



Canadians for Justice and Peace
in the Middle East



People-focused Policy, and Equal Expectations of All

A proposal for Canadian Middle East Foreign Policy

May 16, 2006



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Why are we meeting?

- To propose that Canada maintain equal expectations for all parties to the Israel-Palestine conflict
- To propose that “constructive engagement” with the Hamas-led Palestinian Authority is the wisest policy for Canada at this point
- To propose that Canada cease sanctions, & maintain previously established aid commitments to the Palestinian Authority



CJPME:
Justice
Peace
Action

Let's get to know one another...

- Who/what is CJPME
- Why did we ask to meet with *you*?
- What is in the CJPME binder that we are leaving with you?
- We'd like to stay in touch

Who is CJPME? (slide 54)



CJPME:
Concerned
Informed
Action

CJPME Proposes a two-part Discussion

- Canada's relationships vis-à-vis a Hamas-led Palestinian Authority (PA)
- The impact of Canada's aid decisions



CJPME:
Humanitarian
Canadian
Action



Canadians for Justice and Peace
in the Middle East



Part 1: Canada's Relationship vis-à-vis a Hamas-led Palestinian Authority (PA)

Position of the Canadian Government:

1) Shut out the Hamas-led government

Announcement of Foreign Affairs Minister Peter MacKay and International Cooperation Minister Josée Verner (March 29, 2006):

- “The Palestinian Legislative Council has approved the formation of a Hamas-led government,” stated Minister MacKay. “The stated platform of this government has not addressed the concerns raised by Canada and others concerning:
 - non-violence,
 - the recognition of Israel, and
 - acceptance of previous agreements and obligations, including the Roadmap for Peace.
- As a result,
 - Canada will have no contact with the members of the Hamas cabinet and
 - [Canada] is suspending assistance to the Palestinian Authority.”
 - “A clear commitment by the Hamas government to the principles that we and the international community have outlined remains an essential precondition for Canada to resume any assistance to the Palestinian Authority.”

Shut out the Hamas-led Government: Is this sound policy?

Canadians should be asking some of the following questions:

- What is the focal issue of Middle East politics? Map History of the Middle East (slide 55)
- What drove the Palestinian people to elect Hamas? Drivers in Palestinian Elections (slide 48)
- What are the foreseeable outcomes of Canada's current policy as stated?
- Is Canada holding the Hamas-led PA and Kadima-led Israel to the same standard?



Mar. 27, 2006: The Palestinian Authority's incoming premier Ismail Haniyeh said his Hamas-led government was ready to hold talks with international Mideast mediators, though he reiterated that Hamas would not cave in to economic pressures to change its positions.

Possible outcomes of Canada's (and other Western donors') current policy

With the stated Canadian policy, there are three possible outcomes:

1. The Hamas-led PA caves in to international aid-based pressure
2. The Hamas-led PA refuses to cave in to international pressure, and collapses
3. The Hamas-led PA procures sufficient “stay alive” aid from other countries

Each of these possible outcomes is briefly reviewed from three perspectives:

- Political
- Humanitarian
- Diplomatic / International



January 25, 2006: 77 percent of eligible voters participated in the Palestinian elections – a level of participation almost unknown in Western democracies. The election results gave Hamas a controlling majority in the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC)

Outcome 1) Hamas-led PA caves in to pressure

- Political Implications
 - The West's coercive position will likely elicit little more than "lip service" and little genuine change in attitude
 - Distrust of Canadian and Western involvement in Palestinian politics; increased perceptions of a Western double-standard and Western injustice
 - Position of the Hamas-led government will likely be strengthened under a "siege mentality"
- Humanitarian Implications
 - Unemployment remains at 25 percent, and poverty at 44 percent ^{1,2}
 - The PA continues to manage the vast majority of international aid ³
 - Continued unrest; continued Israeli humanitarian abuses at current levels ⁴
- Diplomatic Implications
 - Increased scepticism of Canadian (and Western) intentions, especially vis-à-vis the diplomatic process
 - Less ability for Canada to promote diplomacy impartially

¹ The UN defines poverty as living on less than \$2.20 per day

² "West Bank and Gaza Economic Update and Potential Outlook," March 15, 2006, World Bank

³ "Special Focus: Emerging Humanitarian Risks," Jan.-Feb., 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

⁴ "Assessment of the future humanitarian risks in the occupied Palestinian territory," April 11, 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

Outcome 2) Hamas-led PA collapses

- Political Implications
 - Hundreds of thousands of people who pursued peaceful politics will feel betrayed, and become radically disenchanting
 - People will opt for more intense armed struggle, rather than the Hamas-style democratic engagement currently adopted
- Humanitarian Implications
 - Unemployment to exceed 50 percent, and poverty to exceed 75 percent ^{1,2}
 - UN and NGOs can replace only a fraction of PA services (health, etc.), and rampant violence prevents access to Palestine by aid agencies ³
 - Violence, unrest and Israeli humanitarian abuses difficult to assess under conditions of anarchy. ⁴ Emergence of regional warlords; breakdown of civil society likely.
- Diplomatic Implications
 - Willingness to see the problem as a “battle of civilizations”; extreme distrust of Canada and the West;
 - Political shockwaves throughout the Middle East
 - Any previous diplomatic progress is lost

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² “West Bank and Gaza Economic Update and Potential Outlook,” March 15, 2006, World Bank

