the Trudeau Government didn’t comment until long after its allies, and even then, it admonished Israel meekly with a statement virtually identical to Donald Trump’s comment that settlements “may not be helpful” to achieving Israel-Palestinian peace.<sup>8</sup>

In addition, the Trudeau government and previous Canadian governments have condemned and attacked Canadians who advocate for the 2005 Palestinian call for international boycotts, divestment and sanctions, a movement which seeks to pressure Israel economically to end its violations of Palestinian human rights.<sup>9</sup> Many prominent Parliamentarians have characterized as “anti-Semitic” criticism of Israeli Government’s oppressive policies toward Palestinians. For example, on March 13, 2015, Justin Trudeau tweeted: “The BDS movement, like Israeli Apartheid Week, has no place on Canadian campuses.”<sup>10</sup> And in 2016, Jason Kenney, a former Conservative cabinet minister, claimed “the BDS movement represents a new wave of anti-Semitism, the most pernicious form of hatred in the history of humanity.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> U.N. Security Council Resolution 2234 (December 23, 2016). <https://www.un.org/webcast/pdfs/SRES2334-2016.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup> Ron Csillag “Canadian policy remains unchanged after UNSC Resolution fallout,” Canadian Jewish News. (Jan. 5, 2017) <http://www.cjnews.com/news/canada/canadian-policy-remians-unchanged-uns-c-resolution-fallout>.

<sup>8</sup> “US refuses comment on Israeli law that gives historic OK to settlements on Palestinian land” (Feb. 7, 2017) San Diego Jewish Journal. Available. Available: <http://sdjewishjournal.com/sdjj/february-2017/us-refuses-comment-on-israeli-law-that-gives-historic-ok-to-settlements-on-palestinian-land/>.

<sup>9</sup> On July 9, 2005, over 170 Palestinian civil society organizations issued the following call: “We, representatives of Palestinian civil society, call upon international civil society organizations and people of conscience all over the world to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel. We also invite conscientious Israelis to support this Call, for the sake of justice and genuine peace. These non-violent punitive measures should be maintained until Israel meets its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people’s inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law by: 1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall; 2. Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and 3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194.” <https://bdsmovement.net/call>.

<sup>10</sup> Abunimah, Ali, “Canadian students reject Justin Trudeau’s attack on Palestine activism, free speech,” The Electronic Intifada (Mar. 15, 2015) <http://sdjewishjournal.com/sdjj/february-2017/us-refuses-comment-on-israeli-law-that-gives-historic-ok-to-settlements-on-palestinian-land/>.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Larson “Trudeau joins Harper, Blaney in Condemning BDS.” Canada Talks Israel Palestine. (Mar. 16, 2015) <https://canadatalksisraelpalestine.ca/2015/03/16/trudeau-joins-harper-blaney-in-condemning-bds/>; Patrick

In February 2016, the Conservative MP, Tony Clement moved:

That, given Canada and Israel share a long history of friendship as well as economic and diplomatic relations, the House reject the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, which promotes the demonization and delegitimization of the State of Israel, and call upon the government to condemn any and all attempts by Canadian organizations, groups or individuals to promote the BDS movement, both here at home and abroad.<sup>12</sup>

Although the NDP and Green Party of Canada said they opposed the BDS movement,<sup>13</sup> they refused to support Clement's motion because, as NDP Foreign Affairs critic, H  l  ne Laverdi  re, said: "Just because we do not support it [BDS] does not mean that the House can condemn people who peacefully support another idea. ...We will find a solution through informed debate and engagement, not by condemning people or disrupting dialogue."<sup>14</sup>

Only Quebec's separatist party, the Bloc Qu  b  cois, argued in Canada's Parliament that the BDS campaign constitutes legitimate criticism of Israeli policies.<sup>15</sup>

Ultimately, the Liberals supported the Conservative condemnation motion, and it passed by a vote of 229-51, in spite of opposition by the NDP,<sup>16</sup> Greens,<sup>17</sup> Bloc Qu  b  cois, and several

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Martin "Parliament votes to reject Israel boycott campaign." *Globe and Mail* (Feb. 23, 2016) <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/parliament-votes-to-reject-campaign-to-boycott-israel/article28863810/>.

<sup>12</sup> Vote No. 14, 42nd Parliament, 1st Session, Sitting No. 22 - Monday, February 22, 2016, Parliament of Canada, Chamber Business, House of Commons, (Feb. 22, 2016) <http://www.parl.gc.ca/HouseChamberBusiness/ChamberVoteDetail.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=42&Ses=1&FltrParl=42&FltrSes=1&Vote=14>.

<sup>13</sup> On February 7, 2017, the Green Party of Canada announced overwhelming ratification of a resolution which endorses the main objectives and tactics of the BDS movement, including boycotts, divestment, and sanctions against Israel, thereby becoming the first and only party in Canada's Parliament to call for sanctions on Israel. <https://www.greenparty.ca/en/sgm-2016/voting/resolutions/s16-p013>

<sup>14</sup> Maloney, Ryan "Stephane Dion: Tories' BDS Motion (Which Grits Support) A Failed Attempt To Divide." *Huffington Post Canada* (Feb. 19, 2016) [http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/02/19/stephane-dion-bds-israel-conservatives-ndp\\_n\\_9276636.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/02/19/stephane-dion-bds-israel-conservatives-ndp_n_9276636.html).

<sup>15</sup> Patrick Martin "Parliament Votes To Reject Israel Boycott Campaign." *The Globe and Mail* (February 23, 2016) <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/parliament-votes-to-reject-campaign-to-boycott-israel/article28863810/>.

<sup>16</sup> The NDP opposed the motion on the basis of the Charter right to freedom of expression.

<sup>17</sup> Leader (and sole MP) for the Green Party Elizabeth May was absent for the vote, but expressed disagreement with the vote on the basis of freedom of expression.



Liberal MPs.<sup>18</sup> While the motion has no legislative force, it moves Canada's government officially into the anti-BDS camp.

The French government illustrates the dangers posed by such condemnations. France has gone further than simply condemning proponents of Israeli boycotts; it has criminalized them. The French Court of Cassation, France's court of final appeal, recently upheld the 2009 criminal convictions of 12 BDS activists, involving imprisonment or a fine of up to \$50,000. As journalist Benjamin Dodman points out, "What BDS activists regarded as political statements denouncing Israel's violations of international law could be – and indeed were – treated by French courts as an 'incitement' to hatred."<sup>19</sup>

The Canadian government does not have to take that road. On the contrary, and as this survey demonstrates, the Canadian government ought to refrain from demonizing BDS supporters if it truly aspires to represent the views of Canadians.

In contrast to the hyperbolic attacks on BDS advocates by Canadian Liberal and Conservative parties and the French government, the European Union both supports modest actions against Israel and defends the right of citizens to advocate boycotts of Israel. In April 2015, at least 16 European Foreign Ministers denounced the "expansion of Israeli illegal settlements in the Occupied Territories," and they demanded that "any imported goods originating in the settlements be distinctly labeled."<sup>20</sup> On October 31, 2016, Federica Mogherini, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs announced: "The EU stands firm in protecting freedom of expression and freedom of association in line with the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, which is applicable on EU Member States' territory, including with regard to BDS actions carried out on this territory."<sup>21</sup>

In Part 1 of this study, we demonstrated that Canadians tend to have a negative view of the Israeli Government and that over 90% of them do not consider criticism of the Israeli Government to be anti-Semitic. We also sought to determine what Canadians think about concrete actions the Canadian Government could take, such as imposing sanctions on Israel, and allowing citizen boycotts of Israel? We also asked how Canadians view Parliament's motion condemning BDS activists.

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<sup>18</sup> Ryan Maloney "Stephane Dion: Tories' BDS Motion (Which Grits Support) A Failed Attempt To Divide." Huffington Post (Feb. 19, 2016) [http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/02/19/stephane-dion-bds-israel-conservatives-ndp\\_n\\_9276636.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/02/19/stephane-dion-bds-israel-conservatives-ndp_n_9276636.html)

<sup>19</sup> Benjamin Dodman "France's criminalization of Israel boycotts sparks free-speech debate". France24 (Jan. 21, 2016) <http://www.france24.com/en/20160120-france-boycott-israel-bds-law-free-speech-antisemitism>.

<sup>20</sup> Neil MacDonald "Ottawa cites hate crime laws when asked about its 'zero tolerance' for Israel boycotters" CBC. (May 11, 2015) <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/ottawa-cites-hate-crime-laws-when-asked-about-its-zero-tolerance-for-israel-boycotters-1.3067497>

<sup>21</sup> "EU High Representative, Federica Mogherini, affirms the right to BDS" European Coordination Committees and Associations for Palestine (Oct. 31, 2016) <https://bdsmovement.net/news/eu-high-representative-federica-mogherini-affirms-right-bds>

We are not aware of other published surveys which asked Canadians these or similar questions. However, one recent United States study found that support for imposing sanctions on Israel is rising there as well as in Europe, especially among Democrats. More particularly, it found that, “over the past year, support for imposing economic sanctions and taking more serious measures [against Israel] has gone up overall. In November 2015, 37% of Americans supported this compared to 46% November 2016. ...In November 2016, a majority of Democrats (60%) supported imposing some economic sanctions or taking even more serious action compared with 49% in November 2015. Looking at Republicans over these years, 31% supported imposing sanctions and taking even more serious actions in November 2016 and 26% supported this in November 2015.”<sup>22</sup>

We asked EKOS to conduct a survey which explored attitudes around the following issues:

1. Whether Canadians think sanctions are a reasonable way for Canada to censure countries for violations of international law;
2. Whether Canadians think it would be reasonable for the Canadian Government to impose some sort of sanctions specifically on Israel;
3. Whether Canadians consider the Palestinians’ call for boycott to be reasonable;
4. Whether Canadians support or oppose Parliament’s motion to condemn groups and individuals who promote the Palestinian boycott call.

This report presents the striking answers to these survey questions. Notably, we found that Canadians’ views are far more in line with those of the international community than with those of their own government. Also, the survey showed that Canadians consider both sanctions on Israel and the Palestinian call for boycott to be reasonable measures to ensure Israel’s respect for international law. Finally, the results demonstrate that Canadians generally oppose Parliament’s condemnation of those who advocate for such boycotts. These results contrast starkly with the Canadian government’s policy of uncritical support for Israel, and its hostility toward those who advocate for justice for the Palestinian people.

## **Methodology**

Part 2 reports respondents’ replies to the follow four specific questions:

1. Canada currently imposes economic and political sanctions on 21 countries due to their serious violations of international law and/or human rights abuses. Do you think sanctions are a reasonable way for Canada to censure countries for violations of international law or human rights?

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<sup>22</sup> Shibley Telhami American Attitudes on the Israel-Palestine Conflict. University of Maryland Critical Issues Poll. (Nov. 2016) [https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/cmep\\_20161202\\_poll\\_key\\_findings\\_v2.pdf](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/cmep_20161202_poll_key_findings_v2.pdf).

