

Canadian Politics and Public Policy

Policy

The cover image is a photograph of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. The golden dome is the central focus, set against a clear sky. In the foreground, several strands of barbed wire are visible, creating a sense of confinement or conflict. The surrounding stone walls and buildings of the Old City are also visible. The overall tone is somber and evocative.

Is Peace
Possible?



Social Democracy, Capitalism, and Competition

A Manifesto

Marcel Boyer

Cloth | \$39.95 | 248pp

A radical rethinking of the respective roles of governmental and corporate sectors in the provision of public and social goods and services.



State of Disappearance

Edited by Brad Evans and Chantal Meza

Paper | \$39.95 | 288pp | 14 b&w images, colour insert

An intervention into the problem of human disappearance curated by a renowned theorist and featuring artwork by a celebrated abstract painter.



Nostalgic Virility as a Cause of War

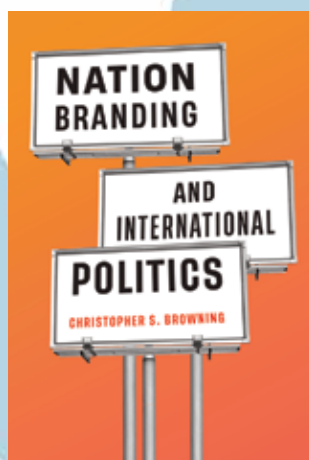
How Leaders of Great Powers Cope with Status Decline

Matthieu Grandpierron

Paper | \$39.95 | 288pp | 24 tables, 1 photo

Why do great powers go to war? Why are non-violent options not prioritized? This book provides new ways of thinking about power politics and military intervention in an unstable world.

Intelligent ... Beautiful ... Lasting ...

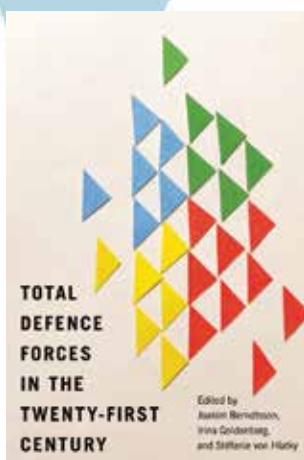


Nation Branding and International Politics

Christopher S. Browning

Paper | \$39.95 | 240pp | 2 photos, 3 tables

Why nation branding is politically significant in understanding contemporary international politics.

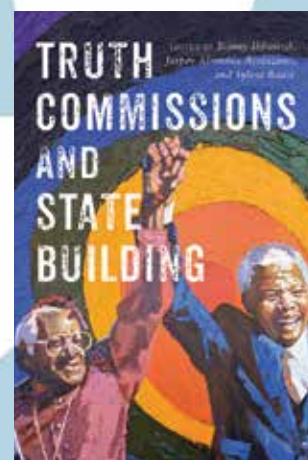


Total Defence Forces in the Twenty-First Century

Edited by Joakim Berndtsson, Irina Goldenberg, and Stéfanie von Hlatky

Paper | \$44.95 | 448pp | 13 tables, 7 diagrams

A comprehensive examination of roles and relations among key groups of total defence workforces, including cases from Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom.



Truth Commissions and State Building

Edited by Bonny Ibhawoh, Jasper Abembia Ayelazuno, and Sylvia Bawa

Paper | \$44.95 | 426pp | 5 diagrams, 1 table

More than just an opportunity to uncover fact after conflict, truth commissions can also offer restorative power to nations across the globe. This is the first comparative study of the role.



McGill-Queen's University Press

mqup.ca | @McGillQueensUP

Policy

Canadian Politics and Public Policy

PUBLISHER EMERITUS
L. Ian MacDonald
macdonaldlian@gmail.com

EDITOR AND PUBLISHER
Lisa Van Dusen
lvandusen@policymagazine.ca

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS
Aftab Ahmed, Charlie Angus, Thomas S. Axworthy, Andrew Balfour, Yaroslav Baran, James Baxter, Daniel Béland, Perry Bellegarde, Louise Blais, Thomas d'Aquino, Derek H. Burney, Catherine Cano, Stéphanie Chouinard, Margaret Clarke, David Coletto, Rachel Curran, Paul Deegan, John Delacourt, Susan Delacourt, Graham Fraser, Dan Gagnier, Helaina Gaspard, Martin Goldfarb, Sarah Goldfeder, Patrick Gossage, Frank Graves, David O. Johnston, Jeremy Kinsman, Shachi Kurl, Philippe Lagassé, Brad Lavigne, Jeremy Leonard, Kevin Lynch, Leslie MacKinnon, Peter Mansbridge, Carissima Mathen, Elizabeth May, Velma McColl, Elizabeth Moody McNinch, David McLaughlin, David Mitchell, Don Newman, Geoff Norquay, Jodey Nurse, Fen Osler-Hampson, Kevin Page, André Pratte, Lee Richardson, Colin Robertson, Robin V. Sears, Elizabeth Thompson, Vianne Timmons, Brian Topp, Lori Turnbull, Jaime Watt, Anthony Wilson-Smith, Dan Woynilowicz

WEB DESIGN
Nicolas Landry
policy@nicolaslandry.ca

SOCIAL MEDIA EDITOR
Gray MacDonald
gmacdonald@policymagazine.ca

DESIGN CONSULTANT
Monica Thomas

Policy

Policy, *Policy Online* and *The Week in Policy* are published by Mediamundo. The contents are copyrighted, but may be reproduced with permission and attribution.

Price: \$7.95 per issue
Annual Subscription: \$45.95

PRINTED AND DISTRIBUTED BY
St. Joseph Communications,
1165 Kenaston Street,
Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 1A4

Available in Air Canada Maple Leaf Lounges across Canada, as well as VIA Rail Lounges in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto.

Now available on PressReader.



In This Issue

- 2 **From the Editor / Lisa Van Dusen**
Is Peace Possible?
- 3 **Jeremy Kinsman**
The Possibilities for Peace in the Middle East
- 6 **Rt. Hon. Brian Mulroney**
'We Must Be Saved by Faith': Brian Mulroney Accepting the Herzl Award
- 10 **Gil Troy**
Why, Once Again, Israel Will Survive
- 12 **Aftab Ahmed**
Gaza's Children Deserve Peace
- 14 **Kevin Lynch and Paul Deegan**
Canada's Moment to Show Leadership on Antisemitism
- 16 **Lisa Van Dusen**
Israelis, Palestinians and Democratic Peace Theory

Canada and the World

- 18 **Jim Munson**
Policy Q&A: Jim Munson with Jean Chrétien, on Loving Canada, Hating No-One and Turning 90
- 20 **Sen. Peter M. Boehm**
Meeting the Global Challenge: Strengthening Canadian Diplomacy
- 22 **Elizabeth May**
A Climate Lifeline Worth Grabbing
- 24 **Colin Robertson**
Kissinger on Canada, or Realism vs. Self-Righteousness at Madison Square Garden
- 26 **Don Newman**
Welcome to 2024 and Happy New Year*

Sponsored

- 27 **Forest Products Association of Canada**
The Year that Proved Why Forestry Matters

Book Reviews

- 28 **Review by Paul Deegan**
Picturing the Game: The Picture-Perfect Hockey Book

Connect with us:



@policy_mag



facebook.com/policymagazine



From the Editor / Lisa Van Dusen

Is Peace Possible?

First-off this issue, we'd like to let readers know that, following a series of health challenges, *Policy* Editor and Publisher L. Ian MacDonald has taken on the new role of publisher emeritus. While I've succeeded Ian as editor and publisher, I remain enormously grateful for his invaluable guidance and input, and for his leadership at *Policy* over the past decade. Many thanks to all our contributors, readers and sponsors for your support and loyalty during the transition of the past six months.

Yes, our cover headline this issue is a trick question. Or at least, a rhetorical one. Of course, peace in the Middle East is possible. But to swipe a cliché terribly inadequate to the topic at hand; it's complicated. Which is of no consolation to either Israelis or Palestinians. From the moment the world became aware of the horror unfolding across the Negev on October 7th, it was clear that this was no ordinary Israeli-Palestinian skirmish. From the medieval barbarity of the Hamas rampage to the breathtaking intelligence failure that enabled it to the scorched-earth devastation of Gaza to the unprecedented political dysfunction on both sides, this time really is different. The amplifications and distortions of social media, the use of performative proxy-wars and propaganda, and the leveraging of loaded language as a borderless extension of the belligerence have all added a whole new layer of complexity to the conflict.

In editing this issue, we wanted to present a balance of voices representing the full panorama of the story without simply echoing what you've read since October. We do not agree with every view expressed in these pages — that would be impossible since, as always on this conflict, some are contradictory — but we respect the experience and insight of the authors expressing them, and thank them all for sharing both with *Policy* readers.

First, former diplomat Jeremy Kinsman, who served as ambassador to Russia, to the European Union and to Italy, and as high commissioner to the United Kingdom, gives us an overview and insight as to how Israelis and Palestinians might move forward in, *The Possibilities for Peace*.

Former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, in accepting the Herzl Award from the World Jewish Congress in New York in November, made an eloquent acceptance speech indispensable to our cover package. "Antisemitism, born in ignorance and nurtured in envy," said the former prime minister, "is the stepchild of delusion and evil and is a scourge that must be eradicated."

In *Why, Once Again, Israel Will Survive*, McGill history professor, US presidential historian and *Policy* Contributing Writer Gil Troy, who lives mostly in Tel Aviv, conveys the mood on the ground in the wake of "Israel's 9/11", and where this hinge of history fits in its Zionist story.

In *The Children of Gaza Deserve Peace*, *Policy* Contributing Writer Aftab Ahmed describes the terrible death toll among Palestinian children produced by Israel's bombardment, and where it stands as a test of international humanitarian law.

Our regular contributors former Privy Council Clerk Kevin Lynch and former White House aide Paul Deegan err eloquently on the side of moral clarity with, *Canada's Moment to Show Leadership on Antisemitism*.

And, my own piece, *Israelis, Palestinians and Democratic Peace Theory*, explores how the hijacking of democracy on both sides has influenced outcomes.

In our *Canada and the World* section, the must-read *Policy* Q&A: *Jim Munson with Jean Chrétien on Loving Canada, Hating No-One and Turning 90*. "You know, my father always liked to say, in

French, '*Grouille ou rouille!*', quips Chrétien. "Or, 'If you don't move, you rust'."

Former longtime diplomat Senator Peter Boehm, now chair of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, summarizes the committee's report on modernizing Canada's foreign service in *Meeting the Global Challenge: Strengthening Canada's Diplomacy*.

Our COP28 correspondent, Green Party Leader Elizabeth May, filed the must-read *A Climate Lifeline Worth Grabbing from Dubai*, about the global consensus on a transition away from fossil fuels.

In *Kissinger on Canada, or Realism vs. Self-Righteousness* at Madison Square Garden, former career foreign service officer Colin Robertson relates his encounters with the late, formidable éminence grise and Kissinger's impact on foreign policy.

Our sponsored Issue Article is a policy piece from the Forestry Products Association of Canada on the year that was for a crucial Canadian industry, *The Year that Proved Why Forestry Matters*.