³ “Special Focus: Emerging Humanitarian Risks,” Jan.-Feb., 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

⁴ “Assessment of the future humanitarian risks in the occupied Palestinian territory,” April 11, 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

Outcome 3) Hamas-led PA procures “stay alive” funding

- Political Implications
 - Increased distrust of Canada and the West, and the perception of a Western double-standard; negation of advances in democracy
 - Hamas position strengthened as sense of self-sufficiency and integrity among Palestinians grows
- Humanitarian Implications
 - Unemployment hits 47 percent, and poverty hits 74 percent ^{1,2}
 - PA Ministry of Health provides severely limited services, and UN and NGOs can replace only a fraction of PA Ministry of Health Services ³
 - Violence inhibits humanitarian aid; more Israeli humanitarian abuses ⁴
- Diplomatic Implications
 - PA turns away from the West, and is pushed to develop relations with less well-intentioned nations
 - More regionalism – “constructive engagement” less possible
 - Diplomatic guideposts weakened



March, 2006: Ismail Haniyeh and former PA prime minister Mahmoud Abbas meet to discuss the transition of power.

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² “West Bank and Gaza Economic Update and Potential Outlook,” March 15, 2006, World Bank

³ “Special Focus: Emerging Humanitarian Risks,” Jan.-Feb., 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

⁴ “Assessment of the future humanitarian risks in the occupied Palestinian territory,” April 11, 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

MacKay: “Canada will have no contact with the members of the Hamas cabinet”

Reminder (history of peace players):

The Palestinians

- Yasser Arafat – founder of the PLO; dismissed as a peace partner; later signed the Oslo Accords



Israel

- Menachem Begin (Israeli PM) – led the Irgun in terrorism against the British & Palestinians^{1,2}
- Yitzhak Shamir (Israeli PM) – led the Stern Gang in terror against the British & others^{3,4}
- Likud Party (formed many Israeli gov'ts) – founded by former Jewish terrorists (e.g. Begin, Shamir); highly questioned by international community in 1970s

¹ J. Bowyer Bell, *Terror out of Zion: Irgun Zvai Leumi, Lehi, and the Palestine Underground, 1929-1949*, Avon, 1977,

² Menachem Begin, *The Revolt – Memoirs of the Leader of the Irgun*, Dell Books, New York, NY, 1978

³ Mordechai Gazi, *Israeli Diplomacy & the Middle East Peace Process*, London: Routledge, 2002

⁴ Harvey W. Kushner, *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, Sage Publications, 2002

Under the new leadership of Menachem Begin in 1944, the Irgun carried out innumerable attacks on the British, including the infamous bombing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, which killed 91 British officers, and Arab and Jewish civilians. During Shamir's leadership of the Stern Gang (Lehi), this terrorist group assassinated Britain's Minister of State for the Middle East, Lord Moyne (1944) and the UN Representative to the Middle East, Count Bernadotte (1948) among other acts.

MacKay: “Canada will have no contact with the members of the Hamas cabinet”

CJPME does not believe that diplomatic “non contact” has ever been a means to progress

CJPME asks whether non-contact would ever be considered as an approach to the Israelis.



Reminder (the Hamas-led PA has so far been conciliatory):

- “...this is a good time for peace...”
- “...we will extend our truce...”
- Hamas is inexperienced in running the PA. They will make mistakes

March 7, 2006- Palestinians pass a watchtower that is part of Israel's controversial Wall, at the Kalandia checkpoint on the way from the West Bank city of Ramallah to Jerusalem. The wall was deemed strictly illegal under international humanitarian law by the International Court of Justice in 2004

CJPME Recommendation Page 1:

CJPME perceives all of the above scenarios to be undesirable, for Canadians, Palestinians and Israelis. CJPME proposes three new Canadian strategies:

Recommendation

- Move to intentional “constructive engagement” with the Hamas-led government, continuing with aid programs, and
- Encourage softened rhetoric and support for peaceful initiatives, and
- Consider emergency humanitarian aid



Al-Quds University: International grants enabled the School of Medicine to help train Palestinian doctors by co-financing the costs of equipping and operating the school.

Reminders: Violence and Middle East Policy

Reminder (who plays what role):

The Palestinians

- Occupied
- Violence promulgated by militant groups acting independently
- Military capability non-existent
- Deaths: 3875 ¹
- Injured: 29,465 ²

Israel

- Occupier
- Violence promulgated by the Israeli Army, a state-sponsored body, carrying out state-sponsored directives
- Immense military capability, fifth in the world; a nuclear power
- Deaths: 1010 ¹
- Injured: 7590 ³



¹ Middle East Policy Council, numbers as of April 29, 2006 (since September, 2000)
² Palestinian Red Crescent Society, number as of Feb. 15, 2006 (since September, 2000)
³ Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, numbers as of May 3, 2006 (since September, 2000)

October 26, 2005: In a picture that is all too often a daily occurrence, an Israeli soldier stands guard over detained Palestinian civilians as their identification is checked at a temporary blockade outside of the Hebron University in the West Bank city of al-Khalil (Hebron). These detainees were released after four hours.

Is Canada holding the Hamas-led PA and Kadima-led Israel to the same standard?