2. In December 2016, the United Nations Security Council voted 14-0 (with the United States abstaining) to declare that the Israeli settlements on Palestinian territory were a “...flagrant violation under international law and a major obstacle to the achievement of [...] peace” between Israel and Palestine. Given this statement by the U.N Security Council, do you believe that some sort of Canadian government sanctions on Israel would be reasonable?
3. In 2004, the International Court of Justice ruled unanimously that Israel’s settlements on Palestinian territory violate international law. In response, one year later, over 170 Palestinian citizen’s organizations called for a boycott to ensure Israel’s respect for international law. Do you consider the Palestinians’ call for boycott to be reasonable?
4. In February, 2016, Canada’s Parliament adopted a motion (by a vote of 229-51) to condemn Canadian individuals and organizations who promote the Palestinian call for a boycott to pressure Israel to respect international law. Do you support or oppose Parliament condemning Canadian individuals and organizations who promote the Palestinian call for such a boycott?

EKOS Research Associates (EKOS), an experienced public opinion research firm, conducted the on-line poll with the above questions and those reported in Part 1.<sup>23</sup> EKOS is a full-service consulting practice, founded in 1980, which has evolved to become one of the leading suppliers of evaluation and public opinion research for the Canadian government.

Between January 25 and February 2, 2017, a random sample of 1,000 Canadian adults aged 18 and over from EKOS’ online/telephone research panel, Probit, completed the survey. The survey was made available to all respondents in either English or French. The margin of error associated with the sample is plus or minus 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. The margin of error increases when the results are sub-divided.

EKOS statistically weighted all the data by age, gender, education and region to ensure that the sample’s composition reflects that of the actual population of Canada, based on census data. EKOS weighted the data based on the 2011 Census, for age, gender and region, and on the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) for education. The NHS replaced the long form census in 2011.

All tables in the body of this report are reported as percentages of respondents who expressed an opinion. Those who did not reply or checked “don’t know” are not included in these tables. **The full data, including those who did not reply or who replied “don’t know,” can be found online at:**

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<sup>23</sup> Diana Ralph Disconnect: Canadians’ views of the Israeli government vs. Canadian government policy toward Israel and Palestine: A report of a Canadian national opinion survey conducted January 25 to February 2, 2017. (Feb. 17, 2017)  
[https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/cjpme/pages/2537/attachments/original/1487216531/EKOS\\_Poll\\_Results\\_Report\\_-\\_2017-02-16-Final.pdf?1487216531](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/cjpme/pages/2537/attachments/original/1487216531/EKOS_Poll_Results_Report_-_2017-02-16-Final.pdf?1487216531).

[https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/cjpme/pages/2537/attachments/original/1488332830/EKOS\\_02717\\_tables\\_including\\_residuals.pdf?1488332830](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/cjpme/pages/2537/attachments/original/1488332830/EKOS_02717_tables_including_residuals.pdf?1488332830)

A higher percentage of respondents checked “don’t know” or did not reply to the questions explored in this report than in *Part 1: Disconnect*. On question 1 (about sanctions in general), 14% did not reply. On question 2 (about whether sanctions on Israel would be reasonable), 22% did not reply. On question 3 (about whether boycotts of Israel are reasonable), 21% did not reply. And on question 4 (about support or opposition to condemning those who promote such a boycott), 15% did not reply.

The highest proportions of respondents who did not reply or checked “don’t know” were found in:

- Those with high school or less education
- Aboriginal people
- Residents of the Atlantic provinces and Quebec
- Catholics
- Bloc Québécois

The lowest proportions of non-respondents were found in:

- Those with bachelors or post-graduate degrees
- Residents of British Columbia
- NDP and Green party supporters
- Muslim, Jewish, and other non-Christian religions.

This suggests that questions in Part 2 may have required more knowledge about and interest in the Israel/Palestine conflict, and perhaps also more general awareness of Canadian policies and world affairs, than those we analyzed in Part 1.

Readers may be particularly interested in the views of Jewish respondents. Unlike other demographic categories, people may identify as “Jewish” both as an ethnicity and as a religion. As in Part 1, the EKOS sample included 26 respondents who checked “Jewish” as their ethnic identity and 18 who checked “Jewish” as their religion. The data do not allow us to infer to what degree these individuals overlap, but it is most likely that the latter is a sub-set of the former, because the differing responses of religious vs. secular Jews to similar questions asked in a survey of British Jews echoed those of this study<sup>24</sup>. Because their responses differed, we have reported both. The total number of Jewish respondents is so low because Jews only

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<sup>24</sup> Stephen Miller, Margaret Harris, Colin Shindler, Edward Temko The attitudes of British Jews towards Israel Department of Sociology, School of Arts and Social Sciences, City University London (2015)  
[http://www.bing.com/search?q=Stephen%20Miller%2C%20Margaret%20Harris%2C%20Colin%20Shindler%2C%20Edward%20Temko%20The%20attitudes%20of%20British%20Jews%20towards%20Israel%20Department%20of%20Sociology%2C%20School%20of%20Arts%20and%20Social%20Sciences%2C%20City%20University%20London%20\(2015\)&pc=cosp&ptag=C1N0003D011016A316A5D3C6E&form=CONMHP&conlogo=CT3210127](http://www.bing.com/search?q=Stephen%20Miller%2C%20Margaret%20Harris%2C%20Colin%20Shindler%2C%20Edward%20Temko%20The%20attitudes%20of%20British%20Jews%20towards%20Israel%20Department%20of%20Sociology%2C%20School%20of%20Arts%20and%20Social%20Sciences%2C%20City%20University%20London%20(2015)&pc=cosp&ptag=C1N0003D011016A316A5D3C6E&form=CONMHP&conlogo=CT3210127)

constitute about 1.1% of the Canadian population. The level of confidence in generalizing from these small numbers is relatively low, compared to categories with more respondents. However, because the sample was randomly selected, these results are still likely to reflect those of the broader Canadian Jewish population.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> The margin of error in generalizing from a sample this small was between 19% and 23%, compared to the overall study's 3.1% margin of error. That means that between 77% and 81% of potential samples taken from this population would find results close to those of the actual population.

## Results

We summarize here the responses to each of the four questions. Detailed tables for each question, sorted by demographic variables can be found in Appendix 2. Raw data both including and excluding non-respondents can be found here:

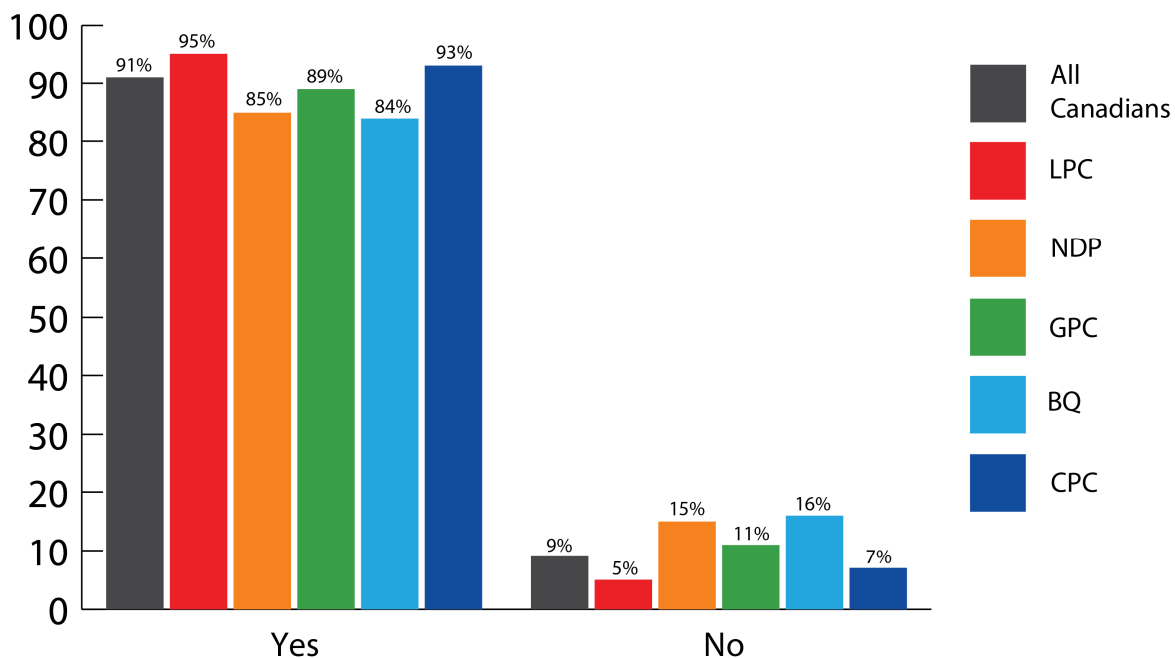
[https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/cjpme/pages/2537/attachments/original/1488332830/EKOS\\_02717\\_tables\\_including\\_residuals.pdf?1488332830](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/cjpme/pages/2537/attachments/original/1488332830/EKOS_02717_tables_including_residuals.pdf?1488332830)

### 1. Canadians overwhelmingly agree that sanctions are a “reasonable” means of censuring countries for violations of international law or of human rights

The survey question posed to respondents was, “Canada currently imposes economic and political sanctions on 21 countries due to their serious violations of international law and/or human rights abuses. Do you think sanctions are a reasonable way for Canada to censure countries for violations of international law or human rights?”