With his regular *Policy* column, the great Don Newman tackles the prospect of a second Trump presidency in *Welcome to 2024 and Happy New Year**.

And, in our Book Reviews section, we close on a lighter note with Paul Deegan's review of *Picturing the Game: An Illustrated Story of Hockey*, from our friends at McGill Queen's University Press.

Enjoy the issue! **P**

Policy Editor and Publisher Lisa Van Dusen served as Washington columnist for Sun Media, international writer for Peter Jennings at ABC News and editor at AP National in New York and UPI in Washington. She was also communications director for the McGill Middle East Program in Civil Society and Peace Building.



As the worst escalation in bilateral violence in decades runs its course, the prospects for peace seem both distant and more urgent than ever. —KQED

The Possibilities for Peace in the Middle East

As any veteran Middle East peace process observer will tell you, it is often darkest before the dawn in the most intractable bilateral conflict on Earth. Our own foreign policy sage Jeremy Kinsman looks at the implications of the most recent low points in the Israeli-Palestinian dynamic and the possibilities for moving forward.

By Jeremy Kinsman

The war in the Middle East has returned the territorial conflict between Israel and the Palestinians to the top of the international news lineup. It had been, sporadically, a lead story and an enduring geopolitical friction point for more than 75 years, but lapsed as Israel prospered and the power dynamic shifted.

In Israel, the fates of the 1200 citizens murdered October 7 by Hamas fanatics and the 240 hostages taken back into Gaza broke the country's heart. Israel's grief, anger, and pain compelled the government to commit to eliminating the maniacal terrorist threat forever, while exacting justice today. It explains the massive bombing campaign that the *Financial Times* estimates has done

more damage to Northern Gaza than WWII allied bombing did to Dresden.

As Robert A. Pape detailed in *Foreign Affairs* on December 8, the bombing campaign will likely fail to eliminate Hamas, while further alienating the Palestinian people. Apart from the need to respond to the nightmarish assault of October 7 by trying to elimi-

nate a murderous enemy forever, Israel's strategy has no clear path beyond the military campaign.

President Joe Biden had advised Israel not to overreact hastily in its military response. US Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin cautioned Israel about the costs of gaining a tactical military victory but failing strategically to address the root causes of the conflict.

The question then, is "What next?"

However it is accomplished, a pathway is needed to a real process toward a viable Palestinian state adjacent to Israel, either the two-state solution, or, more exotically, some kind of confederation. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has fought his whole career against a Palestinian state. Though 76% of the Israeli population wants him to resign his office once the military campaign against Hamas is resolved or tempered, the complexities of Israeli politics may keep him in power.

A peace process will need a different Israeli leader. It will also need a viable and responsible Palestinian partner. Hamas is excluded from that status by belief and behaviour. The corrupt and unelected Palestinian Authority (PA) in the West Bank is not up to it, though individuals associated with Palestinian participation in the moribund peace process such as Hanan Ashrawi, who has been an invaluable interlocutor of Canadian foreign ministers, certainly are.

That process needs to be reinvented, revitalized, and meaningfully internationalized. Impetus and insistence will have to emerge from international involvement to administer an outcome that provides a path to a Palestinian state while enabling Israel's overarching need for national security. Internally, Israelis will need to reckon with their current extremist coalition government, which has clearly failed in its responsibilities.

The IDF campaign against Hamas in Gaza has reportedly killed several thousand militants who seek defen-

sive refuge among the general population, or in tunnels. Tactical Israeli bombing has collaterally killed about 17,000 civilians at this writing, including more than 5,000 women and 6,000 children (the US State Department says the toll may well be higher). The IDF claimed to heed the US injunction to spare civilians, but the civilian mortality toll has been frightful. About 80% of Gaza's dense population of 2.2 million have been displaced by the violence. The situation is a humanitarian catastrophe. At this writing, there is no longer a humanitarian program, since there is now no longer electricity or energy in Gaza, and barely any clean water or food.

“However it is accomplished, the end game needs to create a pathway to a real process toward a viable Palestinian state adjacent to Israel, either the two-state solution, or, more exotically, some kind of confederation.”

An Israeli essential minimum objective to decapitate Hamas leadership in Gaza may well partly succeed, but Hamas' top-down control over Gaza will likely be broken. Still, Israeli bombing is almost certainly "producing more terrorists than it is killing," as Americans (who learned the lesson in Vietnam and Iraq) had warned them it would. As Pape reminds us, the bombing of civilians never succeeds in causing them to revolt against their own government. Accordingly, Hamas may be curtailed as an actively resistant organization, but its mythology will endure as the Palestinian militants who "stood up to Israel". Polling in mid-November depicted 76% of Palestinians as viewing Hamas positively, considerably higher than previous polls.

However, given that Hamas will be out of the political picture as an organization, Palestinian opinion will now be shaped by what happens next on the Palestinian issues, including to Gaza.

Apart from its homicidal intention, the strategic Hamas objective of its terror attacks October 7 was to revive support for the more or less sidelined Palestinian cause internationally, and to make the issue again an overriding obligation of Arab states, and specifically to derail the Israeli-Saudi accord that was emerging under Biden's leadership. In these aims, the appalling attack largely succeeded. Many analysts have concluded that Hamas cynically hoped to prompt a massive Israeli military attack that would cost many Palestinian lives.

The most productive outcome of this disastrous conflict for the people of Gaza would be the decisive rejection by all Palestinians of the core malign aim embedded in the Hamas charter, to undo the creation of the state of Israel and restore the land to Palestinians displaced in 1948 by the *Nakba*, their "catastrophe" of expulsion and exile.

On Gaza's future, though Netanyahu declared his expectation the IDF will occupy the territory "for an indefinite period," the reality is that this would only deepen the Gazan population's collective hostility toward Israel. At the same time, despite having been supported by Biden, there is little chance that the Palestinian Authority, which nominally administers the non-contiguous and semi-autonomous West Bank territory, will replace Hamas as administrator of Gaza. The PA, which has not held an election in over 15 years, is controlled by Fatah, the secular political descendant of the PLO, that has been a dire rival of Islamist Hamas. Israel under Ariel Sharon withdrew in 2005 from Gaza, which it had occupied since the 1967 War, and Fatah moved in, only to be displaced by more militant Hamas in the 2006 Gaza election. The Palestinian Authority/Fatah could not now credibly

re-assume control in Gaza as the political outcome of an Israeli military operation.

Any objective observer, including the Biden administration, now recognizes that the need for a Palestinian state is more urgent than ever. If that need is not accommodated, this cycle of violence will never end. Eventually, it will ignite wider war with unknown but ominous international consequences, which adds to the need for international engagement in a solution.

The pathway to a solution cannot be set by the two entrenched antagonists, either the irridentist hard-liners in Palestine who refuse the legitimacy of Israel's existence, or those in Israel who refuse to recognize the authenticity and legitimacy of the Palestinian people and their aspiration to have their own sovereign state.

It collides with the counter-aspiration of *"eretz Israel,"* the outright incorporation of the biblically mandated provinces of Judea and Samaria that compose the Palestinian West Bank, which constitutes a core belief of many in Likud, and which has heavily influenced government policy since Menachem Begin won power for Likud in 1977. At that time, there were scarcely 4,000 Jewish settlers on what was the Israeli-occupied West Bank, which the United Nations declared in 1967 should be divested. Successive Israeli governments have pursued a policy of creating "facts on the ground" in defiance of these edicts. Today, there are over 500,000 settlers whose enterprise is at the centre of Israeli politics, creating a major impediment to a conflict resolution. As a leader of the settler movement told the BBC's Jeremy Bowen, "You cannot occupy your own land. Israel is not an occupier because that's the land of Israel."

With the internationally brokered, aspirational and incrementalist Oslo Accords of 1995, a peaceful conclusion seemed possible. But that hope was scuttled by repeated failures, including Camp David II in 2000. The intransigent components of both

sides to the conflict resumed their inter-dependent cycles of harsher terms of occupation, terrorism and violent protest, including the second *Intifada* that began in the fall of 2000.

It would be unrealistic not to recognize that prospects for a Palestinian state that has real autonomy are superficially even lower than they were before the Hamas attack of October 7th based on the obliteration of already depleted trust on both sides. Israelis are less inclined to take any risk with their security and hostility to Israel from Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza has deepened, with incalculable impacts on younger generations from both sides.

“A plan for a pathway has to be more convincing in effectiveness than anything the UN has ever done. It must be US-led, backed by viable security guarantees.”

Decades of effort have been spent by civil society on joint people-to-people bridge and confidence-building initiatives between Israelis and Palestinians — in culture, as by conductor Daniel Barenboim, or in health care, as with the international Rozema Project led in Canada by former Ambassador Jon Allen, or in day-to-day life, as pursued by Canadian peace activist Vivian Silver, slaughtered by Hamas assailants October 7th. But despite such efforts, the two-state solution fell by the wayside. Netanyahu promised utmost security to a modernizing Israel. Much of the Israeli population normalized the static and oppressive Palestinian conditions under occupation. The notion of a two-state solution became an empty slogan.

It will be a stretch for many Israelis to accept that the goal of a two-state solution has to be revived as the price of peace, and that it needs to be overseen internationally. A plan for

a pathway has to be more convincing in effectiveness than anything the UN has ever done. It must be US-led, backed by viable security guarantees. An advantage is that there are now six, mostly wealthy, Arab states that have diplomatic relations with Israel and they can contribute to rebuilding Gaza and support the West Bank.

Will the US be able to bring Israel behind such a serious peace project? If international engagement is to work, it obviously has to be with Israel on-side. As Peter Baker of the *New York Times* and others report, the US has played an intense dual diplomatic role in this crisis, giving Israel maximum public support while counselling restraint and reflection in private, including to other key countries in the region. Netanyahu has publicly ignored US advice. Would a change in Israeli leadership — to ex-defense chief Benny Gantz, for example, who is preferred according to polls — make a meaningful difference provided a new approach is not re-packaged from the past? It will require serious pressure from the US, a tough ask of the US in an election year, already disrupted by a weakening of resolve in Congress over Ukraine.

The US political scene is at least as roiled as Israel's, the Democratic Party particularly so over the Gaza issue itself (Gallup reveals that 63% of Democrats oppose Israel's actions in Gaza). The US diplomatic effort in the crisis has been commendable. But the path ahead can only be cleared by more than nudges to both sides. Joe Biden may see this leadership challenge as the value proposition for his re-election, or his legacy cause if he does decide to complete his service with just one term. Either way, the resolution could be epic, or a costly failure in an already dangerously combustible region. **P**

Contributing Writer Jeremy Kinsman served as Canada's Ambassador to Russia, the European Union, Italy and as High Commissioner to the United Kingdom. He is a Distinguished Fellow of the Canadian International Council.



Brian Mulroney accepting the Theodor Herzl Award at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, November 9, 2023. —World Jewish Congress/Shahar Azran image

‘We Must Be Saved by Faith’: Brian Mulroney Accepting the Herzl Award

Former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney was honoured by the World Jewish Congress in New York last November with the Theodor Herzl Award. Below is the full text of his speech.