CJPME supports Canada's view that violence be renounced between the parties in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Current Violence

Hamas:

- Has held a unilateral ceasefire that it established in December, 2004

Current Violence

Israel (ongoing):

- Assassinations
- House demolitions
- Incursions
- Construction of the Wall
- Colonization and colonist violence



Is Canada holding the Hamas-led PA and Kadima-led Israel to the same standard?

CJPME supports “mutual recognition” - a position where Canada insists that all parties respect the right to self-determination of the other

Mutual Recognition

Palestinians:

- Recognized Israel in Oslo Accords (1993)
- Accepted two-state vision established in Road Map Peace Plan as-is

Hamas:

- Asks what Israel’s borders are.

Mutual Recognition

Israel:

- Only recognized the PLO in Oslo Accords
- Rejected key aspects of Palestinian sovereignty in its reservations to the Road Map Peace Plan Israel’s Reservations (slide 41)
- Has never declared its borders
- Sharon’s former (Likud) party: “The Government of Israel flatly rejects the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state west of the Jordan river.” (Likud Platform, 2006 Elections)



Is Canada holding the Hamas-led PA and Kadima-led Israel to the same standard?

CJPME believes that Canada should insist on respect for previous agreements, including Oslo I & II, and the Road Map Peace Plan

Respect for previous agreements

Fatah-led PA:

- Was unable to fully constrain violence of militant groups
- Did obtain a shaky cease-fire in 2005

Hamas-led PA:

- Has offered to negotiate if Israel withdraws to 1967 borders (UN Security Council Res. 242)

Respect for previous agreements

Israel:

- Has never respected “territorial integrity of the West Bank and Gaza” (Oslo, RMPP)
- Never ceased or slowed colony growth (Oslo, RMPP)
- Never removed colony “outposts” (RMPP)
- Withholds tax transfers (Paris Protocols of Oslo)
- Continues to impose arbitrary labour restrictions on Palestinians (Paris Protocols)

CJPME Recommendation Page 2:

CJPME supports Canada's

- condemnation of promotion and use of violence
- regard for self-determination and mutual-recognition
- respect for previous agreements and obligations

among parties to the Middle East Conflict.

Recommendation

- Both Israeli and Palestinian violation of these principles should be censured in a parallel fashion, using an identical standard.
- Canada's standard should be aligned anew with international law.



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Part 2: The impact of Canada's aid decisions

Position of the Canadian Government:

2) Redirect Palestinian aid through UN & NGOs

Announcement of Foreign Affairs Minister Peter MacKay and International Cooperation Minister Josée Verner (March 29, 2006):

- “At the same time, Canada remains committed to the ultimate goal of a negotiated, two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,” said Minister Verner.
 - “Canada also makes an important distinction between assistance to the Palestinian Authority and to Palestinians.
 - Working with our partners and through the United Nations, its agencies and other organizations, Canada will continue to support and respond to the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian people.
 - Canada will also continue to work with the voices of moderation within Palestinian society.”

Has Canada made distinctions that the Palestinian people didn't ask for?

Verner: “Canada also makes an important distinction between assistance to the Palestinian Authority and to Palestinians”



Gaza City, December 14, 2005: Prior to the recent elections, Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh speaks at a press conference.

Reminder (what did Palestinians choose?):

- Applying sanctions to the PA is NOT like applying them to Hussein or Milosevic: the Palestinians democratically chose their government
- Hamas is not the PA per se. It has simply formed the governing coalition.

Redirect Canadian aid to UN orgs and NGOs: Is this sound policy?

Canadians should be asking some of the following questions:

- Can UN organizations and NGOs fill the gap left by an unfunded PA?
- Do Palestinians want Canada to overhaul the services delivery model of the PA?
- What Canadian programs will be impacted, and does it make sense to throttle them?



Has Canada done its homework?

*“The extent of the collapse [of Palestinian humanitarian and public services] should not be underestimated. The UN is in no position – in terms of mandate or capacity – to duplicate or replace the role of the PA or the quality and extent of its services. In any case, any step in this direction would require the concurrence of the PA.”**

Reminder (services provided by the PA):

- The PA Ministry of Education runs 75% of all schools in Palestine, with 39,000 employees.*
- The PA Ministry of Health (MoH) runs 62% of primary health clinics, and 22 of 23 general hospitals.*

* “Assessment of the future humanitarian risks in the occupied Palestinian territory,” April 11, 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

International Revenue Streams received by the Palestinian Authority

The PA has three sources of funding¹:

1. Clearance revenues transferred from Israel, estimated at \$65 M (US) per month (Note: these revenues were established through the quasi-customs union between Israel and Palestine set up via the Oslo Accords)
2. Budget support from the international community, estimated at \$34 M per month,
3. Domestic revenues, estimated at \$35 M per month.