**Chart 1: Do you think sanctions are a reasonable way for Canada to censure countries?**

Canadians believe overwhelmingly that sanctions are a reasonable way for Canada to censure countries violating international law and human rights



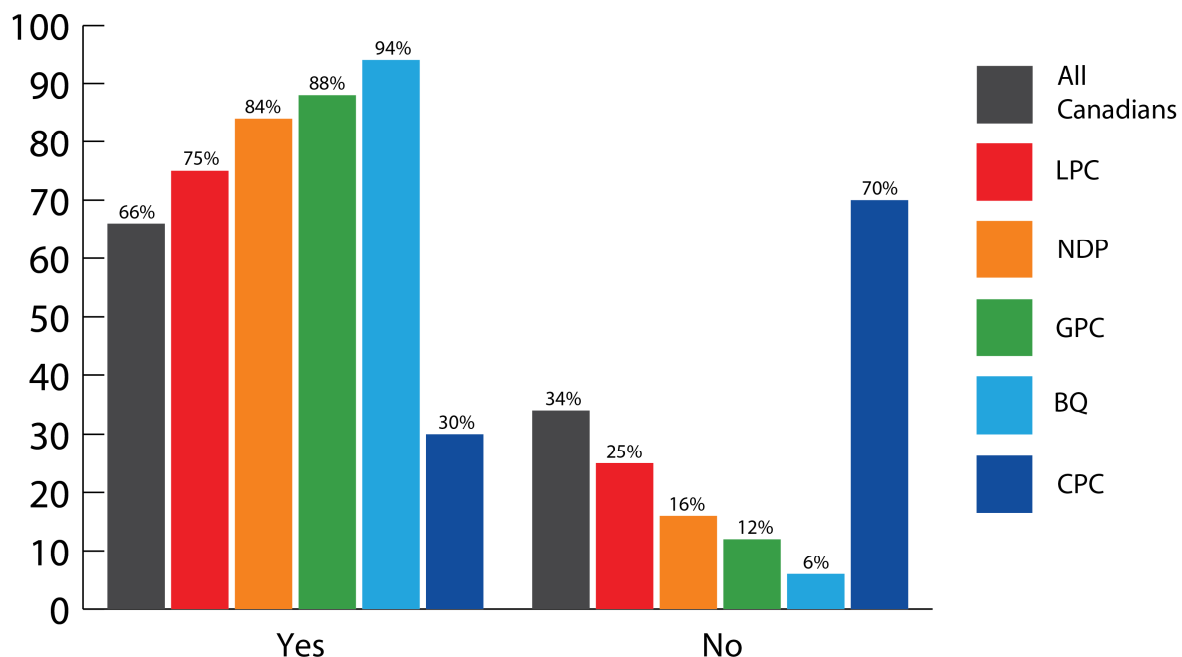
Of those with an opinion on this question, the response was overwhelmingly “yes.” This held true across political party support (84% to 95% yes), religion (87% to 100% yes), ethnicity (88% to 96% yes), education (90%-95% yes) and region (89% to 94% yes).

## 2. Most Canadians think sanctions on Israel are a “reasonable” means of pressuring it to respect international law

The survey question posed to respondents was, “In December 2016, the United Nations Security Council voted 14-0 (with the United States abstaining) to declare that the Israeli settlements on Palestinian territory were a “...flagrant violation under international law and a major obstacle to the achievement of [...] peace” between Israel and Palestine. Given this statement by the U.N Security Council, do you believe that some sort of Canadian government sanctions on Israel would be reasonable?”

**Chart 2: Do you believe that some sort of Canadian government sanctions on Israel would be reasonable?**

Given the UN Security Council’s condemnation of illegal Israeli settlements on Palestinian territory, a strong majority of Canadians believe that government sanctions on Israel would be reasonable



Produced by CJPME, IJV, dedicated to the public domain, <http://survey.cjpme.org>  
Based on EKOS research, conducted Jan. 25 - Feb. 2, 2017

2017 Survey of Canadian Attitudes on Israel/Palestine

When asked specifically whether they believe that Canadian government sanctions *on Israel* would be reasonable, 66% said “yes.” Interestingly, this was an important drop overall from the previous question, where 91% of respondents felt that sanctions were a reasonable way to censure countries which violate international law. Clearly, citing Israel specifically for sanctions caused a change in reaction among the survey respondents. When Israel was specified, however, by far the largest drop in support for government sanctions occurred among



supporters of the Conservative Party (from 93% to 30%). (It is nonetheless remarkable that, even among Conservatives, almost one in three (30%) consider sanctions on Israel reasonable.) When Israel was specified, the drop in support for sanctions was far more modest among supporters of the other parties. For example, among Liberals, support fell from 95% to 75%, and among NDP supporters, support for sanctions fell negligibly (from 85% to 84%). Moreover, even with this drop, two-thirds of Canadians still support sanctions on Israel, almost twice as many as those opposing sanctions on Israel. This result provides a strong mandate for the Canadian Government to impose sanctions on Israel.

Aside from Conservatives, **three-quarters or more of all other political party supporters agreed that sanctions on Israel would be reasonable**, ranging from Liberals at 75% to the Bloc Québécois at 90%. This is consistent with results in our first report, in which Conservatives were far more likely than any other political party supporters to have a positive view of the Israeli government (58% vs. 28% for all respondents) and to view criticism of the Israeli government as anti-Semitic (20% vs. 9% overall).

Those who were **less likely** to consider it reasonable for the Canadian government to sanction Israel were: Conservatives (30%), people who identified their religion as “Jewish” (36%) and Prairie residents (49%).

**In all other categories, the majority considered it reasonable for the Canadian government to impose “some sort of sanctions on Israel.”** Interestingly, that included those who identified their ethnicity as “Jewish” (51%). This is very surprising, given the heavy pro-Israel views of prominent Jewish organizations. By comparison, in a 2015 survey of British Jews, overall 24% would be prepared “to support some sanctions against Israel if I thought they would encourage the Israeli government to engage in the peace process.” But that percentage rose to 40% of non-observant Jews and 41% of Jews under 30 years old.<sup>26</sup>

Among those who expressed an opinion, those **most** likely to consider sanctions on Israel reasonable were residents of Québec (78%) and the Atlantic Provinces (70%), women (70%), those aged between 18 and 34 (70%) and those aged 55-64 (70%), those with Bachelor degrees (79%), Muslims (76%), Christians who were not Catholic or Protestants (75%), non-religious people (75%) and those who consider their ethnic identity to be “French” (88%).

These results dramatically contradict the taken-for-granted assumption by many political leaders that Canadians generally would oppose sanctions on Israel. On the contrary, this survey

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<sup>26</sup> Stephen Miller, Margaret Harris, Colin Shindler, Edward Temko The attitudes of British Jews towards Israel Department of Sociology, School of Arts and Social Sciences, City University London. (2015) [http://www.bing.com/search?q=Stephen%20Miller%2C%20Margaret%20Harris%2C%20Colin%20Shindler%2C%20Edward%20Temko%20The%20attitudes%20of%20British%20Jews%20towards%20Israel%20Department%20of%20Sociology%2C%20School%20of%20Arts%20and%20Social%20Sciences%2C%20City%20University%20London%20\(2015\)&pc=cosp&ptag=C1N0003D011016A316A5D3C6E&form=CONMHP&conlogo=CT3210127](http://www.bing.com/search?q=Stephen%20Miller%2C%20Margaret%20Harris%2C%20Colin%20Shindler%2C%20Edward%20Temko%20The%20attitudes%20of%20British%20Jews%20towards%20Israel%20Department%20of%20Sociology%2C%20School%20of%20Arts%20and%20Social%20Sciences%2C%20City%20University%20London%20(2015)&pc=cosp&ptag=C1N0003D011016A316A5D3C6E&form=CONMHP&conlogo=CT3210127)

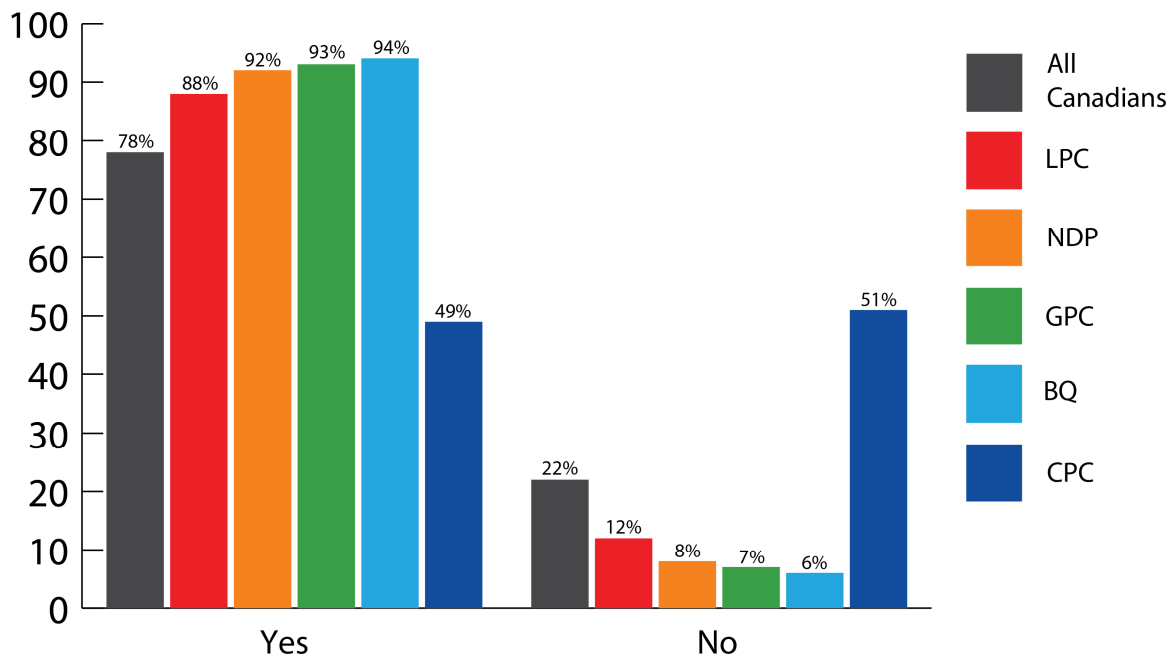
strongly suggests that Green, NDP, Liberal, and Bloc Québécois parties stand to gain voter support if they endorse sanctions on Israel.

### 3. Over 75% of Canadians consider the Palestinians' call for boycott on Israel to be "reasonable"

The survey question posed to respondents was, "In 2004, the International Court of Justice ruled unanimously that Israel's settlements on Palestinian territory violate international law. In response, one year later, over 170 Palestinian citizen's organizations called for a boycott to ensure Israel's respect for international law. Do you consider the Palestinians' call for boycott to be reasonable?"

**Chart 3: Do you consider the Palestinians' call for boycott to be reasonable?**

In the context of Israel's ongoing violations of international law, a very strong majority of Canadians believe that the Palestinians' call for a boycott of Israel is reasonable



Produced by CJPME, IJV, dedicated to the public domain, <http://survey.cjpme.org>  
Based on EKOS research, conducted Jan. 25 - Feb. 2, 2017

2017 Survey of Canadian Attitudes on Israel/Palestine

We found overwhelming support for the Palestinian call for boycotts of Israel. Of those who expressed an opinion, over three-quarters (78%) said they "consider the Palestinians' call for boycott [of Israel] to be reasonable." Across age, ethnicity, religion, education, gender, and region over half of respondents in all categories (of those who expressed an opinion) agreed that the Palestinians' call for boycott is reasonable.

Strong majorities of all but supporters of the Conservative Party thought the Palestinian call for a boycott was reasonable (88% to 94%). Remarkably, Conservatives were almost equally split on whether or not they considered a boycott reasonable (49% yes, 51% no).

This survey strongly suggests that Liberal, NDP, Green, and Bloc Québécois parties would better reflect the views of their constituents if they supported the Palestinian call for BDS. The survey results suggest that even Conservative Party support for BDS would not negatively affect its overall level of support among Canadian voters.