By Rt. Hon. Brian Mulroney

In his book *Explaining Hitler*, Ron Rosenbaum tells of Hitler, just prior to his suicide, as the Third Reich lay in ruins, calling on Germans to “above all else (continue) the struggle against the Jews, the eternal poisoners of the world.”

Who would have imagined that this call, virtually from the grave, would be heeded more than 80 years later, on an otherwise ordinary Saturday in October when we witnessed in horror and disbelief the largest single-day murder of Jews since the Holocaust?

The most sacred duty of any government is to provide for the security of

its citizens. No government could let these obscenities go unpunished and retain the trust of its people. Hamas knew full well the reaction its murderous rampage against innocents would provoke. They knew and didn’t care. Indeed, it is the reaction they sought. They chose to put the lives of the two million people of Gaza they claim to defend in mortal danger in a deliber-

ate, nihilistic attempt to set the Middle East on fire.

But why would they do this? It was not to increase the likelihood of a Palestinian state. It was not to improve the lives of the people of Gaza. So, why? Because these are terrorists in the purest sense of the word for whom the senseless violent act satisfies the strategic objective, killing Jews.

Hamas knew something else. They knew they could count on a legion of apologists who, while decrying attacks on Jews here at home, are prepared to accept attacks on Jews in Israel as deserved.

Contemporary antisemitism has added the State of Israel to its list of targets. Israel has become the new Jew. Stripped of its intellectual pretensions, of the cloak of human rights, these ritual denunciations of Israel with which we have become all too familiar are a pernicious form of racism.

I do not believe in collective guilt or collective responsibility. Only the killers, and the organization they serve, are guilty of these atrocities. Their women and children are not. And yet, Hamas is using them to pay the price while they scurry about safely in tunnels, demonstrating to the world that they care no more for the lives of Palestinians than for the Jews they slaughtered. President Clinton once said that Leadership is the capacity to look around the corner of history, just a little bit. And that is why, though the wounds are still open, and the pain raw and visceral, it is the work of leaders to remember that it is never too early to begin planning for what comes after.

And what comes after should be dedicated to Israel's first prime minister David Ben-Gurion's belief that: "Real peace with our Arab neighbours (will require) a settlement they will not reluctantly agree to live with but will enthusiastically welcome from their hearts as essential for our common future — that is our only true security. Then together we could turn the Middle East into a second Garden of Eden and one of the great creative centres of the earth."

Elie Wiesel once asked: "What have I learned in the last 40 years? I learned the perils of language and those of silence. I learned that in extreme situations where human lives and dignity are at stake, neutrality is a sin. It helps the killers, not the victims." I am far too familiar with the history of my country, to ever be silent or neutral when it comes to the victims of antisemitism. In the spring of 1937, two years after the Nuremberg Race Laws were enacted, Canada's Prime Minister Mackenzie King visited Germany to meet Chancellor Adolf Hitler, after which he recorded the following in his diary: "My sizing up ... was that he is really one who truly loves his fellowman... As I talked with him I could not but think of Joan of Arc. He is distinctly a mystic."

“There come times in a nation's history when the failure to do the right thing has consequences so great that its footfalls haunt us through history.”

The following day, King lunched with the Nazi foreign minister Konstantin von Neurath, who "admitted that they had taken some pretty rough steps ... but the truth was the country was going to pieces ... (The Jews) were getting control of all the business, the finance, and ... it was necessary to get them out to have the Germans really control their own city and affairs." How did Canada's prime minister react to these diabolically racist and extremely ominous comments by the most powerful leaders of the Third Reich? "I wrote a letter of some length by hand to von Neurath whom I like exceedingly. He is, if there ever was one, a genuinely kind, good man."

King's description of Hitler as a latter-day Joan of Arc, and von Neurath as a good man was not the reaction of an ignorant rube duped by slick salesmen of hate. No. Von Neurath's antisemitic screed simply validated

what he, the prime minister of Canada, already believed. We know this because, a few months before his trip to Germany, King revealed himself when he met an elderly Russian immigrant who related that he had built a furniture and clothing business on Rideau and Bank streets in Ottawa, had three sons and a daughter, and was now retired: a true Canadian success story. King recorded in his diary: "The only unfortunate part ... is that the Jews having acquired foothold ... it will not be long before this part of Ottawa will become more or less possessed by them."

This, from the prime minister of Canada.

The prime minister sets both the agenda and the tone in Ottawa. Is it any wonder then that Canada's doors were slammed shut to Jewish immigrants before and during the war? Or that, when asked how many Jews would be allowed into Canada, a senior immigration official famously replied: "None is too many." Or that a shipload of desperate Jews were denied entry and instead sailed back to Europe on a voyage of the damned.

There come times in a nation's history when the failure to do the right thing has consequences so great that its footfalls haunt us through history. This was such a time, a time when Canada's heritage and promise were dishonoured. To this day, I cannot watch footage of the faces of Jewish mothers, fathers and children consigned to the gas chambers without, as a Canadian, feeling a great sense of sorrow, loss and guilt.

I was born in Baie-Comeau, a small paper mill town on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River in 1939, a few months before Canada declared war on Hitler's Germany. There were no Jews in Baie-Comeau. It was not until I entered law school at Université Laval in Quebec City in 1960 that I really came to know Jews.

I had two Jewish classmates, Michael Kastner and Israel (Sonny) Mass, one from a wealthy family and one working class like me. We became friends

and remain so to this day. I learned about the tiny but impressive Jewish community there, but little of its history and challenges in Canada.

It was when I moved to Montreal to practise law in 1964 that I first came into contact with a large Jewish community, which ignited my interest in and support of the Jews and Israel. By this time, the horrors of the Holocaust and the systematic persecution of Jews were fully documented. Why, I asked myself, would such evil be visited upon anyone, and specifically the families of this vibrant community I was getting to know?

The Jews of Montreal were remarkable. Families were close, values were taught, education was revered, work was honoured and success was expected. How could it be, I often wondered, that the progenitors of people demonstrably making such a powerful contribution to the economic, cultural and political life of Montreal and Canada were reviled over centuries and decimated in a six-year period, beginning in the year of my birth?

Thus began my first serious reflections on antisemitism. Following the Holocaust, the cry of “never again” became both affirmation and promise. We hoped that humanity would forswear antisemitism forever. The founding of the state of Israel in 1948 reinforced this hope. In 1976, at a Quebec Economic Summit chaired by Premier René Lévesque, I was astonished to hear the president of the Quebec teachers union denounce Sam Steinberg and other Montreal Jewish leaders in a decidedly racist manner. Although I was only a member of the private sector at the time, I demanded the microphone and denounced him and his views on the spot.

That day, I promised myself that if I were ever in a position of leadership, I would do what I could to lift some of the stain from our national character left from that time in the 1930s when we abandoned the Jewish people at the very time in their history that they most needed our protection.

So, in 1984, as Leader of the Opposition, when the (Pierre Trudeau) government invited the Palestine Liberation Organization’s United Nations representative to be heard in Parliament, at a time when the PLO was officially designated as a terrorist organization, I summoned the Israeli ambassador from his sickbed to my office so that we could jointly excoriate both the government and the PLO.

“Hatred is learned. Therein lies both the problem and the solution: education, education, education.”

In 1985, now prime minister, my government appointed the Deschênes Commission of Inquiry on Nazi War Criminals who had escaped to Canada, because, as I said then, “our citizenship shall not be dishonoured by those who preach hatred” and “Canada shall never become a safe haven for such persons.”

I appointed Jews to my cabinet and to the highest reaches of the public service and judiciary. I appointed three Jews in succession, Stanley Hartt, Norman Spector, and Hugh Segal as chief of staff, perhaps the most sensitive and influential unelected position in Ottawa. I appointed Norman Spector as Canada’s first Jewish ambassador to Israel, smashing the odious myth of dual loyalties that had prevented Jews from serving in that position for 40 years. I invited Chaim Herzog to make the first official state visit to Canada by a president of Israel. On June 27, 1989, I had the high honour of introducing President Herzog as he spoke to a joint session of the House of Commons and Senate.

Sen. David Croll was an outstanding member of the Jewish community from Ontario, elected to Parliament as a Liberal in 1945. He never made cabinet for no apparent reason other than that he was a Jew. I elevated this remarkable Canadian to the Privy Council on his ninetieth birthday.

As Leader of the Opposition, I articulated my view of Canada’s foreign policy in the Middle East when I said that Canada under my government would treat fairly with the moderate nations in the region such as Jordan, but that, first and foremost, Canada would make an “unshakable commitment” to the integrity and well-being of Israel. And for my nine years as prime minister we did precisely that.

We committed Canada to participate in the Gulf War in 1991. The many reasons included the security of Israel. History will record we did the right thing.

In 1993, I was the first foreign leader invited to meet with President Clinton. At a joint news conference, we were asked about the peace process. I said: “I’m always very concerned when people start to lecture Israel on the manner in which it looks after its own internal security, because for very important historical reasons, Israel is of course best qualified to make determinations about its own well-being.” I believe that to be true today.

This does not mean that Israel should be immune from criticism. One can strongly disagree with policies of the Government of Israel without being called an antisemite. Nor does it mean that a strong defence of Israel’s right to security precludes the acceptance of a Palestinian state whose citizens can know the benefits of health care, education, economic opportunities and growing prosperity. This should be the objective of all who believe in justice and the dignity of mankind.

The rise in attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions around the world testify to the intractability of the problem and the constant need for vigilance, consistency and strength in dealing with the entire sweep of antisemitism.

But this latest surge of antisemitism did not suddenly surface out of nowhere. It is part of the historical continuum that was only briefly interrupted following the Second World War. In the wake of the Holocaust that

killed two out of every three European Jews, a butcher's bill so obscene that even now, more than 80 years later, it beggars understanding, firewalls were thrown up, and the bonfires of antisemitism were for a time reduced to flickering embers.

But those firewalls, weakened by the passage of time and willful neglect, have been breached. Cloaked in the armour of free speech, fuelled by hate and stoked by the oxygen of the internet and social media, those fires now burn out of control.

A telling example of that neglect is that, according to a recent study, 22 per cent of young Canadian adults haven't heard about, or weren't sure they had heard about, the Holocaust, 49 per cent couldn't name a concentration camp, 54 per cent were unaware that six million Jews were killed during the Holocaust, and 57% said that people now care less about the Holocaust. American surveys on the subject have returned results just as discouraging.

No child comes into this world a hater. Hatred is learned. Therein lies both the problem and the solution: education, education, education. Our children must be taught why this soul devouring virus cannot be countenanced and why it must be eradicated. And recent studies report that 93 per cent of Americans and 85 per cent of Canadians, agree. But that support only counts if it can be translated into action.

It can be done, and it is not difficult to do. Indeed, the Government of Ontario, in which my daughter Caroline is a cabinet minister, introduced mandatory Holocaust education to its Grade 6 curriculum at the start of this schoolyear to match an existing requirement in the Grade 10 Canadian history curriculum.

The governments of Canada and the United States, and others, have and continue to develop policies and programs to tackle antisemitism. These are all necessary, all overdue, and all to the good. However, to relegate antisemitism to the realm of public policy and to count solely on government

to deal with this noxious social cancer does a disservice to the victims behind the faceless, impersonal statistics of hate.