Each month PA requires \$165 million
(of which 60% is salaries to PA)

In 2005 the PA received each month²:

VAT and customs	\$60 million
Average donor payments	\$30 million
Internal other taxes	\$30 million

Reminder (Israeli tax-transfers are not aid):

- Israel has been withholding tax transfers – money legally owing to the Palestinians – as if it were international aid. This is in violation of the Paris Protocols (part of Oslo II)

¹“West Bank and Gaza Economic Update and Potential Outlook,” March 15, 2006, World Bank

²“Assessment of the future humanitarian risks in the occupied Palestinian territory,” April 11, 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

Issues with trying to force aid entirely through new, non-PA channels (slide 2)

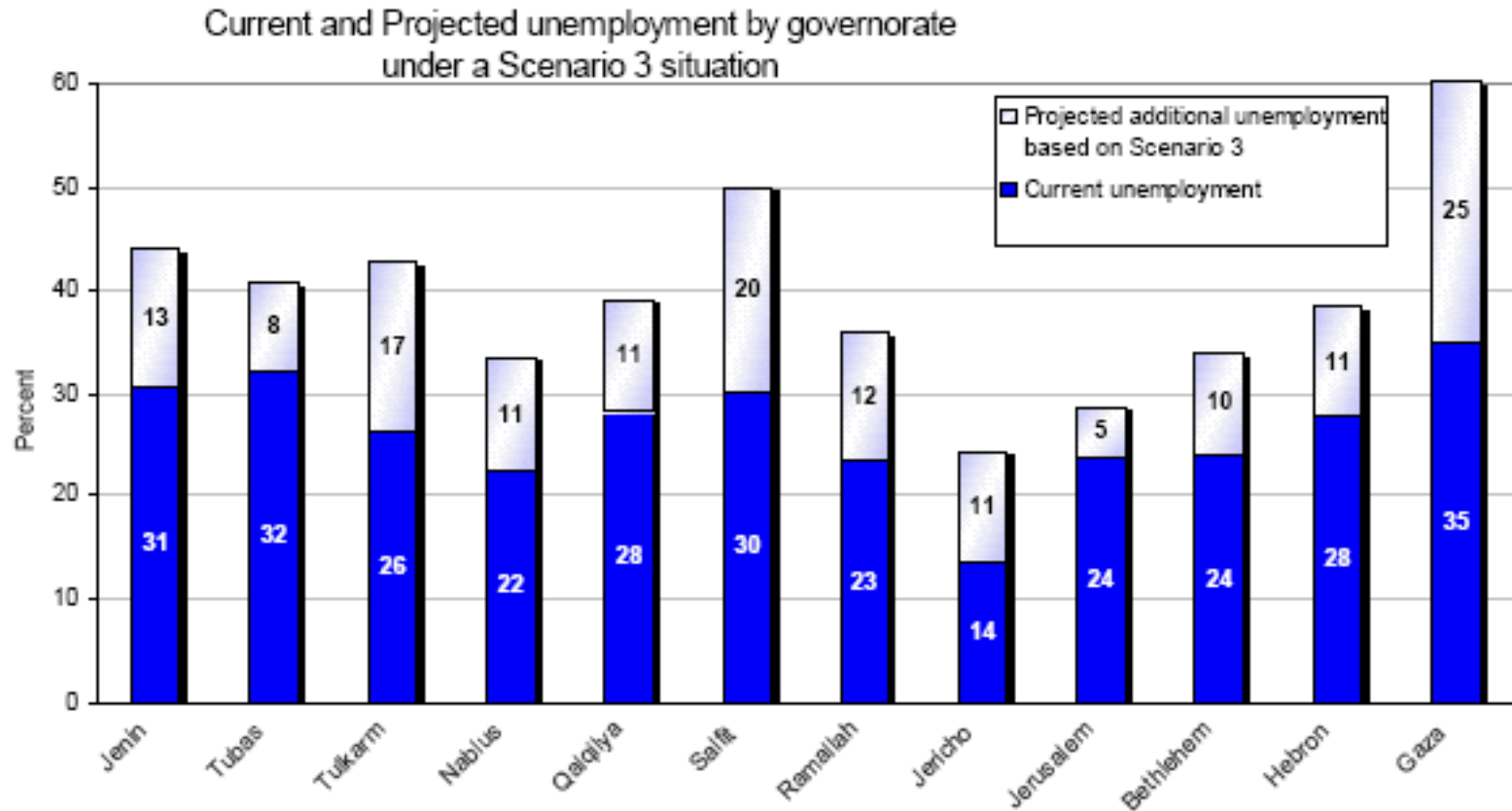
- The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs reports:
 - The PA employs 12,000 health sector employees (and 62 percent of all health care facilities) (wage bill of \$8.8 million / month) ¹
 - E.g. 66,000 children immunized in 2004
 - The PA employs 39,000 in education, and runs 76 percent of all schools (wage bill of \$22.6 million / month) ²
 - E.g. after grade 8, all children in PA schools
 - The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (wage bill of \$1.3 million / month) ²
 - E.g. distributes 65 percent of all WFP (World Food Programme) food
 - PA pensions for those who have retired from the public sector (wage bill of \$5.2 million / month) ²
 - E.g. 9,800 Palestinians receive a pension
 - The PA also employs tens of thousands* in law enforcement ³
 - E.g. Non-payment of law enforcement employees could trigger a rise in criminality, kidnapping and protection rackets

¹ "Possible consequences on the health sector due to the reduction of support to the public services," April 7, 2006, World Health Organization

² "Assessment of the future humanitarian risks in the occupied Palestinian territory," April 11, 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