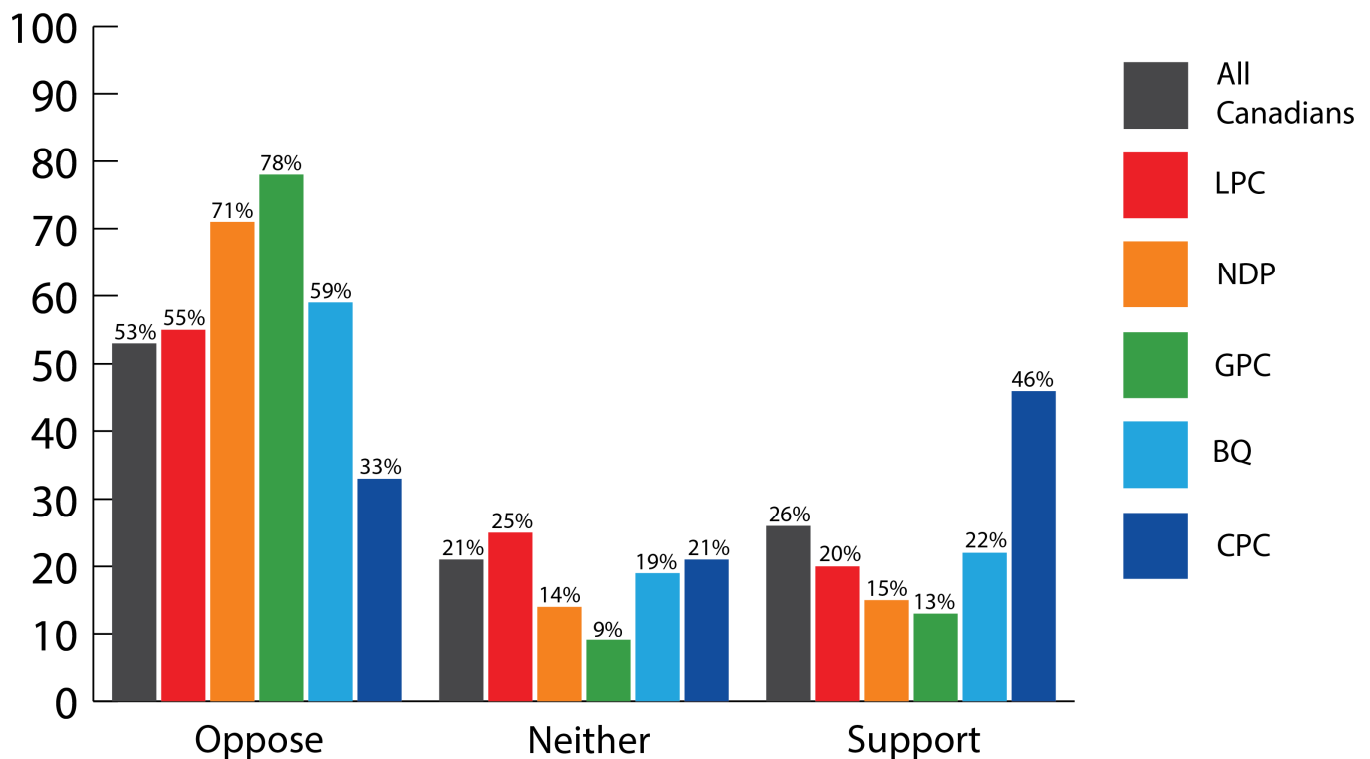
Surprisingly, support for the Palestinian call for boycotts is high even among Jewish respondents, including 82% of people who identified their ethnicity as “Jewish” and 57% of those who identified their religion as “Jewish”. This completely contradicts the messages of the Center for Israel and Jewish Affairs and other pro-Israel lobbies, which portray the BDS call as anti-Semitic.

#### 4. Most Canadians oppose Parliament’s condemnation of Canadians who promote the Palestinian call for boycotts of Israel

The survey question posed to respondents was, “In February 2016, Canada’s Parliament adopted a motion (by a vote of 229-51) to condemn Canadian individuals and organizations who promote the Palestinian call for a boycott to pressure Israel to respect international law. Do you support or oppose Parliament condemning Canadian individuals and organizations who promote the Palestinian call for such a boycott?”

**Chart 4: Do you support Parliament condemning Canadians who promote a boycott of Israel?**

Far more Canadians oppose than support Parliament’s February, 2016 decision to condemn individuals and groups who promote the Palestinian call for a boycott of Israel



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Based on EKOS research, conducted Jan. 25 - Feb. 2, 2017

2017 Survey of Canadian Attitudes on Israel/Palestine

Of those who expressed an opinion, a majority (53%) opposed condemning Canadian individuals and organizations who promote the Palestinian call for a boycott of Israel. Twice as many opposed as supported (26%) such a condemnation.

Again, we found a sharp divide between the opinions of Conservative Party supporters and the supporters of all other political parties. Of those who expressed an opinion, more Conservatives supported (46%) than opposed (33%) the motion to condemn BDS advocates. This was the opposite of supporters of all other political parties: between 55% and 78% of those respondents opposed the motion and only between 13% and 22% supported it. This suggests that the government's condemnation of those who advocate BDS is strongly out of line with public opinion, especially among Liberal, NDP, Green, and Bloc Québécois supporters.

Those most opposed to Parliament condemning advocates for boycott campaigns included: people under 35 (65%), non-religious respondents (65%), Catholics (53%), non-Judeo-Christians (52%), people with a Bachelors (62%) or post-graduate degrees (65%), and British Columbia residents (65%).

In all ethnic categories, a majority of respondents also opposed the motion, including, significantly, 72% of Jews. People who identified their religion as "Jewish" were almost evenly split on whether they support (41%) or oppose (52%) the motion. We can infer that Jews, like most other Canadians, value free speech, and do not want their government infringing on the right of citizens to advocate for non-violent measures to promote justice.

## **Analysis of results and implications**

### **Overview**

The combined survey results expose a massive divide between Canadian public opinion and the staunchly pro-Israel policies of a government that is supposed to represent Canadians.

Part 1 of the survey results showed that, although the Harper and Trudeau governments have given lavish and unqualified support to Israel's government, Canadians tend to view the Israeli Government negatively and to consider criticism of the Israeli government like that of any other country, and not necessarily anti-Semitic.<sup>27</sup> As presented above, Part 2 of the survey now shows that Canadians also tend to believe that both sanctions on Israel and the Palestinians' call for a boycott are reasonable measures to bring an end to Israel's long-standing and flagrant violations of international law. The Part 2 survey results also show that most Canadians oppose Liberal/Conservative efforts to condemn those who endorse the BDS movement.

Further, the survey results revealed a major difference between Conservative respondents and the supporters of all other federal political parties. As shown in Part 1 of the survey results,

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<sup>27</sup> Diana Ralph "Disconnect: Canadians' views of the Israeli government vs. Canadian government policy toward Israel and Palestine," CJPME, IJV, (Feb. 16, 2017) <http://survey.cjpme.org>

compared to other parties, Conservatives tended to have a more positive attitude toward the Israeli Government, and to be more likely to view the Canadian Government and the media as pro-Palestinian, to view criticism of Israeli government policies as anti-Semitic, and to be opposed to sanctions on Israel and to Palestinians' call for a boycott.<sup>28</sup> However, even among Conservative Party supporters, a large proportion, and in some cases even a majority, did not endorse those views.

The survey makes it abundantly clear that supporters of the governing Liberal Party do not hold particularly pro-Israel positions. Yet Justin Trudeau's government seems as inclined to support Israel as Stephen Harper's government, no matter how egregious Israel's violations of international law.

### **Israel, Sanctions and the Canadian Government's Double Standard**

In the first all-party leaders' debate in Canada's 2015 federal election, Stephen Harper, arguably the most pro-Israel Prime Minister in Canadian history, challenged Justin Trudeau to clarify his attitude toward Israel. Harper asserted that "there is a movement at the United Nations to isolate and denigrate the state of Israel... The best friend and ally this country has is in a very dangerous region, and we will never go along with that anti-Israel position." Justin Trudeau responded perfunctorily to Harper's challenge by stating simply that "All parties are in agreement on this."<sup>29</sup>

Since taking office in late 2015, the Trudeau government has left no doubt as to its agreement with Stephen Harper's staunch support of Israel. Within weeks of taking office, the Trudeau government voted on dozens of occasions against United Nations resolutions that were critical of Israel or supportive of Palestinian rights. In 2016, the Trudeau government extended its 'unblemished' record of support for Israel at the U.N.<sup>30</sup> The Trudeau government has yet to vote in favour of a U.N. resolution that is critical of Israel or supportive of Palestinian rights. The U.N. resolutions that the Trudeau government has opposed or refused to support in 2015 and 2016 are reviewed in detail in Appendix 1 hereto.

As Appendix 1 makes clear, since its election in October 2015, the Trudeau government has found itself on the losing end of dozens of highly lopsided votes at the UN which relate to Israel or the Palestinians. Typically, the only countries joining Canada in these votes were Israel, the United States and a handful of tiny states, usually including Micronesia, Palau and the Marshall

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<sup>28</sup> Diana Ralph "Disconnect: Canadians' views of the Israeli government vs. Canadian government policy toward Israel and Palestine," CJPME, IJV, (Feb. 16, 2017) <http://survey.cjpme.org>

<sup>29</sup> "Tale of the Tape: Read a Full Transcript of the Maclean's Debate." Maclean's Magazine (August 7, 2015) <http://www.macleans.ca/politics/ottawa/tale-of-the-tape-read-a-full-transcript-of-macleans-debate/#anchor8>.

<sup>30</sup> "UN Watch Salutes Canada's Justin Trudeau for Opposing Six Anti-Israel Resolutions at the U.N." UN Watch (Dec. 2, 2016), <https://www.unwatch.org/un-watch-salutes-canadas-justin-trudeau-opposing-6-anti-israel-resolutions-un/>

Islands. The EU and its member states either supported those resolutions or abstained from voting.

So extreme is the Trudeau government's support of Israel that it opposed a U.N. resolution that "reaffirms the importance of Israel's accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [NPT] and placement of all its nuclear facilities under comprehensive International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, in realizing the goal of universal adherence to the Treaty in the Middle East."<sup>31</sup> Israel is the only state in the Middle East that possesses a nuclear arsenal, it is also the only state in the Middle East that has not acceded to the NPT. On the Canadian government's Global Affairs website, it is stated that the NPT "[is fundamental to Canada's nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation policy...](#)" The NPT, ratified by 189 countries, is one of the most broadly-supported treaties in history. Only Israel, India and Pakistan have yet to adhere to it."<sup>32</sup> Despite Canada's ringing statement of support for the NPT, the Trudeau government was unfathomably opposed to a U.N. resolution that simply called on the Middle East's only nuclear-armed state to join the community of nations and adhere – finally - to this vitally important non-proliferation regime.