It would be a mistake to believe that government action absolves us of our obligation to our fellow citizens. Indeed, it is more than an obligation; it is a moral imperative, one best described by Henry Melvill, the Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral who, two centuries ago, wrote: "Ye cannot live only for yourselves. A thousand fibres connect you with your fellowmen; and along those fibres, as along sympathetic threads, run your actions as causes, and return to you as effects."

“Antisemitism, born in ignorance and nurtured in envy, is the stepchild of delusion and evil and is a scourge that must be eradicated.”

Canadians and Americans share an incontrovertible truth. We are all children of immigrants. We have been ennobled and enriched by every culture and religion that thrives in the rich soil of our freedom.

We derive our strength and our energy from our diversity, and while Jews may remain separate from others in the specifics of their faith, they are joined intimately with all of us in their pride of citizenship, their love of peace, and their appreciation for what jewels we have in these civilized and mature nations. Like any gem, we at times show a rough edge, but stand out as beacons of freedom when held up to the light of human experience.

We are home for millions who have sought sanctuary and a fresh beginning far removed from the savage winds of violence which afflict so many parts of the world. There is no word in the English language more comforting, more welcoming than home. More than a place, it conjures

up the primal human need for sanctuary and acceptance, and more than anything else, the word home evokes a sense of belonging.

In the final analysis, Jews are our fellow citizens; they are our friends; they are our neighbours. And this is their home. But until they feel safe and accepted, it will never, in any complete sense, be home for anyone.

I have, in what seems no more than the blink of an eye, gone from a young to an old man. In the Old Testament, the Prophet Joel says young men have visions and old men dream dreams. And in my dreams, antisemitism is no more.

It will require the vision and the leadership of the young to make that dream come true. It will not be easy, but leadership, that innate, indelible mark of character, steeped in integrity, courage, conviction, and underscored by the moral imperative to do the right thing, never relents, and never retreats when faced with great difficulty or uncertain success.

Life is an unending series of challenges from which no one emerges unscathed. I can remember the accomplishments and the setbacks. I can recall the splendour of the view from the highest mountaintop and the sorrow one feels in the valley of defeat. Defeat is not something to fear but surrender is something to reject.

Antisemitism, born in ignorance and nurtured in envy is the stepchild of delusion and evil and is a scourge that must be eradicated. It will not be stamped out in my lifetime, nor in the lifetime of my children, or even, sadly, in that of my grandchildren.

But as Reinhold Niebuhr reminded us: "Nothing worth doing is completed in our lifetime; therefore, we must be saved by hope. Nothing fine or beautiful or good makes complete sense in any immediate context of history; therefore, we must be saved by faith."

I urge you all to keep the faith in the trying days to come. **P**



A solidarity protest on the Pariser Platz in Berlin, October 8, 2023. —Leonhard Lenz via Wikimedia

Why, Once Again, Israel Will Survive

The horror of the October 7th Hamas rampage across southern Israel triggered the same collective Jewish trauma that the country's creation was meant to prevent from ever happening again. US Presidential historian and McGill University professor Gil Troy writes of this as an existential moment — of how life in Israel goes on, just as Israel itself will go on.

By Gil Troy

On October 7, Hamas won the first round of its war against decency by thinking outside the box. Having scrutinized Israel's blinding *conceptzia* — a Hebrew word meaning bull-headed conventional wisdom — Hamas caught Israel thinking too conventionally. Or, as the *New York Times* columnist Bret Stephens put it, Hamas had more “strategic imagination” than Israel had strategically imagined. The result was the country's worst day ever, and a wake-up call for Israel and the West. Fortunately, Israel survived by pivoting. Israelis have been thinking outside the box ever since.

For Israelis, learning what went wrong is for the “day after.” Fighting for their lives, on the other hand, Israelis understand: Win now; assess your mistakes and your politicians later. The West,

however, can and should start learning from its mistakes immediately, analyzing its own failed *conceptzia*.

Within minutes of the Palestinian rampage — which included untrained, “non-combatant” Gazans, happily following the Hamas terrorists — Israelis were already saving Israel. They did it by improvising, if just a little too late.

Three factors saved Israel that day. First, Hezbollah did not attack simultaneously from the north. A pincer movement, especially given how many Israelis live in cities bordering Lebanon, would have killed exponentially more people and would have been much harder to subdue. A second factor is perverse. The apparent glee Hamas took in committing unspeakable crimes distracted them from further expanding their attack. Perhaps every survivor, every mourner for those defiled as they died, can take solace in knowing that every additional,

agonizing, minute each victim suffered, slowed the advance, aiding Israel's counterattack. Most important, when the government failed and the IDF failed, the people of Israel saved themselves. Despite the devastation, it's miraculous that Israel repelled more than 3,000 terrorists from within, within a day.

We will soon be reading these stories in books and seeing them dramatized in movies. Contrary to popular impression, certain army units scrambled to the front. Some of Israel's best-trained soldiers faced the firefight of their lives at Kfar Aza, Be'eri and other villages. The hour or two spent reaching the south allowed the enemy to hunker down and set up ambushes, including at most intersections. The cavalry didn't come for many hours, partially because the cavalry was busy fighting house-to-house.

Simultaneously, reservists, cops, retired soldiers, and hundreds of trained,

armed, patriots who make up Israel's citizens' army, went to war and made history. They had no commanders. They had no idea what they were facing. But, desperate, they improvised. One soldier I know hitched a ride with some strangers from special units. They defended a key intersection, which they sensed Hamas needed to continue raiding up the coast toward Tel Aviv. As good twentysomethings, they quickly created a WhatsApp group. They spent the day sharing positions and warning one another, as wave after wave of terrorists in "tenders" – pickup trucks – tried breaking through their ambush.

Meanwhile, at the Supernova festival that Hamas turned into a killing field, similar heroics and creative responses saved many concertgoers. One police officer led 500 revelers in cars to safety using Google Maps to find a backroad Hamas hadn't blocked. A Bedouin driver and a neighboring Israeli farmer ferried out dozens more under fire.

An armed citizenry, a trained citizenry, and a creative, heroic, patriotic citizenry, fought terrorist by terrorist, rapist by rapist, to save their country. By nightfall, 1500 terrorist bodies were rotting throughout the Shangi-La they tried ruining – but which will soon be rebuilt and resurrected.

This extraordinary counterattack was critical ideologically and psychologically, not just militarily. Even as Israelis started using the Hebrew word 'kiyoomi', meaning existential, to describe the Hamas threat, even as they wallowed in tragedy after tragedy, they burst open a pathway out of this trauma vortex. During pogroms, no one came to save Jews. During the Holocaust, the mass slaughter continued for years. On October 7, every act of Israeli resistance shifted the narrative arc from millennia of Jewish suffering to another chapter in the Zionist quest to build a Jewish homeland. That blue-and-white story is no fairy tale. It is potted with enemies, failures, tragedies. But it is also a story of fighting your enemies when necessary, and rebuilding, renewing, healing, and dreaming, always.

As of this writing, IDF High Command claims Hamas is in tatters. Many key terrorist commanders are dead. The IDF

seized a staggering amount of weaponry and degraded an even more overwhelming military infrastructure. But now comes Israel's unconventional thinkers' greatest test — how not to lose the war you seem to have won by blowing the peace.

Israel needs a diplomatic reset and the West does, too. Israelis cannot retreat to October 6th thinking, no matter how much pressure they endure. Making political mistakes is inevitable, excusable; refusing to learn from them is unconscionable.

“ Even as Israelis started using the Hebrew word 'kiyoomi', meaning existential, to describe the Hamas threat, even as they wallowed in tragedy after tragedy, they burst open a pathway out of this trauma vortex. ”

In short, before telling Israel what not to do, propose realistic plans suggesting what Israel can do, to defend itself and its citizens. Defending the nation is an army's primary moral responsibility – and central mission. Only when the enemy fears Israel more than Israelis fear terrorism can Israel survive – and will 150,000 displaced Israelis return to their homes. In 2014, a *Deutsche Welle* reporter interviewed Israel's legendary leftist Amos Oz about Israel's Hobson's choice regarding a ground offensive against Hamas in Gaza. Turning the tables, Oz asked “What would you do if your neighbor across the street sat down on the balcony, put his little boy on his lap and started shooting machine-gun fire into your nursery?”

Similarly, when imagining a “day after” scenario with a degraded Hamas, politically and militarily, Israel – and the world – must proceed cautiously. The Palestinian Authority is so weak, corrupt, and hated by most Palestinians, that the international community loses credibility with Israelis and Arabs every time some diplomat proposes the PA take over Gaza. Even less attainable is a Saudi and UAE-based protectorate. The Saudis and their allies are too shrewd to put themselves

in the middle. Perhaps some local leadership, leaning into Gaza's clans, some of whom resisted Hamas, might work.

Westerners should understand that while Israelis are not all good and Palestinians are not evil, Hamas is an evil, anti-Semitic, anti-Western force. Two months after this horror, Israelis remain dazed, in mourning, still, as I write, wondering about 137 fellow citizens being held hostage, tortured, sexually violated. But, for all the sorrow, the burials, the loss, Israel's refusal to be defeated keeps triumphing.

Amid this, the worst eight weeks of our lives, we Troys enjoyed one of the best weeks in our lives – when our eldest son and his fiancée decided to stick to their pre-October 7th plans and get married November 26. Planning this wartime wedding was the most insane thing we – mostly meaning the two moms and the young couple – ever did. My son serves as an officer in the north, with two other siblings deployed, too. It's hard to care whether the tables are round or square, the tablecloths yellow or white, when young heroes are being buried, and innocent bodies are still being identified, having been burned and disfigured so badly. But such decisions had to be made, so the party could go on.

Under the wedding canopy, two first cousins from the Gaza corridor, who endured hours in their respective safe rooms, prayed for the evacuees: the 150,000 Israelis the world ignores who cannot sleep in their homes until the IDF neutralizes the Hamas and Hezbollah threats. My son's commander, from Sderot, who lost 10 friends and relatives, and knows five hostages, prayed for the kidnapped hostages. Having acknowledged our pain, we and our 450 guests then danced, danced, danced.

We will never stop defending ourselves when necessary and rebuilding, renewing, and dreaming, always. And we will never, ever, stop dancing. **P**

Professor Gil Troy is a Distinguished Scholar in North American History at McGill University. The author of numerous books on the American presidency, he is, most recently, editor of the three-volume set, Theodor Herzl: Zionist Writings, the inaugural publication of The Library of the Jewish People.



'Do we, whether supporters of Israel or Palestine, want to leave a better world for the next generation of both Israelis and Palestinians?' asks Aftab Ahmed.
—UNICEF/UNI485731/El Baba

Gaza's Children Deserve Peace

There are polite ways to describe the civilian death toll in Gaza, especially of children, from Israel's war against Hamas. US Secretary of State Antony Blinken described it as a 'gap'; 'between...the intent to protect civilians and the actual results that we're seeing on the ground.' Since the early hours of October 7th and throughout Israel's retaliatory operation, international humanitarian law has faced a litmus test, with Gazan children shouldering the heaviest burden of the war.