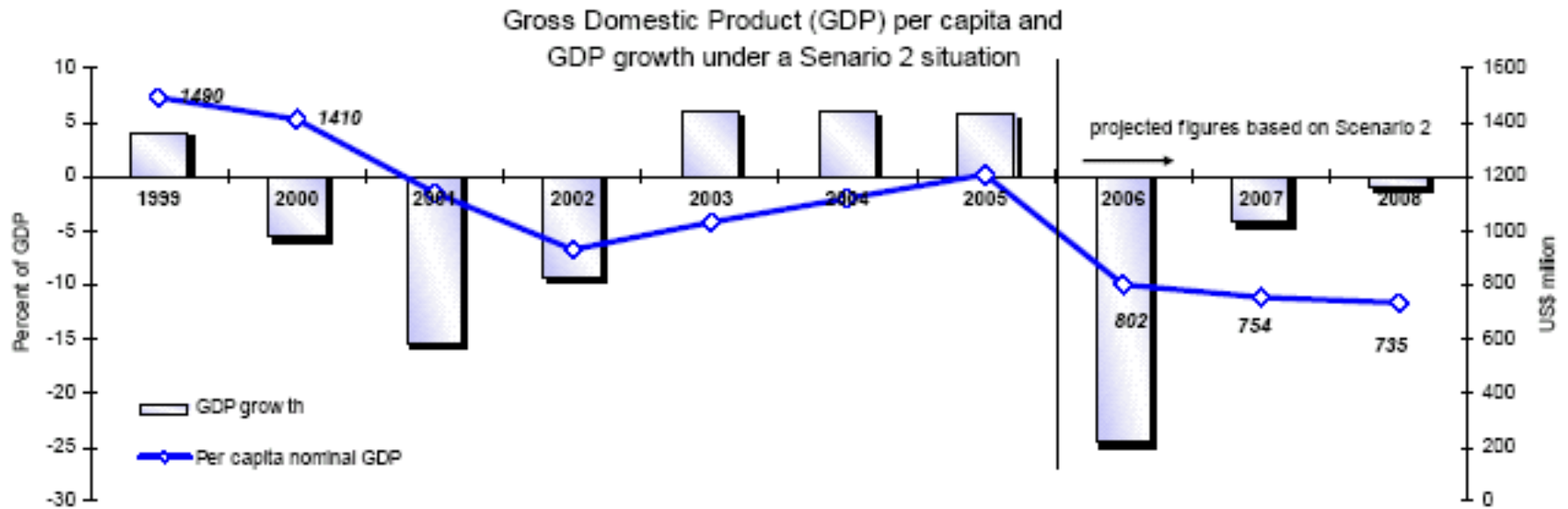
³ "Special Focus: Emerging Humanitarian Risks," Jan.-Feb., 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

Sample Outcomes: Projected Unemployment



Data Source: OCHA calculations based on PCBS Labour Force Survey Data Q3 2005.