Notably, Canada imposes sanctions on Iran "in response to Iran's nuclear and WMD [weapons of mass destruction] programs."<sup>33</sup> However, unlike Israel, Iran possesses no nuclear weapons and is a party to the NPT. Moreover, in 2012, the *New York Times* reported that "American intelligence analysts continue to believe that there is no hard evidence that Iran has decided to build a nuclear bomb."<sup>34</sup> In other words, Canada's government sanctions a state that is a party to the NPT and that has no nuclear weapons and no apparent program to build nuclear weapons. But it votes against a U.N. resolution that has almost universal support and that calls

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<sup>31</sup> United Nations General Assembly A/Res/70/70. Available: [https://gafc-vote.un.org/UNODA/vote.nsf/91a5e1195dc97a630525656f005b8adf/cf4656f56fb6e59585257f3a0073b147/\\$FILE/A%20RES%2070%2070.pdf](https://gafc-vote.un.org/UNODA/vote.nsf/91a5e1195dc97a630525656f005b8adf/cf4656f56fb6e59585257f3a0073b147/$FILE/A%20RES%2070%2070.pdf).

<sup>32</sup> "The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty"-Global Affairs Canada <http://www.international.gc.ca/arms-armes/nuclear-nucleaire/npt-tnp.aspx?lang=eng>.

<sup>33</sup> "Canadian sanctions related to Iran" Global Affairs Canada <http://www.international.gc.ca/sanctions/countries-pays/iran.aspx?lang=eng>.

<sup>34</sup> James Risen and Mark Mazzetti "U.S. Agencies See No Move By Iran To Build a Bomb", *New York Times*. (Feb. 24, 2012) <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/25/world/middleeast/us-agencies-see-no-move-by-iran-to-build-a-bomb.html>.



upon Israel - the Middle East's only nuclear-armed state - to accede to the NPT, a treaty to which Canada itself is a party.

In 2016, one year after Canada opposed the U.N.'s NPT resolution (as well as a host of other resolutions critical of Israel), the U.N. Security Council adopted a resolution declaring that Israeli settlements on territory intended for a Palestinian state were a "flagrant violation under international law and a major obstacle to the achievement of...peace" between Israel and Palestine.<sup>35</sup> The unanimous Security Council vote (with the U.S. abstaining) reflected a long-standing international consensus on the illegality of the settlements. Indeed, in 2004, the International Court of Justice ruled unanimously, and with the concurrence of the United States judge), that Israel's settlements violate the Fourth Geneva Convention.<sup>36</sup>

Although that resolution enjoyed overwhelming support of Security Council members, including Canadian allies France, the United Kingdom and New Zealand, the Trudeau government remained conspicuously silent after its adoption.<sup>37</sup>

On February 6, 2017, Israel's Knesset passed a 'Settlement Regulation' Law which aimed to retroactively normalize dozens of wildcat settlements under Israeli law. The Trudeau government only then admonished Israel, albeit meekly. In a statement<sup>38</sup> issued quietly, Canada's new Foreign Minister Chrystia Freeland said that the Settlement Regulation law was "unhelpful to the advancement of the peace process in the region." At the same time, she reiterated that Canada is a "steadfast friend and ally of Israel" and reaffirmed Canada's commitment to "Israel's right to live in peace with its neighbours within secure boundaries and free of terrorism..."

Canada currently imposes sanctions on 21 countries.<sup>39</sup> Those sanctions take a variety of forms, including asset freezes, arms embargoes and financial restrictions.<sup>40</sup> Over two-thirds of the countries sanctioned by Canada are situated in Africa or the Middle East, and nearly one-half of them are predominantly Muslim. Canada has never imposed sanctions on Israel and, in Canada's Parliament, there has been no meaningful debate about sanctioning Israel.

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<sup>35</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 2334. <http://www.un.org/webcast/pdfs/SRES2334-2016.pdf>.

<sup>36</sup> International Court of Justice *Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory* (July 9, 2004) <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?pr=71&code=mwp&p1=3&p2=4&p3=6>.

<sup>37</sup> Ron Csillag "Canadian Policy Remains Unchanged After UNSC Resolution Fallout". *Canadian Jewish News*. (Jan. 5, 2017) <http://www.cjnews.com/news/canada/canadian-policy-remains-unchanged-unscc-resolution-fallout>.

<sup>38</sup> "Statement by Minister of Foreign Affairs on adoption of Regulation Law." *Global Affairs Canada* (Feb. 9, 2017) <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?crtr.sj1D=&crtr.mnthndVI=11&mthd=advSrch&crtr.dpt1D=6673&nid=1186879&crtr.lc1D=&crtr.tp1D=980&crtr.yrStrtVI=2015&crtr.kw=&crtr.dyStrtVI=15&crtr.aud1D=&crtr.mnthStrtVI=11&crtr.page=1&crtr.yrndVI=2018&crtr.dyndVI=>

<sup>39</sup> "Current sanctions imposed by Canada" *Global Affairs Canada* <http://www.international.gc.ca/sanctions/countries-pays/index.aspx?lang=eng>.

<sup>40</sup> "Canadian economic sanctions" *Global Affairs Canada* <http://www.international.gc.ca/sanctions/index.aspx?lang=eng>.

Russia is one of the few countries sanctioned by Canada that is neither African nor predominantly Muslim. Canada's Government states that it has imposed sanctions on Russia "to respond to the gravity of Russia's violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine."<sup>41</sup> Both the Harper and Trudeau governments imposed sanctions on Russia. The Harper government also spearheaded the charge to expel Russia from the G8 club of leading industrialized nations over its annexation of Crimea.<sup>42</sup>

It is instructive to compare the Canadian government's response to Israel's relentless settlement construction<sup>43</sup> to its response to Russia's annexation of Crimea. In 2014, Russia annexed Crimea after a violent revolution toppled Ukraine's pro-Russian but democratically elected President, Viktor Yanukovich.<sup>44</sup> Prior to the annexation, a referendum<sup>45</sup> was held in Crimea in which 97% of Crimeans voted for integration into the Russian Federation. The turnout was 83%. Trudeau's reaction to the annexation was to accuse Vladimir Putin of being a "bully" whom Trudeau would "confront"<sup>46</sup> and to impose more economic sanctions on Russia.<sup>47</sup>

Much of the international community regards the Crimean referendum as invalid, primarily because it was held while Russian troops occupied Crimea. But in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, there has been no referendum at all in which occupied Palestinians have voted to live under Israeli rule. Indeed, if such a vote were held today, it is virtually certain that Palestinians would vote overwhelmingly for independence from Israel, notwithstanding the presence of Israeli troops on occupied Palestinian territory. Yet the Trudeau government regards Putin as a "bully" whose country deserves to be sanctioned, while it considers Israel's

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<sup>41</sup> "Canadian sanctions related to Russia" *Global Affairs Canada*

<http://www.international.gc.ca/sanctions/countries-pays/Russia-Russie.aspx?lang=eng>.

<sup>42</sup> Steven Chase & Mark MacKinnon "Harper leads charge to expel Russia from G8, ramp up sanctions," *The Globe and Mail* (March 24, 2014) <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/harper-leads-charge-to-expel-russia-from-g8-ramp-up-sanctions/article17631725/>.

<sup>43</sup> "Israel and Occupied Palestinian Territories 2016/2017" Amnesty International

<https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/middle-east-and-north-africa/israel-and-occupied-palestinian-territories/report-israel-and-occupied-palestinian-territories/>.

<sup>44</sup> "Ukraine's Tymoshenko Finally Appers, But Next Move Unclear" Radio Free Europe (Feb. 11, 2010)

[http://www.rferl.org/a/Ukraines\\_Tymoshenko\\_Slams\\_Rival\\_No\\_Comment\\_On\\_Election\\_Result/1954993.html](http://www.rferl.org/a/Ukraines_Tymoshenko_Slams_Rival_No_Comment_On_Election_Result/1954993.html).

<sup>45</sup> "Crimean Status Referendum, 2014" Wikipedia

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crimean\\_status\\_referendum,\\_2014](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crimean_status_referendum,_2014).

<sup>46</sup> Daniel Leblanc "Trudeau says that he would confront 'the bully that is Vladimir Putin'" *The Globe and Mail* (Oct. 13, 2015), <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/trudeau-says-he-would-tell-putin-off-to-his-face-if-he-becomes-prime-minister/article26779886/>.

<sup>47</sup> Murray Brewster "Russia threatens retaliation over latest round of Canadian sanctions" *CBC News* (Dec. 9, 2016), <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-russia-sanctions-1.3888309>.

government, which by the Canadian Government's own admission<sup>48</sup> has illegally annexed East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, as Canada's "best friend and ally" whose "flagrant violation under international law" is merely "unhelpful."

## **The Canadian Government's Double Standard on Sanctions and Israel Cannot Be Reconciled with Canadian Public Opinion**

The present survey results reveal that the Canadian Government's refusal to sanction or even condemn Israel is not only hypocritical and contrary to the overwhelming weight of international opinion, but it is also contrary to the views held by most Canadians, including the vast majority of those who support the governing Liberal Party.

Sixty-six percent of respondents who expressed a view stated that they believe that government sanctions on Israel would be reasonable. Among Liberal Party supporters, 75% of respondents who expressed a view stated that they view sanctions on Israel as reasonable. Only supporters of the Conservatives were mostly opposed to sanctions on Israel. Nonetheless, 30% of Conservative Party supporters who expressed a view said that they considered sanctions on Israel to be reasonable. This is a remarkable level of sympathy for sanctions given the Conservative leadership's refusal to utter so much as a word of criticism about Israel.

The survey further revealed that people under 35 years of age tend to show greater sympathy toward sanctions on Israel. It makes sense that younger Canadians would be more sympathetic to sanctions than those who grew up with an Israel-centric view of the conflict. Until the past 15 years or so, Palestinian issues have received very little publicity in Canada, and Israel was viewed far more positively than it is now. Many assumed then that, in good faith, Israel wanted to bring an end to its military occupation and settlement construction in the Palestinian territories. They believed in the efficacy of a U.S. mediated Peace Process to bring this about, and thought that Palestinians, rather than Israel, were unreasonably obstructing these peace efforts. More recently, however, especially on university campuses, awareness of the oppressive conditions Israel imposes on Palestinians has risen. And Israeli policies, practices, and statements suggest that Israel seeks to annex the West Bank without negotiating with Palestinians or granting West Bank Palestinians citizenship or basic rights enjoyed by Jewish Israelis. As Israel and pro-Israel lobby groups in Canada feared, public sympathy for Israel appears to be waning, especially among young adults.

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<sup>48</sup> "Canadian Policy on Key Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict" Global Affairs Canada, [http://www.international.gc.ca/name-anmo/peace\\_process-processus\\_paix/canadian\\_policy-politique\\_canadienne.aspx?lang=eng](http://www.international.gc.ca/name-anmo/peace_process-processus_paix/canadian_policy-politique_canadienne.aspx?lang=eng).