By Aftab Ahmed

In early November, an extraordinary scene unfolded at Gaza's Al-Shifa Hospital: a group of Palestinian children held a press conference. A young boy, with remarkable poise and clarity, stood front and centre, addressing the media with a sense of purpose that could best be described as admirable, and using the English language to express an emotional clarion call: he invited the international community to save Gaza from total annihilation.

He spoke not only for the 20 other children standing behind him, but for all Gazans, articulating demands for the protection of sacrosanct rights often taken for granted: shelter, food, education, and the right to live in peace without the fear of extermination, killing, or bombings. His plea was for a life similar to that of children elsewhere. At that moment, today's reality was laid bare: 21st-century civilization, with its collective consciousness and in the presence of frameworks governing the rules of war, may profess to value human rights. Yet, in

the name of self-defence, foreign policymaking, and strategic foresight, it is equally adept at crushing the hopes, dreams, and, to a large extent, the existential viability of Gazan children.

The attacks by Hamas on Israelis, including Israeli children, on October 7 were abhorrent. Plain and simple. Since then, Al-Shifa has become a manifestation of a recurring issue in wartime: the juxtaposition between the need to protect the sanctity, universality, indispensability, and inalienability of human rights, especial-

ly those of vulnerable non-combatants such as children and the elderly, versus the national security objectives of a democracy treaty-bound to uphold international humanitarian law. Delving into both issues is important for understanding how human rights principles overlap in the context of Gaza's children: first, the specific stipulations of international humanitarian law regarding the rights of children in combat zones, and second, the actual realities that are being faced by Gazan children today.

International humanitarian law is clear: First, it requires combatants, in this case both the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) and Hamas, to bear legal responsibility for the protection of children in situations of armed conflict. The Geneva Conventions, and the 1977 Additional Protocols, extend protective coverage to children similarly to other civilians during war. This coverage includes special provisions for those under 18, categorizing children as recipients of "special respect" in such times.

Israel's codified commitment to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child also imposes a specific set of responsibilities – responsibilities which the Netanyahu government has seemingly sidelined. This Convention, comprising 54 articles, aims to ensure the safety and wellbeing of children, including during periods of armed conflict. It establishes specific duties for sovereign entities such as Israel to protect children from violence, abuse, and neglect at both civil and political levels. Article 38, in particular, obligates and reinforces the Israeli government's duty to respect and ensure compliance with all, not just some, aspects of international humanitarian law. This requirement is especially pertinent given Israel's status as a UN member state, a democracy, and a strategic ally of those who claim to be leaders of a rights-based world order.

The bottom line is that Israel cannot cherry-pick which aspects of international humanitarian law it follows. In theory, Israel should be taking proactive measures, rather than merely reactive ones, for the protection and care of children affected by armed conflict.

Readers can make their own judgment on whether Israel's defence measures in Gaza are consistent with the human rights principles, norms, and treaties it has signed onto. Credible allegations of breaches of international humanitarian law have surfaced, indicating a combination of consistent, overt, and latent violations of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

As things stand, democracies, akin to the combatant parties, have been unsuccessful in securing the Palestinian children's right to life, much less a life of peace or one that upholds the rights enshrined in international humanitarian law.

“ This requirement is especially pertinent given Israel's status as a UN member state, a democracy, and a strategic ally of those who claim to be leaders of a rights-based world order. ”

And the unfortunate part is that global actors, who have the ability but choose not to make a difference in de-escalating tensions between Israelis and Palestinians, will never be held accountable in a court of law for not opposing the defense policy tactics undertaken by the Netanyahu government. Child rights have been relegated to the realm of humanitarian agencies and their unheard calls for dying children to be protected – as was the case during the Cold War era in Bangladesh and East Timor, and in more recent conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Disappointingly, the fact that Gaza has become a graveyard for thousands of children does not resonate enough with those who believe that a permanent ceasefire would be a strategic blunder for Israel.

What continues to frustrate people, particularly the pro-Palestinian supporters who have taken to the streets of Canada – predominantly younger individuals from diasporic backgrounds, many of whom are immigrants from the Middle East, South Asia, and Latin America, re-

gions that have endured legitimate criticism from the West for failing to uphold human rights – is not the inability, but the unwillingness, of those in power to acknowledge that the killing of innocents, and particularly children, is much more than a moral catastrophe: it is a violation of international humanitarian principles developed and championed by liberal democracies.

Think about this for a second: that child who led the press conference from Al-Shifa hospital, if he somehow gets lucky and lives through this ordeal – an ordeal not of his choosing – and grows up, will he be more sympathetic to the cause of a two-state solution, or will he empathize more with a violent brand of seeking liberation? Generations before him were provided a few basic assurances: the right to live in peace in their homeland, and a homeland recognized by international actors as a legitimate state, like its neighbor, Israel.

Reducing this to an issue between Muslims and Jews, debating whether it is anti-Semitic to criticize the Israeli government, or Islamophobic to call out Hamas, and conducting comparative thought experiments on the unbearable plight of Palestinians to the unparalleled suffering of Jewish people during the Holocaust misses the bigger picture. Do we, whether supporters of Israel or Palestine, want to leave a better world for the next generation of both Israelis and Palestinians? Or do we want vengeance to drive us toward killing thousands more, with the potential to compromise the future of both peoples, and take us to a position of no-return? A permanent ceasefire is not only a matter of morality; it is a strategic imperative to ensure there is any room at all for peace down the line. **P**

Policy Contributing Writer Aftab Ahmed recently graduated with a Master of Public Policy degree from the Max Bell School at McGill University. He is a columnist for the Bangladeshi newspapers The Daily Star and Dhaka Tribune. He is currently an Urban Fellow Researcher with the City of Toronto.

The views expressed in this article are personal opinions and do not reflect the views or opinions of any organization, institution, or entity associated with the author.



The attack on Indigo's flagship store in downtown Toronto on November 10. —CTV

Canada's Moment to Show Leadership on Antisemitism

The latest eruption of violence in the Middle East ignited debate across university campuses and protests around the world, sharpening religious, political, ideological and generational divides and igniting a wave of hate crimes both antisemitic and Islamophobic. Former Privy Council Clerk Kevin Lynch and former White House aide Paul Deegan underscore the opportunity for moral leadership.

**By Kevin Lynch
and Paul Deegan**

Ecclésiastes teaches us there is “A time to keep silence, and a time to speak; a time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace”. Since the horrifying, barbaric attack by the terrorist organization Hamas on Israel on October 7th, we have seen far too much hate and war, and far too much silence on the part of Canadian leaders when it comes to antisemitism.

In response to a record 857 reported incidents of antisemitism in Canada in 2004, then-Bank of Montreal President and CEO Tony Comper and his late wife, Elizabeth, did something unique; they formed a coalition made up exclusively

of non-Jewish business leaders to combat antisemitism. At the time, Comper told the Empire Club, “This is a crisis that must be resolved by non-Jews...non-Jews must join the battle against what has been described sadly, but accurately, as the oldest and longest of hatreds.”

Sadly, between the explosion of social media and a lack of online content moderation, the trend has gotten much worse. In each of the past five years, there have been more than two thousand antisemitic incidents in Canada, with online harassment representing about 75 percent of that. And, since the October 7th Hamas massacre of innocent Israeli citizens and Israel's response in attacking Hamas strongholds in Gaza, there has been a dramatic in-

crease in the number and nature of antisemitic incidents across Canada.

Who is speaking out today? Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, Official Opposition Leader Pierre Poilievre, and former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney have recently spoken eloquently about the need to combat antisemitism. But where are the provincial premiers, the mayors, the business leaders, the university presidents and the labour leaders?

Where is today's generation of engaged CEOs? As former CIBC executive Mark McQueen has observed, “Corporate Canada needs to take antisemitism as seriously as it's been taking many other difficult issues over the last decade.”

Where is the leadership of our universities, on whose campuses many

of the antisemitic tirades have taken place? They need to step up and set the tone for what is and is not acceptable, both on campus and in public discourse anywhere in Canada.

Where are the voices of our big-city mayors, on whose streets demonstrations that include hateful anti-Jewish rants are increasingly frequent? They have been eloquent in recent years about the importance of social equity and inclusivity in their communities, both of which antisemitism surely undermines.

Where are the police and prosecutors? When free speech becomes hate speech, we need to apply the law to reinforce the boundaries and the difference.

The response to-date feels feeble, fumbling, and reactive – not resolute and proactive. Inaction and equivocation run the risk of normalizing unacceptable behaviours, which could lead to the deepening and expansion of antisemitism across Canada.

Canadians are rightfully proud of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which guarantees freedom of religion, expression, assembly, security of the person, and equal protection under the law to all. The hateful attacks we are witnessing are an affront to the Charter and the values we hold dear, which is why Canadians have to come to terms with rooting out antisemitism – in all its ugly forms – here at home in Canada.

One of the best ways to combat antisemitism is through allyship. As Avi Mayer, editor-in-chief of the Jerusalem Post has noted, “Many Jews, who have long prided themselves on standing with other groups and communities in their time of need, have been left wondering: Where are our allies?”

Closer to home, when an ugly mob of thugs vandalized an Indigo bookstore in Toronto because its CEO Heather Reisman is Jewish – a woman who is among the most generous philanthropists in Canada and a dedicated community builder who also lends her time and talent to numerous organizations, where were the allies?

Where do we go from here? Here are three ideas to combat antisemitism here at home.

First, the fight against antisemitism cannot be bureaucratized by governments, it has to be led by our political leaders at all levels. Why not start with a Resolution in the House of Commons denouncing antisemitism and calling on leaders across Canadian business and society to lend their voices?

Second, we need a broad-based coalition – allyship if you will – of Canadians to push back against antisemitism and religious-based hate. The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, which was founded in 1947, used to be one avenue for such support. It was eventually folded into other organizations with broader mandates. We are missing a forum for dialogue, understanding, and to show allyship to a community that is in pain and feeling very much alone.

“One’s political views about gut-wrenching conflicts elsewhere should not be translated into hateful personal views about our fellow Canadians, be they Jewish or Muslim.”

Third, why not make Holocaust education mandatory in every province and territory’s educational curriculum? The Choose Your Voice (for grades 6, 7, and 8) and Voices into Action (for grades 9 to 12 and also used by colleges, universities and adult education centres), developed by leading educational experts and funded by the Compers, are ready-to-go and available free of charge.

At the same time, Canada has an important role to play in the world and Canadians’ perspectives should help inform the government’s approach to Israel, Palestinians, and Hamas. We have been sharply critical about Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s controversial judicial ‘reforms’, warning in the Jerusalem Post this past summer that his actions are ‘moral as well as political failures of leadership, threatening not only Israel’s democracy, economy, and social cohesion but its long-term security.’

But one’s political views about gut-wrenching conflicts elsewhere should not be translated into hateful personal views about our fellow Canadians, be they Jewish or Muslim.

Today’s brutal war will eventually end, at the cost of too many civilian lives on both sides. Ultimately, the conflict in the Middle East needs a political solution. Hamas is not the Palestinian people; it is a twisted terrorist organization, embedded in a population of innocent civilians, and it must go.