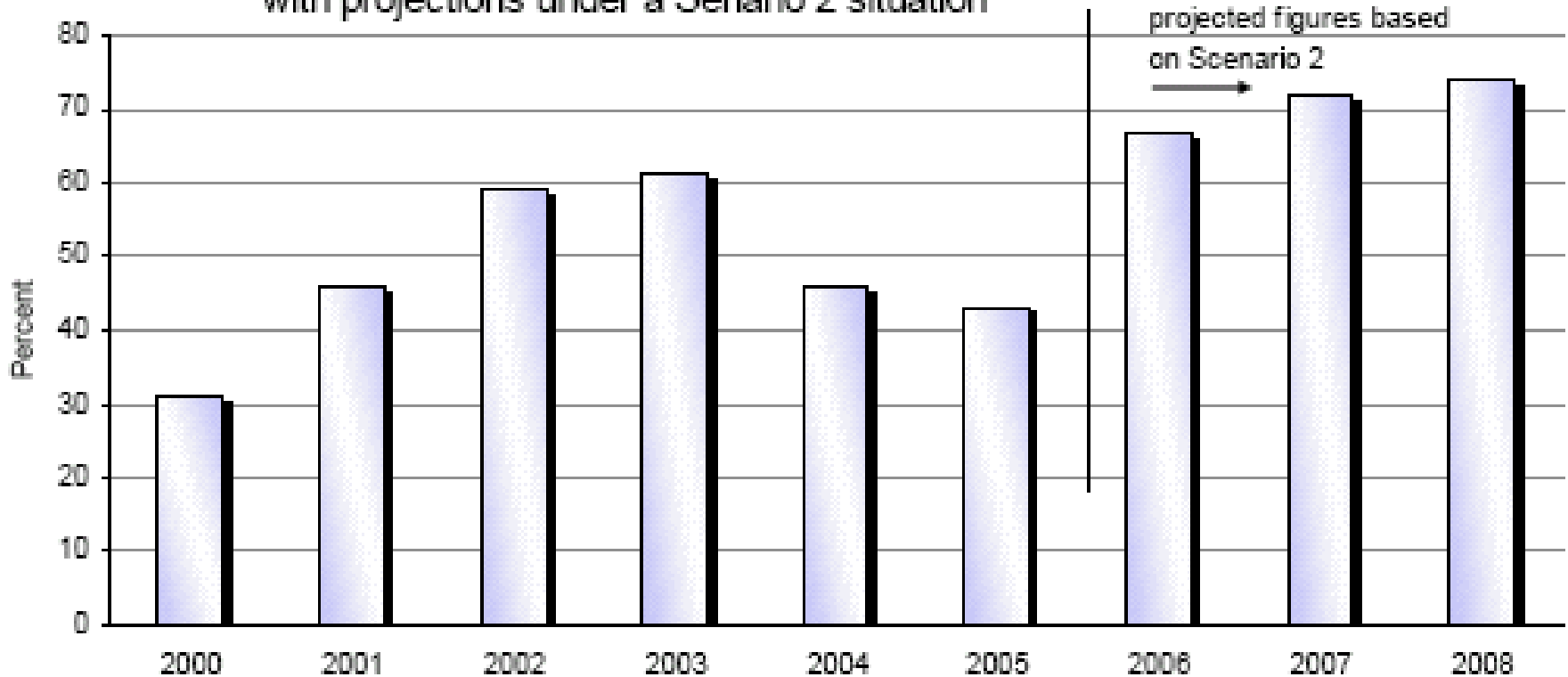
Sample Outcomes: Projected GDP Impacts



Data Source: 1999-2005 - IMF data, 2006-2008 projections World Bank.

Sample Outcomes: Projected Poverty Levels

Poor in the occupied Palestinian territory
with projections under a Scenario 2 situation



Data Source: World Bank

World Health Organization (WHO): Overall predictions for the health sector

- The WHO summarizes the its health care predictions based on withdrawal of int'l aid and customs transfers*:
 - The PA Ministry of Health will undergo acute financial crisis, salaries will not be paid to a certain proportion of MoH staff, and medical supply will be in shortage.
 - Rapid decline of the public health system towards a possible collapse.
 - Shift of control and management of health service system away from the public sector to NGOs, UN system and the private sector.
 - No access – or limited access – to preventive programs and curative services for an important part of the population, particularly for the poor (1,564,137, 43% of total population).



East Jerusalem: A nine-year old Palestinian girl, Dua Abdul-Nasser Shawmieh, accompanied by her mother Halimeh, receives treatment for a growth disorder at East Jerusalem's Augusta Victoria Hospital.

* "Possible consequences on the health sector due to the reduction of support to the public services," April 7, 2006, World Health Organization

Is Canada's Position Rational?

“Whereas I think that one cannot say that economic growth and economic vitality are of themselves enough to produce a benign political process, one can, however, I think say the opposite, which is that

economic desperation, high unemployment, high poverty levels, and a lack of economic dynamism are certainly a fairly good guarantee for social instability and a lack of resolution to these deep-set political issues...

...there is no ignoring the importance of the economy if you want something beneficial to happen on the political stage.”



Nigel Roberts

*Former World Bank Country Director
For the Occupied Palestinian Territory
February 10, 2006*

Do Palestinians want Canada to overhaul the services delivery model of the PA?

International aid models are designed to support and bolster local authorities, not circumvent them*:

- “To be effective, projects in the current [UN plan]... need to be implemented in coordination with local authorities”
- “Humanitarian interventions should not cause irreversible changes to the PA over time”
- “Baring a situation of collapse, humanitarian initiatives should not duplicate PA services.”



Jenin area village: Three women from area villages were chosen and trained as health workers to run the clinic. Says its founder, Dr. Jamil Al-Hamad, “The clinic succeeded because of our determination, and because there is a genuine need for it among the people.”

* “Assessment of the future humanitarian risks in the occupied Palestinian territory,” April 11, 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

Moral Guidelines for Aid-giving

The UN allocates assistance on the basis of clear criteria guiding humanitarian interventions, including²:

- Principle of Impartiality:
I.e. Humanitarian assistance should be guided by need rather than political requirements according to the principle of impartiality.
- Principle of Neutrality:
I.e. Humanitarian assistance is neutral, and humanitarian agencies should interact with all parties to ensure access and to negotiate conditions for delivery. Humanitarian assistance should be provided with the consent of the host authority.
- Principle of Humanity:
E.g. Humanitarian intervention should be expanded to address the impact of increasing poverty and unemployment – for example, through employment generation and the provision of credit, so as to target the poorest and stimulate the local economy.



Ama'ri Refugee Camp in Ramallah: A young Palestinian gets his eyes tested in the local health center

Reminder (The PA has invited int'l donors to audit aid spending):

- “Our government will provide all mechanisms for all donors to monitor the spending of the money and to be sure it will be spent the right way. Any state providing a penny – we have no problem for it to come and monitor the spending.”¹

- PA PM Ismail Haniyeh, March 27, 2006

¹ “ Hamas Gov’t Seeks Mideast Mediator Talks,” Associated Press, March 27, 2006

² “Assessment of the future humanitarian risks in the occupied Palestinian territory,” April 11, 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

What about International Law?

- The Fourth Geneva Convention applies specifically during times of war and occupation.
- It's applicability to Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories is questioned by none but Israel:

*“Under the Fourth Geneva Conventions, Israel as the occupying power bears the responsibility for the welfare of the Palestinian population. In recent years, international donors and the Palestinian Authority have in practical terms taken on this role. If the PA is unable to provide basic services to the Palestinian population and donors withhold assistance, the emphasis will shift back to Israel to resume its legal obligation.” **

For more explanation
(slide 44)

* “Assessment of the future humanitarian risks in the occupied Palestinian territory,” April 11, 2006, UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)

Canadian Programs - suspended

Four operational projects (\$7.34 million over four years) are being suspended.