The survey also revealed that those with higher educational levels tend to be more sympathetic to sanctions on Israel. We infer that this is a result of the fact that more highly educated people have a better grasp of the independent, critical debate on Israel.

### **The Vast Majority of Canadians Consider the Palestinians' Call for a Boycott to be Reasonable**

Perhaps the most remarkable finding of the survey is that the vast majority of Canadians consider the Palestinians' call for a boycott of Israel to be reasonable. The movement for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions, or "BDS", is an anti-racist movement that advocates for peaceful but meaningful economic and political measures to compel Israel to respect the human rights of Palestinians.<sup>49</sup> Yet few, if any, social justice movements have been as vilified by the Canadian political establishment as the BDS movement.

As discussed above, both Canada's Parliament and the legislature of Canada's most populous province, Ontario, have adopted motions condemning the BDS movement. Those motions were supported by elected officials from the federal and provincial Liberal and Conservative parties. Although neither such motion explicitly accused BDS supporters of being anti-Semitic, the debates preceding the adoption of these motions certainly did.

For example, Progressive Conservative MPP Gila Martow, who introduced the anti-BDS motion in Ontario's legislature, argued for a complete ban on the BDS movement on university campuses, and asserted that college students "incur hostility and see demonstrations that demonize the Jewish community and Israel. That affects their psychological well-being and makes it difficult for them to continue their studies. We would not be here supporting the Ku Klux Klan on our campuses, so why are we allowing [the] BDS movement and other anti-Jewish and anti-Israel organizations to have demonstrations and use our campuses, which are taxpayer-funded?"<sup>50</sup>

Similarly, in arguing for his anti-BDS motion in Canada's Parliament, Conservative MP Tony Clement stated:

I would put it before this House that this BDS movement is actually a form of discrimination. In targeting all Israelis, BDS is a present-day blacklist and a form of discrimination, strictly based on national origin. Just like boycotts have targeted Jews

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<sup>49</sup> See the BDS Movement website at: <https://bdsmovement.net/what-is-bds>.

<sup>50</sup> Lea Speyer (Dec. 4, 2016), "Ontario Lawmaker Behind Newly Passed Anti-BDS Motion: Global Movement Should Be Banned on Campus, Like KKK, Other Hate Groups". *The Algemeiner*. Available: <https://www.algemeiner.com/2016/12/04/ontario-lawmaker-behind-newly-passed-anti-bds-motion-global-movement-should-be-banned-on-campus-like-kkk-other-hate-groups/>.

throughout history, today BDS activists call on boycotting people who come from the Jewish state.<sup>51</sup>

Mr. Clement then asserted, without citing any evidence to support his claim, that “this motion accurately reflects Canadian values, Canadian interests, Canadian principles, and Canadian morality.” He concluded his remarks in Parliament by urging his fellow MPs to “send a strong message to our fellow Canadians and to freedom lovers around the world and support this motion.”<sup>52</sup>

The present survey leaves no doubt that Canada’s “freedom lovers” found Mr. Clement’s attack on the BDS movement to be wholly unpersuasive, and that, contrary to Mr. Clement’s claim, Parliament’s anti-BDS motion does not remotely reflect “Canadian values, Canadian interests, Canadian principles, and Canadian morality.”

When asked whether they consider the Palestinian call for a boycott to be reasonable, an overwhelming majority of respondents who offered a view (78%) said yes. Among Liberal Party supporters, whose MPs and MPPs overwhelmingly supported the anti-BDS motions in Parliament and in the Ontario legislature, a stunning 88% of those who offered an opinion agreed that the Palestinian call for a boycott was reasonable. Among supporters of the NDP, the Green Party and the Bloc Quebecois, over 90% of respondents who offered a view considered the boycott call to be reasonable. *Even among supporters of Mr. Clement’s own party*, almost half (49%) considered Palestinians’ call for a boycott to be reasonable.

As was consistently the case across all survey questions, sympathy for the Palestinian call for a boycott was highest among those aged under 35, and those with a university education. It was lowest among those who possessed only a high school education.

In addition, a majority of respondents who expressed a view (53%) stated that they opposed Parliament’s anti-BDS motion. Opposition to that motion was approximately twice as great as support for the motion (26%). Fifty-five percent of Liberal Party supporters opposed Parliament’s anti-BDS motion, nearly three times as many as those who said that they supported it (20%). Only among supporters of the Conservative Party was support for the anti-BDS motion higher than opposition to the motion. However, even among Conservative Party supporters, less than a majority stated that they supported Parliament’s anti-BDS motion: 46% of those who offered a view stated that they supported it, whereas 33% stated that they opposed it and 21% stated that they neither opposed nor supported it.

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<sup>51</sup> 42<sup>nd</sup> Parliament, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Edited Hansard, No. 20 (Feb. 18, 2016)  
<http://jspacecanada.ca/images/completebdsdebate.pdf>.

<sup>52</sup> 42<sup>nd</sup> Parliament, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Edited Hansard, No. 20 (Feb. 18, 2016)  
<http://jspacecanada.ca/images/completebdsdebate.pdf>

Opposition to Parliament's anti-BDS motion was highest among Green Party supporters (78% opposed vs 13% supportive.) and NDP supporters (71% vs. 15% supportive).

## **Conclusion**

As we discussed in Part 1 of our report, a major conclusion of this study is that the Liberal, NDP, and Green<sup>53</sup> party positions on the question of Israel/Palestine do not accord with the views of their respective constituencies. As we stated in Part 1:

In Canada, political elites cling to the view that a vigorous defense of Palestinians rights would erode support for their parties. The results of this survey strongly suggest that the opposite is true, that demanding Israel's respect for Palestinian rights will attract support from centrist and left-leaning voters. These parties would be well advised to revise their political platforms in relation to Israel/Palestine to better reflect their constituents' views. Furthermore, given these survey results, members of these parties should more confidently call for these policy changes.

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<sup>53</sup> On February 13, 2017, the Green Party of Canada announced that its members had adopted a resolution calling for sanctions on Israel. That resolution, which received the support of 90% of Green Party members who voted, also calls for the International Criminal Court to prioritize its investigation into potential Israeli war crimes, and calls on Canada's government to recognize the State of Israel. Thus, as of February 13, 2017, the Green Party of Canada's platform is more closely aligned with Canadian public opinion on Israel/Palestine. The Green Party's sanctions resolution is available here: <https://www.greenparty.ca/en/sgm-2016/voting/resolutions/s16-p013>.

## APPENDIX 1: Liberal Voting at UN Mimics that of Harper Government

Despite expectations otherwise, the Liberal government has continued the pro-Israel voting patterns at the UN that were established under the Harper government. Canada lost international respect under Harper because of his government's failure to take a nuanced stance on questions relating to Israel-Palestine.

The sections below provide an example of the Trudeau government's refusal to change to Canada's stance vis-à-vis Israel and the Palestinians. Documenting the first 18 months of the Trudeau government's tenure at the UN, the Liberal government continued to keep Canada in a small minority, while Canada's Western European allies took a much more balanced and defensible approach.

### U.N. General Assembly Resolutions, Oct. 2015 – Oct. 2016<sup>54</sup>

#### 1. ["The risk of nuclear proliferation in the Middle East" \(A/RES/70/70\)](#):

Adopted: 7 December 2015

Excerpt: "Reaffirms the importance of Israel's accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and placement of all its nuclear facilities under comprehensive International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, in realizing the goal of universal adherence to the Treaty in the Middle East."

Committee Vote:

- 151 Yes (Ireland, Italy, Spain)
- 5 No (**Canada**, Israel, Micronesia, Palau, United States)
- 19 Abstain (France, Germany, UK)

Plenary Vote:

- 157 Yes
- 5 No (**Canada**, Israel, Micronesia, Panama, United States)
- 20 Abstain

#### 2. ["Permanent sovereignty of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and of the Arab population in the occupied Syrian Golan over their natural resources" \(A/RES/70/225\)](#)

Adopted: 22 December 2015

Excerpt: "Expressing its concern about the exploitation by Israel, the occupying Power, of the natural resources of the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967."

Committee Vote:

- 156 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 7 No (**Canada**, Israel, Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, US)

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<sup>54</sup> Details of the UN resolutions can be found at <http://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/70>

- 9 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Czech Republic, Honduras, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Togo, Tonga)

Plenary Vote:

- 164 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 5 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, United States)
- 10 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Czech Republic, Honduras, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Togo, Tonga, Vanuatu)

### 3. ["Oil Slick on Lebanese Shores" \(A/RES/70/194\)](#)

Adopted: 22 December 2015

Excerpt: "Reiterates...its deep concern about the adverse implications of the destruction by the Israeli Air Force of the oil storage tanks in the direct vicinity of the Lebanese Jiyeh electric power plant, for the achievement of sustainable development in Lebanon."

Committee Vote:

- 159 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 8 No (Australia, **Canada**, Israel, Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, United States)
- 5 Abstain (Cameroon, Colombia, Central African Republic, Chad, Papua New Guinea)

Plenary Vote:

- 171 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 6 No (Australia, **Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, United States)
- 3 Abstain (Cameroon, Papua New Guinea, Tonga)

### 4. ["The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination" \(A/RES/70/141\)](#)

Adopted: 17 December 2015

Excerpt: "Recalling the conclusion of the Court...that the construction of the wall by Israel, the occupying Power, in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, along with measures previously taken, severely impedes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination."

Committee Vote:

- 170 Yes
- 6 No
- 4 Abstain

Plenary Vote:

- 177 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 7 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, United States)
- 4 Abstain (Cameroon, Honduras, Tonga, South Sudan)

### 5. ["Assistance to Palestine refugees" \(A/RES/70/83\)](#)

Adopted: 9 December 2015



Excerpt: “Expressing grave concern at the especially difficult situation of the Palestine refugees under occupation, including with regard to their safety, well-being and socioeconomic living conditions.”

Committee Vote:

- 158 Yes
- 1 No (Israel)
- 10 Abstain (**Canada**)

Plenary Vote:

- 167 Yes
- 1 No (Israel)
- 11 Abstain (**Canada**)

#### 6. [“Persons displaced as a result of the June 1967 and subsequent hostilities” \(A/RES/70/84\)](#)

Adopted: 9 December 2015

Excerpt: “Reaffirms the right of all persons displaced as a result of the June 1967 and subsequent hostilities to return to their home or former places of residence in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967.”