Over 100 years ago, the League of Nations officially agreed to a national home for the Jewish people. The world needs to affirm Israel’s right to exist and to defend itself. At the same time, a two-state solution with a permanent freeze on new settlements in the West Bank and an overhauled and revitalized Palestinian Authority, with the capacity to gain the trust and confidence of Palestinians in both Gaza and the West Bank and the leadership to purge its antisemitic teachings, must be pre-conditions to any possibility of lasting peace in the region. Canada has an opportunity to play a role, working alongside the Americans, the British and moderate Arab states, to bring stability, prosperity, and security to a part of the world where ‘a time for peace’ is millennia overdue and a new ‘Marshall Plan’ is desperately needed.

Prime Minister Trudeau has rightly observed that the rise of the hateful speech and threats against Jews and Muslims in our communities “is not who we are as Canadians.” Canadians should be able to debate and disagree without fear or hatred – indeed, diversity and respect have been hallmarks of building Canada’s multicultural society. Pointing to both the challenges and the opportunity, Prime Minister Trudeau told reporters on November 8: “This is a moment where a country like Canada, which has been deeply proud of the fact that we get along here in diversity better than just about any other place in the world — this is a time where we need to lead.” **P**

Hon. Kevin Lynch was Clerk of the Privy Council and vice chair of BMO Financial Group.

Paul Deegan was a public affairs executive at BMO and CN.



Banksy's 'Angels' on the separation wall in Bethlehem. —*Street Art News*

Israelis, Palestinians and Democratic Peace Theory

There are two main prisms through which the world beyond the region processes events in the Middle East: politics and violence. Meanwhile, Palestinians and Israelis go about their lives in a state of perpetual adaptation just to survive the daily impacts of both. Policy Editor Lisa Van Dusen explores that common experience, and how the state of the democracy meant to represent those lives can impact outcomes.

By Lisa Van Dusen

Years ago, I worked for a Middle East peace-building NGO during the post-Oslo, pre-Hamas period of disappointment and hope. It was an experience graced by regular reminders that the people on both sides of the conflict shared so much more than the political headlines ever betrayed. There were times in meetings when, if you'd just walked in and started listening, you wouldn't have known whether the speaker was Israeli or Palestinian.

Those moments were brought back recently, on a day when the truce between Israel and Hamas in the latest, most horrifying, explosion in the conflict stopped the killing and saw the return of Israeli hostages and Palestinian prisoners to their families. Both sides were dancing in the streets, on the same day — a first in recent memory.

Democratic peace theory holds that democracies are less likely to go to war with each other. As a widely accepted precept of international relations whose origins date to Immanuel Kant's 1795 work, *Perpetual Peace*:

A Philosophical Sketch, the notion that democracies are less aggressive, especially toward other democracies, has stood the test of time despite the rare, infinitely argued exceptions that prove the rule.

(The fact that the US Civil War is cited as one of those exceptions says more about the enduring denial of slavery as a glaring asterisk to democracy than it does about the validity of the exceptions).

In the case of Israel's war on Hamas, the theory is nuanced by three fac-

tors. First, the democratic status of the two belligerents is not what it would have been if the experiment in Palestinian democracy that began in 1996 had not produced the 2006 Hamas victory in Gaza. That result divided the Palestinian leadership between Hamas in the strip and Fatah in the West Bank, and provided Israeli hawks with a convincing rationale for mothballing the peace process aimed at a two-state solution.

Second, the democratic status of the two belligerents is not what it would have been if Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had not spent the 15 years since he returned to the job a decade after he lost it in 1999 undermining Israeli democracy through an unprecedented tactical siege of the office against all competitors, judicial threats and electoral conventions. That power consolidation campaign had produced the most sustained popular backlash against any Israeli prime minister since the country's founding when the nightmarish events of October 7th drastically disrupted the region's political narrative.

Third, except for a tentative respite during the mid-90s before the progress of Oslo was blown-up by the failure of Camp David II and the Second Intifada, Israel and the Palestinians have been in a permanent, default state of conflict since 1948, when a post-Holocaust sanctuary was finally created for the world's atrociously persecuted Jews, producing a refugee exodus from, and protracted occupation of, Palestine. Within that context, the eruption of generational, border-altering wars, intermittent military operations and sustained terrorist attacks between the two parties has trumped their systemic status for 75 years.

But the reason democracies generally don't go to war with each other — a proposition endlessly argued in survey courses but essentially sound, with the absence of war between democratic states recognized as all-but empirical law in international relations — isn't a mystery.

Democratically secured and ratified political power depends on the will of the people, and people generally don't approve of infant decapitation, rampaging medieval massacre, the targeting of hospitals, hostage taking, the murder of children and the blockading of food and water as weapons of war. As Michael Ignatieff, former Liberal leader and founder of the Carr Center for Human Rights at Harvard, wrote in a piece on the Geneva Conventions for *The Atlantic* published following the October outbreak, Israel "has always distinguished itself from adversaries by its status as a democracy," which situates its comportment in war within the accountability of democracy, even in prosecuting a legitimate *casus belli*.

“ Among other shared characteristics, Israelis and Palestinians have become more adaptable, more resilient and stronger than any human beings should ever have to be. ”

It would be tempting to minimize the precedents above based on the propaganda-fed delusion that they no longer matter in a world where we've been conditioned to think anything is now possible and history doesn't count. That delusion has served the interests currently degrading democracy worldwide more efficiently than just about any other narrative warfare weapon. In reality, Israelis and Palestinians are now living through an extreme version of a role they've been playing for decades — that of teaching the world how to live amid perpetual conflict and violence, especially when intractability becomes a bilateral political commodity.

There is a truism of Middle East peacemaking — a variation of the broader "It's always darkest before the dawn" aphorism — that it is sometimes the lowest, most violent, most despair-inducing developments that disrupt the

entrenched status quo sufficiently to create the possibility for progress. Recent events in the region will provide the most definitive test of that theory since the Yom Kippur War of 1973 laid the groundwork for the Camp David Accords five years later.

Another common peacemaking truism, that Palestinians and Israelis share a genetic provenance, may be less relevant than the shared epigenetic skills human beings on both sides have developed via nurture rather than nature over nearly eight decades of constant stress, constant loss, constant fear, perpetually elevated cortisol levels, politically leveraged moral complexity and parallel existential uncertainty. Among other shared characteristics, Israelis and Palestinians have become more adaptable, more resilient and stronger than any human beings should ever have to be.

Those qualities, which the world has witnessed among Israelis since the Hamas atrocities of October 7th and among Palestinians since the Israeli military's scorched-earth retaliation operation started, have provided — as always, at incalculable cost — yet another shared experience belying the manufactured divisions, physical and otherwise, that have defined their inextricably enmeshed political drama. When this war ends, or better yet before then, UNESCO should add Palestinian and Israeli fortitude to its Intangible Cultural Heritage list.

As neighbours now both living through democratic deficits with predictable kinetic results, Israelis and Palestinians have shared both the horror of war and the joy — if fleeting — of peace. Their leaders more than owe it to them to prove they know which one is better. **P**

Policy Magazine Editor and Publisher Lisa Van Dusen was a Washington columnist for the Ottawa Citizen and Sun Media, international writer for Peter Jennings at ABC News and an editor at AP National in New York and UPI in Washington. She also served as director of communications for the McGill Middle East Program in Civil Society and Peace Building.



Prime Minister Jean Chrétien with PMO Communications Director Jim Munson on Parliament Hill in 2003. —Courtesy of Jim Munson

Policy Q&A: Jim Munson with Jean Chrétien, on Loving Canada, Hating No-One and Turning 90

As Canada's 20th prime minister, Jean Chrétien led the country for a decade, from 1993 to 2003; from the near-miss Quebec referendum of 1995 to Canada's prescient decision in 2003 to stay out of the Iraq war. With Chrétien's 90th birthday approaching on January 11th, former PMO communications director, retired senator and Policy contributor Jim Munson sat down for a chat with his former boss in his Ottawa office at Dentons.

Jim Munson: As you turn 90, what gives you a sense of purpose these days?

Jean Chrétien: You know, my father always liked to say, in French, "Grouille ou rouille!", or, "If you don't move, you rust." If you retire and buy a rocking chair, you don't last very long. So, I've been very active, and it's been very interesting. When you're 90 and you feel you're still useful, it's great. And the more you're involved, I think the body follows the work of the brain. I leave my home every morning at 9:00 o'clock for the office four mornings a week.

JM: What motivates you the most?

JC: I've been involved in public life since 1956 — I was making political speeches in the provincial election campaign at 22 and we voted at 21. I've always enjoyed political life, even in the last 20 years — it's a great activity and I always had good motivation.

JM: You went from being a tough young politician — "Le p'tit gars de Shawinigan", to an elder statesman — Canadians are familiar with your public story. What do you do to relax — is it the visual arts, music?

JC: I've always been interested by the arts, music, reading. There are 24 hours in a day, so I'm rarely sitting doing

nothing. I read, I listen to music, watch TV and play golf in the summer. I don't ski anymore because my family says I shouldn't but I could. But I've always been very private about my private life. My son was telling me the other day he has appreciated that I never used him in politics. Of course, Aline was involved because she was my wife and a very respected first lady in Canada but she did not make speeches and try to be in the news. She ran away from that. She'd say, "There's only one person on the stage, and that's you."

JM: How did your sense of Canada — your love of the country — develop?

JC: From knowing it. When I started, I was a little bit — there were a lot of nationalists in Quebec putting pressure on you — and one day, I had a discussion where a guy woke me up to reality. He said, “Jean, you’ve never been outside Quebec. Before dumping on Canada, why don’t you know about Canada. And that shook me up, and I said to myself, “You’re right. I’m wrong.” I’d been in Ottawa a couple of times and that’s it. I’d gone once to New Brunswick and PEI.

JM: New Brunswick’s a good start!

JC: Hey, I went on the North Shore, that’s for sure. Of course, I was elected at 29 and I started to travel right away and I was a minister in 1967 — it was Centennial year — so I had to go and represent the federal government on all sorts of occasions, in the Prairies, I travelled across Canada on a train, stopping in Northern Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and B.C. I went by CP and came back by CN. There was a private car at that time for the government. So, I learned quite a lot and developed a great love for Canada.

JM: Was there a particular moment when you felt in your soul that you had a vision for Canada?

JC: I learned a lot more than I knew when I was in rural Quebec. I developed a knowledge of Canada and I developed a knowledge of the quality of the nation and I developed a knowledge of the diversity of the nation — even more when Trudeau named me minister of Indian and Northern Affairs. I visited Indian reserves and I visited the Yukon and Northwest Territories and I started to understand the fabric of the nation and I came to understand that there is not great discrimination in Canada. We don’t have ghettos based on colour, race or religion. When you go to Montreal and you see the evolution across the city, it’s based on money — from the east end to Outremont and Westmount — not other factors.

The problem today is that it is democracy that’s being challenged — that’s what worries me. When you see what’s going on in the United States with the Trump gang — the ‘MAGA’ who would retaliate against anybody and throw them in jail. This is America! That is worrying.