- Housing Rehabilitation and Policy Development (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, PA Ministry of Public Works and Housing and PA Ministry of Finance, \$6.3 million, 2005-08): to assist the PA in the field of housing both at the policy and operational levels.
- Refurbishment and Management of Ramallah Municipal Industrial Park (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, City of Ramallah, \$400,000, 2005-07): to assess the feasibility of assisting the Ramallah Municipality to refurbish and manage its industrial park.
- Middle East 4 Meeting (Justice Canada, \$600,000, 2005-06): to convene justice ministers from the PA, Israel, Jordan and Egypt to engage in an annual justice dialogue.
- English Language Training for Palestinian Security Officials (Canadian Foreign Affairs Department assistance to the PA, \$41,000)

Canadian Programs – to be restructured (slide 1)

Canada is restructuring the following programs “assistance to the PA or its officials, or that entailed systematic engagement with the PA” on a “case-by-case basis to eliminate any PA involvement”:

- Judicial Independence and Human Dignity (University of Windsor, BirZeit University and the Palestinian High Judicial Council, \$4.5 million, 2005-09): which seeks to train Palestinian judges on issues such as judicial independence and human rights.
- Palestinian Municipal Management, Phase 2 (Federation of Canadian Municipalities, municipalities of Rafah and Khan Yunis, PA Ministry of Local Government, \$3.2 million, 2003-06): to improve the management capacity of municipalities and encourage citizens’ participation in municipal affairs.
- Education Capacity Building (UNICEF, \$5 million, 2005-06): to improve teaching methods across the West Bank and Gaza.
- Governance Capacity Project (managed by the Canadian Representative Office in Ramallah, \$417,000, 2005-08) which seeks to provide advice and support to CIDA and the PA for public sector reform.
- Child Friendly Cities (UNICEF, \$3.5 million, 2004-07): to improve local-level planning and services for children in six Palestinian cities.

Canadian Programs – to be restructured (slide 2)

Canada is restructuring the following programs “assistance to the PA or its officials, or that entailed systematic engagement with the PA” on a “case-by-case basis to eliminate any PA involvement”:

- Child Wellbeing Phase 2 (Secretariat for the National Plan of Action for Palestinian Children, and the Ministry of Education, \$3 million, 2004-07): to improve coordination and services for children in the area of safe learning and play environment and psycho-social counseling.
- Technical & Vocational Training for Palestinian Women (World University Services of Canada, Alternatives, PA Ministry of Social Affairs, \$3.8 million, 2002-06): to empower low-income women to improve their economic conditions through the provision of training and other development initiatives.
- Middle East Capacity Building Fund (\$500,000, 2005-07): to respond rapidly to Palestinian development needs with Canadian technical expertise. No ongoing project activities at present.



November 13, 2005- Palestinian children read stories at the English Reading Club, part of the al-Watan Center for Civic Education, Conflict Resolution and Nonviolence in the West Bank city of al-Khalil (Hebron)

CJPME Recommendation 3:

CJPME believes

- Canada's stance on aid to the PA is not moral, appropriate, or rational
- Canada's stance on aid undermines its stated long term vision for the region

Recommendation

- Canada should provide aid according to international norms of impartiality, neutrality & humanity, among others
- Canada should re-instate any impacted programs, as they serve both Canada's and Palestine's long-term objectives

Our proposals

- To propose that “constructive engagement” with the Hamas-led Palestinian Authority is the wisest policy for Canada at this point
- To propose that Canada maintain equal expectations for all parties to the Middle East conflict
- To propose that Canada maintain previously established aid commitments to the Palestinian Authority
- Will you and your party take this up as an issue?



January 25, 2006: A polling station in Ramallah on election day. International observers had nothing but praise for the Palestinian Central Election Commission and its professional and impartial hosting of the elections



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Thank you



Canadians for Justice and Peace
in the Middle East



Israel's 14 "Reservations" to the Road Map Peace Plan

Israel's Reservations to the RMPP, and perspectives on Palestinian Statehood

- Israel's reservations to the RMPP made it all but unworkable from the outset. However, from the perspective of "mutual recognition":
- The RMPP spoke of a "Palestinian state with provisional borders," while the Israel (reservation #5) spoke of:
 - a "provisional Palestinian state" with "provisional borders" and "certain aspects of sovereignty,"
 - with "Israeli control over the entry and exit of all persons and cargo, as well as of its air space and electromagnetic spectrum."
- Israel (reservation #6) insisted that with the Palestinian recognition of Israel, that it recognize it as "a Jewish state" and waive any right of return for Palestinian refugees.
- Israel (reservation #10) insisted on the removal of references to UNSC 1397 (referring to a "two-state vision"), the Saudi peace plan, and the Arab Initiative adopted in Beirut, and be based only on UNSC 242 and 338
- Israel (reservation #7) stipulates that adherence to the peace process will "lead to the end of all claims and not only the end of the conflict."

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End - Israel's 14 "Reservations" to the Road Map Peace Plan

BACK (slide 17)



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Israel's Obligations under Int'l Law as the Occupier

Applicability of International Humanitarian Law: Fourth Geneva Conventions (slide 1)

The Fourth Geneva Conventions makes Israel – as the occupying power – responsible to ensure that the humanitarian needs of the civilian population are met:

- Article 55 – Ensuring adequate food and medical supplies

“...the Occupying Power has the duty of ensuring the food and medical supplies of the [occupied civilian] population; it should, in particular, bring in the necessary foodstuffs, medical stores and other articles if the resources of the occupied territory are inadequate.”