Committee Vote:

- 157 Yes
- 7 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau and United States)
- 6 Abstain (Cameroon, Cote D’Ivoire, Honduras, Madagascar, Paraguay, Vanuatu)

Plenary Vote:

- 164 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 7 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, United States)
- 7 Abstain (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Honduras, Liberia, Paraguay)

#### 7. [“Operations of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East” \(A/RES/70/85\)](#)

Adopted: 9 December 2015

Excerpt: “Gravely concerned about the extremely difficult socioeconomic conditions being faced by the Palestine refugees in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, particularly in the refugee camps in the Gaza Strip, as a result of the recurrent military operations, continuing prolonged Israeli closures, the construction of settlements and the wall, and the severe economic and movement restrictions that in effect amount to a blockade...”

Committee Vote:

- 158 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Palau, United States)
- 6 Abstain (Cameroon, CAR, Cote D’Ivoire, Madagascar, Paraguay, Vanuatu)

Plenary Vote:

- 169 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)

- 6 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, United States)
- 5 Abstain (Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Nauru, Paraguay, Vanuatu)

**8. "Palestine refugees' properties and their revenues" (A/RES/70/86)**

Adopted: 9 December 2015

Excerpt: "Reaffirms that the Palestine refugees are entitled to their property and to the income derived therefrom, in conformity with the principles of equity and justice."

Committee Vote:

- 157 Yes
- 7 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, United States)
- 6 Abstain (Cameroon, Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana, Madagascar, Paraguay, Vanuatu)

Plenary Vote:

- 167 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 7 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, United States)
- 4 Abstain (Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Paraguay, Vanuatu)

**9. "Work of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories" (A/RES/70/87)**

Adopted: 9 December 2015

Excerpt: "Deplores those policies and practices of Israel that violate the human rights of the Palestinian people and other Arabs of the occupied territories..."

Committee Vote:

- 84 Yes
- 9 No (Australia, **Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Panama, United States)
- 74 Abstain

Plenary Vote:

- 92 Yes
- 9 No (Australia, **Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Panama, United States)
- 75 Abstain

**10. "Applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and the other occupied Arab territories" (A/RES/70/88)**

Adopted: 9 December 2015

Excerpt: "Demands that Israel accept the de jure applicability of the Convention in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, and that it comply scrupulously with the provisions of the Convention."

Committee Vote:

- 156 Yes

- 6 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Palau, United States)
- 7 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Paraguay, South Sudan, Vanuatu)

Plenary Vote:

- 163 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 6 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, United States)
- 8 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Paraguay, Togo, Vanuatu)

**11. “Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and the occupied Syrian Golan” (A/RES/70/89)**

Adopted: 9 December 2015

Excerpt: “Reaffirms that the Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan are illegal and an obstacle to peace and economic and social development.”

Committee Vote:

- 154 Yes
- 7 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau and United States)
- 8 Abstain

Plenary Vote:

- 161 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 7 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, United States)
- 8 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Honduras, Paraguay, Togo, Vanuatu)

**12. “Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem” (A/RES/70/90)**

Adopted: 9 December 2015

Excerpt: “Expressing grave concern about the continuing systematic violation of the human rights of the Palestinian people by Israel, the occupying Power...”

Committee Vote:

- 155 Yes
- 8 No (Australia, **Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, United States)
- 11 Abstain

Plenary Vote:

- 158 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 8 No (Australia, **Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, United States)
- 10 Abstain (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Honduras, Liberia, Malawi, Paraguay, Togo, Vanuatu)

**13. [“The occupied Syrian Golan” \(A/RES/70/91\)](#)**

Adopted: 9 December 2015

Excerpt: “Deeply concerned that the Syrian Golan, occupied since 1967, has been under continued Israeli military occupation.”

Committee Vote:

- 156 Yes
- 1 No (Israel)
- 14 Abstain (**Canada**)

Plenary Vote:

- 160 Yes
- 1 No (Israel)
- 16 Abstain (**Canada**)

**14. [“Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People” \(A/RES/70/12\)](#)**

Adopted: 24 November 2015

Excerpt: “Requests the Committee to continue to exert all efforts to promote the realization of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination, to support the achievement without delay of an end to the Israeli occupation that began in 1967 and of the two-State solution on the basis of the pre-1967 borders...”

Vote:

- 102 Yes
- 8 No (Australia, **Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 57 abstain

**15. [“Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat” \(A/RES/70/13\)](#)**

Adopted: 24 November 2015

Excerpt: “Considers that, by providing substantive support to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People in the implementation of its mandate, the Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat continues to make a most useful and constructive contribution to raising international awareness of the question of Palestine...”

Vote:

- 99 Yes
- 8 No (Australia, **Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 59 Abstain

**16. [“Special information programme on the question of Palestine of the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat” \(A/RES/70/14\)](#)**

Adopted: 17 December 2015

Excerpt: “Considers that the special information programme on the question of Palestine of the Department is very useful in raising the awareness of the international community concerning the question of Palestine...”

Vote:

- 155 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 7 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 7 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Honduras, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, South Sudan, Tonga)

**17. [“Peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine” \(A/RES/70/15\)](#)**

Adopted: 24 November 2015

Excerpt: “Expressing grave concern about the extremely detrimental impact of Israeli settlement policies, decisions and activities in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, including on the contiguity, integrity and viability of the Territory ...”

Vote:

- 155 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 7 No (Australia, **Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Palau, US)
- 7 Abstain (Cameroon, Honduras, Nauru, Paraguay, South Sudan, Togo, Tonga)

**18. [“Jerusalem” \(A/RES/70/16\)](#)**

Adopted: 24 November 2015

Excerpt: “Reiterates its determination that any actions taken by Israel, the occupying Power, to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on the Holy City of Jerusalem are illegal and therefore null and void and have no validity whatsoever, and calls upon Israel to immediately cease all such illegal and unilateral measures.”

Vote:

- 153 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 7 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 8 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, South Sudan, Toga, Tonga)

**19. [“The Syrian Golan” \(A/RES/70/17\)](#)**

Adopted: 24 November 2015

Excerpt: “Determines once more that the continued occupation of the Syrian Golan and its de facto annexation constitute a stumbling block in the way of achieving a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region.”

Vote:

- 105 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Palau, US)
- 56 Abstain

**20. [“Assistance to the Palestinian people” \(A/RES/70/108\)](#)**

Adopted without a vote 10 December 2015

Excerpt: “Gravely concerned at the difficult living conditions and humanitarian situation affecting the Palestinian people, in particular women and children, throughout the occupied Palestinian territory...”

**Additional U.N. Resolutions addressing Israel-Palestine**

At the United Nations Environmental Assembly in Nairobi, at the end of May, Canada was one of three member states—along with Israel and the U.S.—to oppose a resolution calling for an assessment of the environmental crisis in Gaza. Using their combined influence, these three nations managed to bury the motion through a technicality. As such, Canada appears to be part of a small minority at the UN which fights against equal application of international law and human rights in Israel-Palestine.<sup>55</sup>

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55 Nafeez, Ahmed, “UN ‘buries’ resolution on Gaza’s environmental health crisis under US, Israeli pressure,” Middle East Eye (June 1, 2016), <http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/un-buries-resolution-gaza-s-environmental-health-crisis-under-us-israeli-pressure-1452136831> accessed June 6, 2016

## U.N. General Assembly Resolutions, Nov. 2015 – Present<sup>56</sup>

### 1. [“The risk of nuclear proliferation in the Middle East” \(A/RES/71/83\)](#):

Adopted: 5 December 2016

Excerpt: “Recalling that Israel remains the only State in the Middle East that has not yet become a party to the Treaty...”

Committee Vote:

- 165 Yes (Ireland, Italy, Spain)
- 2 No (India, Israel)
- 2 Abstain (Bhutan, Pakistan)

Plenary Vote:

- 157 Yes
- 5 No (**Canada**, Israel, Micronesia, Palau, United States)
- 22 Abstain

### 2. [“Permanent sovereignty of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and of the Arab population in the occupied Syrian Golan over their natural resources” \(A/RES/71/247\)](#):

Adopted: 21 December 2016

Excerpt: “Expressing its grave concern also about the widespread destruction caused by Israel, the occupying Power, to vital infrastructure, including water pipelines, sewage networks and electricity networks, in the Occupied Palestinian Territory...”

Committee Vote:

- 155 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 8 No (**Canada**, Israel, Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, South Sudan, US)
- 10 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Central African Republic of Chad, Cote d’Ivoire, Honduras, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Togo, Tonga, Vanuatu)

Plenary vote:

- 168 Yes
- 7 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 11 Abstain

### 3. [“Oil Slick on Lebanese Shores” \(A/RES/71/218\)](#):

Adopted: 21 December 2016

Excerpt: “Reiterates, for the eleventh consecutive year, its deep concern about the adverse implications of the destruction by the Israeli Air Force of the oil storage tanks in the direct vicinity of the Lebanese El-Jiyeh electric power plant for the achievement of sustainable development in Lebanon...”

Committee Vote:

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<sup>56</sup> Details of the UN resolutions can be found at <http://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/71>

- 156 Yes (France, Germany, UK, rest of EU)
- 8 No (Australia, **Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 6 Abstain (Cameroon, Honduras, Papua New Guinea, South Sudan, Tonga, Vanuatu)

Plenary vote:

- 166 Yes
- 8 No (Australia, **Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 7 Abstain (Cameroon, DRC, Honduras, Papua New Guinea, South Sudan, Tonga, Vanuatu)

4. [\*\*“The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination” \(A/RES/71/184\):\*\*](#)

Adopted: 19 December 2016

Excerpt: “Recalling the conclusion of the Court, in its advisory opinion of 9 July 2004, that the construction of the wall by Israel, the occupying Power, in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, along with measures previously taken, severely impedes the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination...”

Committee Vote:

- 170 Yes
- 6 No
- 5 Abstain

Plenary vote:

- 177 Yes
- 7 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 4 Abstain (Cameroon, Cote d’Ivoire, South Sudan, Tonga)

5. [\*\*“Assistance to Palestine refugees” \(A/RES/71/91\):\*\*](#)

Adopted: 6 December 2016

Excerpt: “Expressing grave concern at the especially difficult situation of the Palestine refugees under occupation, including with regard to their safety, well- being and living conditions...”

Committee Vote:

- 155 Yes
- 5 No
- 24 Abstain

Plenary Vote:

- 167 Yes
- 1 No (Israel)
- 9 Abstain (Cameroon, **Canada**, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, Paraguay, South Sudan, US)

6. [\*\*“Persons displaced as a result of the June 1967 and subsequent hostilities” \(A/RES/71/92\):\*\*](#)

Adopted: 6 December 2016



Excerpt: “Reaffirms the right of all persons displaced as a result of the June 1967 and subsequent hostilities to return to their homes or former places of residence in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967...”

Committee Vote:

- 156 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau and United States)
- 6 Abstain (Cameroon, Côte d’Ivoire, Honduras, Paraguay, Togo, Vanuatu)

Plenary Vote:

- 166 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, US)
- 6 Abstain (Cameroon, Cote d’Ivoire, Honduras, Paraguay, South Sudan, Togo)

**7. “Operations of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East” (A/RES/71/93):**

Adopted: 6 December 2016

Excerpt: “Deploring further the killing and injury of Agency staff members by the Israeli occupying forces in the Occupied Palestinian Territory since September 2000, including the 11 Agency personnel killed during the military operations in the Gaza Strip in July and August 2014...”