Former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien with Jim Munson in his Ottawa office on December 7th, 2023.
—Bruce Hartley

JM: The most consequential decision you made as prime minister was not to join the United States in the war in Iraq. We know why you made that decision and I was in the room when that decision was made. How did you get yourself mentally and emotionally to the point where you could make that decision?

JC: I knew they were thinking about it. Probably the critical moment was in August, the year before the war, I was in Detroit. I had a meeting with George W. Bush and he had asked for an hour and a half and after 20 minutes, it was over. I said I will not go there if you don’t have the support of the UN and to have the support of the UN you need better proof of weapons of mass destruction and you don’t have the proof. I wrote at the time that there wasn’t enough proof to convince the judge at municipal court in Shawinigan. When you want to go to a conclusion you will find in the briefing what you want. For me, I was outside of it. I was very objective and so he put a lot of pressure. Tony Blair even more. But for me, I thought they were wrong. And I said no. There were consequences for me — the right-wing armaments industry never invited me to make speeches for money after I quit politics.

JM: What worries you about the world today? When you look at the headlines, at the complexity of events, how can anyone lead in times like these?

JC: I was the president of the Young Liberals at Laval university in 1956 and it was never an easy time. When I was elected in 1963, there were bombs in the streets of Montreal. Years later, there were bombs in London every day. Now, we think it’s terrible. Yes, we have a war in Israel — it’s not the first time. We have a war between

Ukraine and Russia but there was a war in Vietnam and Afghanistan. The problem today is that it is democracy that’s being challenged — that’s what worries me. When you see what’s going on in the United States with the Trump gang — the ‘MAGA’ who would retaliate against anybody and throw them in jail. This is America! That is worrying. Democracy is being challenged not just in the United States but in Europe, with the hard right is getting more popular. Russia was moving toward democracy and they’re not anymore. It is the same thing in Poland, and Hungary, and the Netherlands and Argentina and Italy. I hope that, and I think that, democracy will prevail. As Churchill said, it’s not a very good system but there’s nothing better.

JM: In your book, *My Stories, My Times*, on the very last page, you quote Sir Wilfrid Laurier saying, “Faith is better than doubt, love is better than hate.”

JC: It is true. You need social values and to have faith is a very stabilizing element in any personality, in the life of any person. I am a believer and it is extremely private but I find that it is an extremely stabilizing force in my life. And, we have to live with people, so love is much better than hate. Hating somebody, you gain nothing. For me, I was the object of some hate at some times because some separatists hated my guts in Quebec. But I didn’t pay much attention. I remember one day I was in a restaurant and a guy had had a few drinks and he said, “What the hell, Chrétien, you’re here! I never voted for you,” and I said, “You have the right to be wrong, sir.” And then he said, “I’m a separatist. But I want to tell you, you were a very good prime minister for Canada.”

JM: That sums it up. **P**



Sen. Peter Harder and Sen. Peter Boehm, deputy chair and chair of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, unveiling the committee's report on the foreign service, December 6, 2023. —Sen. Marty Deacon

Meeting the Global Challenge: Strengthening Canadian Diplomacy

After decades spent as a foreign service officer, including as Canada's ambassador to Germany, Independent Senator Peter Boehm recently oversaw the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Relations report on the modernization of Canada's diplomatic corps.

By Sen. Peter M. Boehm

On December 6, the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade (the Committee) released its study on Canada's foreign service entitled, *More Than a Vocation: Canada's Need for a 21st Century Foreign Service*. This study was the first of its kind since the release, 42 years ago, of the Royal Com-

mission on Conditions of Foreign Service, led by former diplomat Pamela McDougall. The purpose of the Committee's report was to assess whether Canada's foreign service and the department in which it is housed, Global Affairs Canada (GAC), are prepared to deal with the specific operational challenges inherent in the execution of our country's foreign policies.

As a former foreign service officer, I have witnessed and participated in the changes occasioned by global realignment and technological advances in the practice of diplomacy. As a profession, foreign service is often misunderstood given the Hollywood treatment of it as either a lavish lifestyle spent wining and dining in exotic locales and/or one full of es-

pionage. I enjoyed *The Diplomat* on Netflix as much as anyone but what is portrayed could not be further from the truth. Foreign service professionals, be they Canada-based from GAC, other government departments and agencies, the provinces, or locally engaged employees around the world, are dedicated and hard-working and frequently serve Canada in exceptionally challenging if not dangerous environments.

They may be single or may be accompanied abroad by partners and families. Their peripatetic careers require missing family events and milestones back home in Canada, putting their physical and mental health on the line, uprooting children to attend different schools, impacting partners' careers, and finding care for family members with illnesses and/or disabilities.

Despite all the technological advances in communications – including the pandemic advent of “Zoom diplomacy” – there is still no substitute for direct human interaction in the conduct of our international affairs to ensure Canada's robust presence abroad.

So, how can Canada modernize its approach to foreign service to ensure we have the proper structures and people in place to maximize our effectiveness around the world? The Committee's report makes 29 recommendations for significant yet realistic improvement. We were guided in our deliberations through 22 hours of testimony from expert witnesses, ranging from current and former ministers – including one former prime minister – to retired practitioners, academics, younger serving officers, and members of employee-led networks within the department.

The Committee also visited the Lester B. Pearson Building where the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mélanie Joly, is leading an ongoing internal transformation initiative. Since other countries with comparable systems of government have conducted, or are conducting, their own foreign service reviews and are facing similar challenges, the Committee visited Wash-

ington, London, Oslo, and Berlin, meeting with our counterparts as well as senior government officials to make comparisons and draw from their experiences and recommendations.

What did we find? First, successive Canadian governments, Liberal and Conservative, have failed to educate the public on the importance of Canada's presence abroad and the need for our professionals to have full access to skills development and training to enhance their effectiveness in an increasingly complex world. Why the foreign service matters and why Canadians should care – an overarching question throughout our study – has not been effectively communicated. This also means that silos between the department's diplomatic, trade, and international development functions should be broken to achieve better policy coherence, particularly when other departments or agencies also have overlapping mandates.

“Why the foreign service matters and why Canadians should care – an overarching question throughout our study – has not been effectively communicated.”

Managing structures should be redefined to become less top-heavy and a redesigned entry-level foreign service recruitment campaign should be run annually to attract the proverbial “best and brightest” from across the country, including those with professional qualifications and foreign language expertise. There should be internal pathways for foreign service officers and those in other occupational categories that would encourage specialization in specific geographic, functional, or linguistic areas. Career planning and mentoring should be widespread rather than episodic and not limited to the more senior cadres. The Clerk of the Privy Council should call for greater career movement of officials between departments with

international mandates to strengthen Canada's international policy decision-making framework. There should be a willingness, and indeed active effort, to hire mid-career professionals from within government and from the private sector.

The Foreign Service Directives, a mass of regulations providing the administrative underpinnings for conditions of service abroad, require urgent revision and modernization to reflect not just current and future realities but also the diversity of Canadian society – much has changed since the Royal Commission of 1981. Perhaps most of all, internal efficiencies should be found through eliminating red tape and curtailing excessive reporting requirements so that a coherent, forward-looking funding plan can be developed and effectively sold at both the political and public levels.

None of this will be easy. Some of the Committee's recommendations echo those made by Ms. McDougall, so that should tell you something. There are those pundits and foreign policy thinkers who wax nostalgic over the “golden age” of Canadian diplomacy and bemoan our perceived waning influence in the world. In my view, Canada still has – and indeed requires – strong global presence and influence, despite geopolitical changes and the “polycrisis” global environment.

We need to ensure that our talented people have the tools, the skill sets, the funding, and consistent non-partisan political support to do the job – jobs that include negotiating free trade agreements, providing expert analysis, and coordinating rescue efforts from conflict zones, among many other functions. Foreign policy might not be on the ballot in our elections, but Canadians would certainly notice if we did not have a foreign service. That is why it matters. **P**

Senator Peter Boehm is the Chair of the Standing Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade. He is also a former ambassador and deputy minister who served as sherpa for six G7 summits.



United Nations
Climate Change



COP28UAE

DUBAI 2023



The announcement of an agreement at COP28 in Dubai on December 13, 2023. —UN image

A Climate Lifeline Worth Grabbing

Through the COPs of the past decade, Green Party Leader Elizabeth May has filed Policy pieces from Paris, Glasgow, Dubai and points in-between. Her insights on the O. Henry ending of the latest COP are yet another must-read.

By Elizabeth May

Of all the COPs I've attended, COP28 in Dubai was arguably the one for which the gap between expectations and outcomes was the most significant; that trajectory tracked in the headlines on my Dubai dispatches for this magazine,

from "The One Led by an Oil Company CEO" to "A Climate Lifeline Worth Grabbing".

In the end, the consensus that the world must "transition away from fossil fuels" was far too little for some. UK Green colleague and founder of Extinction Rebellion Rupert Read, was

scathing. "The real danger of the final Cop28 'positive' outcome is that it makes it seem as if something has been achieved. Whereas all that has been achieved after 28 years is a toothless statement of the obvious."

Hard to disagree, and yet I do. I think the real danger will be in a lessening

of the pressure for transformational change and fast. Headlines about a deal to save the world often lead to a collective sense of complacency, and a diminution of public pressure. A COP decision does not deliver changes in capitals around the world — only public mobilization back home can do that. Still, the language in the final decision document does represent a major shift. Nearly two hundred countries have now agreed that we have to move away from fossil fuels, and fast. The Executive Secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, Simon Stiell, proclaimed within minutes of the approval of the key text by 197 nations present, “This is the beginning of the end of fossil fuels.”

What was the COP28 debate really about? News coverage is rarely detailed in terms of how these treaties and pledges intersect, but they do build on each other. The Rio agreement of 1992, United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), remains the legal treaty within which every COP occurs. That treaty was ratified in the US Senate by the $\frac{3}{4}$ vote required for the USA to be legally bound to any international agreement. That was done under the late US President, George H.W. Bush, 41st President and father of #43. Thank heavens he managed that post-Rio feat or none of the subsequent global climate treaties would have any clout in international law. Similarly, the Kyoto Protocol of COP3, and the Copenhagen agreement of COP15 are all products of the multilateral process under UNFCCC.

As the COPs limp along and we fail to avert the kind of climate events — whether killer storms, or fires, floods or heat domes — we could have avoided had we acted in the 1990s, it is easy to regard the process itself as pointless and flawed beyond redemption.

This COP had a level of desperate urgency precisely because governments have made promises and then done the opposite. Since 1992, when

the largest gathering of world leaders to that point in history agreed to the UNFCCC promising to reduce emissions of Greenhouse gases to avoid dangerous changes to the climate, the world’s economies have emitted more GHG than between the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and that Rio Earth Summit.

For COP28, the key agenda item was to fulfill a requirement of the 2015 Paris Agreement, negotiated at COP21. In the Paris Agreement, it was established that in 2023 there would be a full and comprehensive review of whether the world was on track to meet key Paris goals. In order to safeguard life on Earth, the Paris agreement set out that all nations cooperate to ensure that global average temperature increase due to human-caused (anthropogenic) climate change be held to as far below 2 degrees C as possible and to make every effort to avoid warming of 1.5 degrees C.