- Article 56 – Ensuring the functioning of medical institutions

“To the fullest extent of the means available to it, the Occupying Power has the duty of ensuring and maintaining, with the cooperation of national and local authorities, the medical and hospital establishments and services, public health and hygiene in the occupied territory, with particular reference to the adoption and application of the prophylactic and preventive measures necessary to combat the spread of contagious diseases and epidemics. Medical personnel of all categories shall be allowed to carry out their duties.”



November 22, 2005: Palestinian school girls run away from an Israeli soldiers' tear gas thrown at them at a checkpoint in the Palestinian city of al-Khalil (Hebron)



November 20, 2005- Israeli soldiers search a Palestinian boy on his way to school for explosives devices

Applicability of International Humanitarian Law: Fourth Geneva Conventions (slide 2)

The Fourth Geneva Conventions make Israel – as the occupying power – responsible to ensure that the humanitarian needs of the civilian population are met:

- Article 23 – Expediting of relief supplies

“Each... party shall allow the free passage of all consignments of medical and hospital stores... intended only for civilians of another High Contracting Party, even if the latter is its adversary. It shall likewise permit the free passage of all consignments of essential foodstuffs, clothing and tonics intended for children under fifteen, expectant mothers and maternity cases.”

- Article 50 – Ensuring the functioning of educational institutions

The Occupying Power shall, with the cooperation of the national and local authorities, facilitate the proper working of all institutions devoted to the care and education of children.

BACK (slide 34)



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End - Israel's Obligations under Int'l Law as the Occupier

[BACK \(slide 34\)](#)



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Interpreting the Palestinian Election Results

Possible Philosophical Reasons for Hamas' Victory: Government Corruption

- Impatience with the unaddressed corruption of the current regime:
- 71 percent of Palestinians indicated in polls that their primary concern in choosing candidates was corruption, or lack thereof.
- 64 percent of respondents in the poll indicated that they didn't think the previous Palestinian government was successful in fighting corruption.



January 24, 2006: A general view over Al Manara roundabout adorned with posters for the electoral campaign one day before the legislative elections, in the West Bank town of Ramallah.

Possible Philosophical Reasons for Hamas' Victory: Hope for a Better Life



October 5, 2005: In the West Bank city of al-Khalil (Hebron), Palestinian children carry food donated from "Takiet Ibrahim" the Islamic endowment authority 'Waqf' on the second day of Ramadan. About eight hundred Palestinians received donated food greatly needed in this community because of the economic deterioration caused from years of occupation and unrest.

- Hope for a new government focused on improving lives:
- 93.8 percent of Palestinians wanted Hamas to give top priority to unemployment and economic development.
- As of December, 2005, 43 percent of Palestinians depended on institutional support (i.e. humanitarian aid) for their survival

Possible Philosophical Reasons for Hamas' Victory: Other political reasons...

- Desperation in the face of an increasingly oppressive Israeli occupation
 - Continued aggressive Israeli colonial expansion
 - Continued construction of the Wall, despite the strong ICJ decision
- Disillusionment caused by Fatah's inability to win any concessions from the Israelis
- Cynicism with the diplomatic process and international mechanisms for change



March 20, 2006: Incoming Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh and outgoing Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas meet in Gaza to discuss the formation of the new PA government, and its political agenda.

Political Movement in Palestine since Oslo

Palestinian Authority (PA) Governance and Legitimacy (in percent)

	1996	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Support President	71	47	33	25	35	38	44
Adequate Quality of Democracy	43	21	21	16	19	23	35
Adequate Quality of Performance	64	44	40	32	37	23	41
Corruption a Major Problem	49	76	82	85	82	84	87

Support for Fatah versus Islamists (in percent)

	1993	1996	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Fatah	41	55	37	28	28	26	28	39*
Islamists	23	13	17	26	25	30	32	34*

* After Arafat's death

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Source: Adapted from Khalil Shikaki, "Willing to Compromise, Palestinian Public Opinion and the Peace Process," Washington, USIP, Report 158, January 2006.



Canadians for Justice and Peace
in the Middle East



End - Interpreting the Palestinian Election Results

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Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME)

- **Who we are:**

- A grassroots, secular organization with members in Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa and Vancouver.
- We are Canadians of all backgrounds (Jewish, Muslim and Christian) who believe in justice, peace and security for all people in the Middle East.
- We seek to positively influence both our government's foreign policy in the Middle East, and our media's portrayal of current events and people in the region.

- **Our mission:**

- To advocate for a just Canadian foreign policy on the Middle-East;
- To insist that the Canadian government uphold and enforce all UN resolutions and instruments of international law, both in word and in deed;
- To challenge the media to present balanced and objective coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict;
- To promote a better understanding of the historic injustices suffered by Middle Eastern peoples;
- To collaborate with others who seek justice and peace in the Middle East.

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Historic Palestine: The Story of the Land

Over time, the Palestinians become increasingly dispossessed with each decade:

- In 1947, the UN allocated 47 percent of the land to Palestinians
- In 1948, the war left Palestinians with only 23 percent of the land
- In 1967, the Palestinians had an occupation, and no land
- In 1968, Israel annexed East Jerusalem
- Starting in 2002, imprisonment within the Wall began

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