Committee Vote:

- 158 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Palau, United States)
- 4 Abstain (Cameroon, Cote D’Ivoire, Paraguay, Vanuatu)

Plenary Vote:

- 167 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, United States)
- 5 Abstain (Cameroon, Cote d’Ivoire, Nauru, Paraguay, South Sudan)

**8. “Palestine refugees’ properties and their revenues” (A/RES/71/94):**

Adopted: 6 December 2016

Excerpt: “Reaffirms that the Palestine refugees are entitled to their property and to the income derived therefrom, in conformity with the principles of equity and justice...”

Committee Vote:

- 156 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Palau, United States)
- 6 Abstain (Cameroon, Cote D’Ivoire, Honduras, Paraguay, Togo, Vanuatu)

Plenary Vote:

- 165 Yes
- 7 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, South Sudan, US)
- 5 Abstain (Cameroon, Cote d’Ivoire, Honduras, Paraguay, Togo)

**9. [“Work of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories” \(A/RES/71/95\):](#)**

Adopted: 6 December 2016

Excerpt: “Deplores those policies and practices of Israel that violate the human rights of the Palestinian people and other Arabs of the occupied territories, as reflected in the report of the Special Committee covering the reporting period...”

Committee Vote:

- 86 Yes
- 7 No (Australia, **Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, United States)
- 71 Abstain

Plenary Vote:

- 91 Yes
- 11 No
- 73 Abstain

**10. [“Applicability of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, to the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and the other occupied Arab territories” \(A/RES/71/96\)](#)**

Adopted: 6 December 2016

Excerpt: “Demands that Israel accept the de jure applicability of the Convention in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, and that it comply scrupulously with the provisions of the Convention...”

Committee Vote:

- 155 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Palau, United States)
- 6 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Côte d’Ivoire, Rwanda, Paraguay, Togo)

Plenary Vote:

- 168 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Palau, US)
- 6 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Cote d’Ivoire, Paraguay, South Sudan, Togo)

**11. [“Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and the occupied Syrian Golan” \(A/RES/71/97\)](#)**

Adopted: 6 December 2016

Excerpt: “Reaffirms that the Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan are illegal and an obstacle to peace and economic and social development...”

Committee Vote:

- 153 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, Palau, United States)

- 7 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Honduras, Paraguay, Rwanda, Togo)

Plenary Vote:

- 165 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Israel, Marshall islands, Micronesia, Palau, US)
- 7 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Honduras, Paraguay, South Sudan, Togo)

**12. ["Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem"](#) (A/RES/71/98):**

Adopted: 6 December 2016

Excerpt: "Gravely concerned by the tensions and violence in the recent period throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem and including with regard to the holy places of Jerusalem, including the Haram al-Sharif, and deploring the loss of innocent civilian life..."

Committee Vote:

- 151 Yes
- 7 No (Australia, **Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Palau, United States)
- 6 Abstain (Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Honduras, Paraguay, Rwanda, Togo)

Plenary Vote:

- 162 Yes
- 7 No (Australia, **Canada**, Israel, Marshall islands, Micronesia, Palau, US)
- 8 Abstain (Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Honduras, Malawi, Paraguay, South Sudan, Togo, Vanuatu)

**13. ["The occupied Syrian Golan"](#) (A/RES/71/99):**

Adopted: 6 December 2016

Excerpt: "Determines that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken or to be taken by Israel, the occupying Power, that purport to alter the character and legal status of the occupied Syrian Golan are null and void..."

Committee Vote:

- 153 Yes
- 1 No (Israel)
- 13 Abstain (**Canada**)

Plenary Vote:

- 163 Yes
- 1 No (Israel)
- 15 Abstain

**14. ["Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People"](#) (A/RES/71/20):**

Adopted: 30 November 2016

Excerpt: “Noting with deep regret the onset of the fiftieth year of the Israeli occupation, and stressing the urgent need for efforts to reverse the negative trends on the ground...” “[R]equests the Committee to continue [its work] to mobilize international solidarity and support for the Palestinian people...”

Plenary Vote:

- 100 Yes
- 9 No (Australia, **Canada**, Micronesia, Guatemala, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 55 abstain

**15. [“Division for Palestinian Rights of the Secretariat” \(A/RES/71/21\):](#)**

Adopted: 30 November 2016

Excerpt: “Requests the Division to continue to monitor developments relevant to the question of Palestine, to organize international meetings and activities in support of the Committee’s mandate ... to liaise and cooperate with civil society and parliamentarians, including through the Working Group of the Committee and its associated ‘UN Platform for Palestine’, to develop and expand the ‘Question of Palestine’ website and the documents collection of the United Nations Information System on the Question of Palestine...”

Plenary vote:

- 98 Yes
- 9 No (Australia, **Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Guatemala, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 57 Abstain

**16. [“Special information programme on the question of Palestine of the Department of Public Information of the Secretariat” \(A/RES/71/22\):](#)**

Adopted: 30 November 2016

Excerpt: “Recalling the advisory opinion rendered on 9 July 2004 by the International Court of Justice on the legal consequences of the construction of a wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory...” “Requests the Department to continue... its special information programme for 2017-2018, in particular, to organize and promote fact-finding news missions for journalists to the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, and Israel...”

Plenary vote:

- 153 Yes
- 7 No (Australia, **Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Palau, US)
- 7 Abstain (Cameroon, Honduras, Nauru, Paraguay, Togo, Tonga, Vanuatu)

**17. [“Peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine” \(A/RES/71/23\):](#)**

Adopted: 30 November 2016

Excerpt: “Expressing its grave concern about tensions, provocations and incitement regarding the holy places of Jerusalem, including the Haram al-Sharif, and urging restraint and respect for the sanctity of the holy sites by all sides...”

Plenary vote:

- 153 Yes
- 7 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 7 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Honduras, Papa New Guinea, Paraguay, Tonga, Vanuatu)

**18. [“Jerusalem” \(A/RES/71/25\):](#)**

Adopted: 30 November 2016

Excerpt: “Expressing its grave concern, in particular, about tensions, provocations and incitement regarding the holy places of Jerusalem, including the Haram al Sharif, and urging restraint and respect for the sanctity of the holy sites by all sides...”

Plenary vote:

- 149 Yes
- 7 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Palau, US)
- 8 Abstain (Australia, Cameroon, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Vanuatu)

**19. [“The Syrian Golan” \(A/RES/71/24\):](#)**

Adopted: 30 November 2016

Excerpt: “Deeply concerned that Israel has not withdrawn from the Syrian Golan, which has been under occupation since 1967, contrary to the relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions...”

Plenary vote:

- 103 Yes
- 6 No (**Canada**, Micronesia, Israel, Marshall Islands, Palau, US)
- 56 Abstain

**20. [“Assistance to the Palestinian people” \(A/RES/71/126\):](#)**

Adopted without a vote 8 December 2016

“On 31 July 2015, an arson attack by Jewish extremists in the village of Duma, in the occupied West Bank, killed three of the four members of the Dawabsheh family. Holding Israel “fully responsible”, the Palestine Liberation Organization linked the attack to what it claimed was a decades-long Israeli policy of impunity towards settler attacks. The Government of Israel issued several indictments on 3 January 2016 and two Israelis were later convicted.”

## APPENDIX 2: Tables for each survey question sorted by demographic variables

Table 1. Canadians views on sanctions by religion and ethnicity

	Yes	No
<b>Total</b>	91%	9%
<b>Religion</b>		
Catholic	94	6
Protestant	96	4
Other Christian	91	9
Muslim	100	0
Jewish	91	9
Others	94	6
None	87	13
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Aboriginal	88	12
British Isles	94	6
French	91	9
Other European	92	8
Jewish	96	4
Visible Minorities	92	8

**Table 2. Canadians views on whether or not imposing sanctions on Israel is reasonable**

	<b>Reasonable</b>	<b>Not reasonable</b>
<b>Total:</b>	66%	34%
<b>Region</b>		
BC	65	35
Prairies	49	51
On	64	36
QC	78	22
Atlantic provinces	70	30
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	60	40
Female	72	28
<b>Age</b>		
18-34	70	30
35-44	66	34
45-54	64	36
55-64	70	30
65+	57	43
<b>Education</b>		
High School	59	41
College	66	38
BA	79	21
Post-graduate	66	34

	Reasonable	Not reasonable
<b>Religion</b>		
Catholic	66	34
Protestant	55	45
Other Christian	45	55
Muslim	76	24
Jewish	36	64
Others	75	25
None	75	25
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Aboriginal	68	32
British Isles	65	35
French	83	17
Other European	69	31
Jewish	51	49
Visible Minority	66	34



**Table 3. Canadians' views of whether or not the Palestinian' call for boycott is reasonable**

	<b>Reasonable</b>	<b>Not reasonable</b>
<b>Total</b>	78%	22%
<b>Age group</b>		
Under 35	84	16
35-44	81	18
45-54	73	27
55-64	80	20
65+	72	28
<b>Religion</b>		
Catholic	82	18
Protestant	64	36
Other Christian	54	46
Muslim	67	33
Jewish	57	43
Other	79	21
None	88	12
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Aboriginal	80	20
British Isles	79	21
French	88	12
Other European	82	18
Jewish	82	18
Visible minority	79	21

	<b>Reasonable</b>	<b>Not reasonable</b>
<b>Region</b>		
BC	76	24
Prairies	76	24
Ontario	76	24
Quebec	84	16
Atlantic provinces	80	20
<b>Education</b>		
High school or less	73	27
College	79	21
BA	86	14
Post-graduate	81	19
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	75	25
Female	81	19

**Table 4. Most Canadians oppose Parliament condemning Canadians who promote the Palestinian call for boycotts of Israel**

	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Neither</b>	<b>Support</b>
<b>Total</b>	53%	21%	26%
<b>Age group</b>			
Under 35	65	25	11
35-44	50	27	23
45-54	44	22	34
55-64	58	13	30
65+	46	17	37
<b>Religion</b>			
Catholic	53	23	24
Protestant	36	18	46
Other Christian	41	22	37
Muslim	30	50	20
Jewish	41	7	52
Other	52	28	20
None	65	19	15
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
Aboriginal	59	13	28
British Isles	52	24	24
French	60	16	24
Other European	64	17	14
Jewish	72	6	22
Visible Minority	51	26	23

	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Neither</b>	<b>Support</b>
<b>Education</b>			
HS or less	46	29	30
College	55	20	25
BA	62	20	17
Post-graduate	65	12	23
<b>Region</b>			
BC	65	13	22
Prairies	44	28	28
Ontario	52	22	26
Quebec	59	15	26
Atlantic	40	35	25