Even though the Paris Agreement, like the UNFCCC, is considered “legally binding” under United Nations rules, unlike the most successful environmental treaty ever — the Montreal Protocol that saved the ozone layer — it lacks any enforcement mechanism. The comprehensive review called the Global Stocktake will be revisited every five years through the COP process.

In a real sense, this Global Stocktake is the treaty’s only method of enforcement, and this first Global Stocktake was a critical reality check. Could the world face the truth of the rapidly dwindling chances of holding to 1.5 degrees C? And more importantly could it chart a course to hold to 1.5?

The Stocktake confirmed that collectively the world is not on track to meet our commitments. In a nearly 200-paragraph text, it reiterated that to keep any hope alive of holding to 1.5, much more must be done and fast.

Key elements of the agreement, to which Canada is now committed include:

- Limits global warming to 1.5 °C with no or limited overshoot and requires deep, rapid and sustained reductions in global greenhouse gas emissions of 43 percent by 2030 and 60 per cent by 2035 relative to the 2019 level.
- Calls for significant increases in both adaptation and mitigation financing.
- Calls on parties to triple renewable energy capacity globally and double the global average annual rate of energy efficiency improvements by 2030;
- Accelerates efforts towards the phase-down of unabated coal power and towards net zero emission energy systems
- Transitions away from fossil fuels in energy systems, in a just, orderly and equitable manner, accelerating action in this critical decade, so as to achieve net zero by 2050
- Reduces emissions of methane, itself a more powerful GHG than carbon dioxide, but shorter lived in the atmosphere.

All these commitments must be acted on with urgency. Canada’s announced emissions cap has a timeline that does not suggest urgency. We finally have a framework within which regulations will be developed. And the cap is targeting a smaller level of cuts than was initially promised.

No one fully informed about the climate crisis and its galloping levels of unfairness in impacts to the most vulnerable, enormous gaps between rhetoric and reality through decades of climate promises could be jubilant at this critical moment. But the COP28 global decision is a lifeline. If Dubai had failed, we would unquestionably be in a more dire situation. As it is, this first shared stock taking was unequivocal and urgent. COP28 named the problem, and the problem is our addiction to fossil fuels. **P**

Contributing Writer Elizabeth May, MP for Saanich-Gulf Islands, is the Leader of the Green Party of Canada.



Henry Kissinger at the LBJ Presidential Library in 2016. —Marsha Miller via Wikimedia

Kissinger on Canada, or Realism vs. Self-Righteousness at Madison Square Garden

When Henry Kissinger died in November at the age of 100, the reactions to his passing protracted the same polarization that Kissinger's worldview, writings and policy choices had provoked through much of his career. Longtime Canadian diplomat Colin Robertson looks at the former US Secretary of State's diplomatic legacy.

By Colin Robertson

"Canada...Canada... I have dealt with Canada since Vietnam. The word that comes to mind when I think of Canada is 'self-righteous'. Yes, self-righteous. In Canada you get to do what is desirable. In America we must do what is necessary."

I was nonplussed. This was not the response I had expected when I introduced myself — as having recently arrived at our Washington Embassy — to Henry Kissinger on that September evening in 2004. We were at Madison Square Garden, scene of that election

year's Republican National Convention. The formidable former secretary of state had just given a rousing speech on national security to a group of Young Republicans. The friend who had gotten me into the session told me I looked "a bit stunned, but my grin — or was it a grimace? — was diplomatic".

A decade later, I got a chance to respond. This time, the setting was the comfortable confines of the 400-acre Greentree estate on Long Island, where the American Ditchley Foundation was hosting a conference on the US role in the world.

The conference was co-chaired by former Kennedy School dean and foreign policy sage Joe Nye and then-Brookings Institution President Strobe Talbott. Kissinger was the most prominent of a group of foreign policy experts that also included Jake Sullivan, now President Biden's National Security Advisor.

I was rapporteur for the group looking at 'soft power', that variation on influence that we Canadians like to think we own, although today we do not invest sufficiently in either 'soft' or 'hard power'. At the break, I re-introduced myself to Kissinger, recalling his words

from our earlier exchange. That drew a smile from the man who left a massive footprint in 20th-century international affairs, including via introducing the term “shuttle diplomacy” into the popular vernacular. “That wasn’t very diplomatic of me,” Kissinger said. “You know, I have a lot of Canadian friends.”

He went on to reminisce about his meetings with Pierre Trudeau, saying the Canadian prime minister had made a ‘useful contribution’ to both North/South and East/West relations, and that Trudeau, who recognized China more than a year before Kissinger’s then-boss, Richard Nixon did, had also been helpful on that historic file. Kissinger then ventured that Canada can play a useful role as a bridge, “Or, how do you put it? — a helpful fixer — when you work at it.”

As his biographers have written, when Kissinger, who died on November 29th, wanted to charm, he could charm. I had admired Kissinger ever since reading *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace 1812-1822* (1957), his account of the 1815 Congress of Vienna, when I was an undergraduate.

Kissinger’s famous espousal of realism — the school of international-relations thinking based on the belief that states act in their self-interest and war is inevitable — drew on his ongoing study of history and his experience in dealing with the challenges of the Cold War. For the international system to function best, the realist argument holds, it requires the stability produced when anarchy is offset by the balance of power.

Having fled Germany as a teenager in 1938, Kissinger understood the perils of systemic disruption and the human cost of disorder. He read his fellow German-Jewish intellectuals Leo Strauss, Hannah Arendt, and Hans Morgenthau, assimilating into his own thinking an appreciation of incrementalism, stability rather than justice, and the less bad rather than the unqualified good.

Even with the best of intentions and efforts, Kissinger was also aware of the ‘inevitability of tragedy’, the phrase Barry Gewen adopted for his *The Inevitability of Tragedy: Henry Kissinger and His World*

(2020). Gewen argues that Kissinger recognized the “realities of power” and that his own “assessment of power” was clearheaded and un-swayed by “high moral principles like self-determination or national sovereignty.”

As Kissinger frequently observed, peace is not the natural condition of humankind and democracy alone will not guarantee global peace and stability. Diplomacy is about the art of the possible. In the wake of the 2014 Russian invasion of Ukraine, Kissinger would write “the test is not absolute satisfaction but balanced dissatisfaction.” These are the underlying premises of what came to be described as Kissingerian *realpolitik*.

“ His diplomatic style was personal and secretive. It depended on relationships that could be developed only through personal contact. This meant being there again, and again and again. Diplomacy, like politics, is ultimately a retail sport. ”

Statecraft for Kissinger involved a close study of history and culture; a clear-eyed analysis of objectives aligned to a realistic appreciation of the possible; and personal relationships cultivated through continuous face-to-face contact, preferably on his opposite’s home turf. For Kissinger, the essentials of diplomacy were: “Knowledge of the history and psychology and psychology of the people I am dealing with. And some human rapport... To have some human relations with the people I am negotiating with...”

His diplomatic style was personal and secretive. It depended on relationships that could be developed only through personal contact. This meant being there again, and again and again. Diplomacy, like politics, is ultimately a retail sport.

The study of history and culture is critical and Kissinger’s erudite grasp of both permeates his own writing

through 21 books and a half-century flow of commentaries and speeches.

Perhaps the best accounts of Kissinger’s diplomacy in practice are Margaret MacMillan’s *Nixon and Mao: The Week that Changed the World* (2007) and Martin Indyk’s *Master of the Game: Henry Kissinger and the Art of Middle East Diplomacy* (2021). For MacMillan, Kissinger “showed an absolute aptitude for diplomacy and power...an incredible negotiator, a man of incredible stamina, and someone who was fully capable of matching up to Zhou Enlai in what were very difficult and very complicated negotiations.”

For Indyk, it was the “skillful manipulation of the antagonisms of competing forces.” In his appreciation of Kissinger following his death, Indyk wrote that the Kissinger approach — “to avoid bringing too much passion to the pursuit of peace” — continues to have relevance and application, notably to today’s Israel-Hamas war.

Opinion on Henry Kissinger’s legacy is deeply divided. One biographer, historian Niall Ferguson, labeled him an ‘Idealist’ (at least for the first and so-far only volume of his biography, which ends in 1968) while for Ben Rhodes, who served as Barack Obama’s deputy national security advisor, he was a ‘hypocrite’. *The Washington Post* calls him “One of the most consequential statesmen in US history”. To *Rolling Stone*, he was a war criminal for his culpability in the overthrow of Chile’s Salvador Allende and role in prosecuting the Vietnam War, yet Kissinger’s peacemaking efforts in Vietnam won him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973.

Whichever side you come down on, Kissinger was a force for realism in internationalism with scant patience for those he regarded as poseurs or moralists. And it is important to understand Kissingerian *realpolitik* — a major theme of American foreign policy in the last half century and perhaps again in the future — as the United States debates and rethinks its role in the world. **P**

Contributing Writer Colin Robertson, a former career diplomat, is a fellow and host of the Global Exchange podcast with the Canadian Global Affairs Institute in Ottawa.



Welcome to 2024 and Happy New Year*

As the calendar ticked from 2023 to 2024 this year, the usual wishes of “Happy New Year” seemed particularly strained. Not just because wars continue to rage in both Ukraine and Gaza, but because 2024 is a presidential election year in the United States.

Any presidential year in the United States is significant. The impact of the results is felt around the world. But this year, that impact could be greater than usual, just as it turned out to be in the presidential year of 2016. And it could be for the same reason; Donald Trump could win.

Trump surprised most people in 2016 when he defeated Hillary Clinton in the Electoral College even though the campaign that year revealed him to be unprepared and unfit to be president. After taking office, he quickly proved to be just as uninformed, angry, narcissistic, ignorant and dangerous. The Democrats in the House of Representatives twice tried to remove him from office by voting for his impeachment. But both times, the Republicans who controlled the Senate refused to convict him.

After his defeat in the 2020 election by Joe Biden, things became even worse. He refused to accept the results. He tried to get officials in states that he lost narrowly to change the vote totals in his favour. When that failed, he tried to get his vice president, Mike Pence, to refuse to certify the votes electing Biden President. When that failed, he fomented a mob of six thousand thugs to attack the US Capitol to disrupt the certification ceremony and almost got Pence killed.

Obviously, none of Trump’s violent and non-violent schemes worked. Biden is president. But because of his efforts to overturn the last election results and because he removed and kept classified documents when he left the White House, he is now facing multiple criminal charges in Washington and Atlanta. And because he is accused of paying hush money to a porn movie star and lying about it, he is also facing criminal charges in New York.

“ This time, Trump knows how Washington operates and he would use his power to cement his control. ”

Since his defeat, Trump has repeated the lie that the 2020 election was stolen by the Biden campaign, even though multiple investigations and court cases have shown that was not the case. Given all that has happened — the criminal charges, the incessant repetition of a serious lie and Trump’s refusal to debate the other candidates running for the Republican presidential nomination, conventional wisdom would hold that by now his campaign to return to the White House would be in tatters.

But conventional wisdom has nothing to do with Trump. In fact, the exact opposite is true. In polls taken among Republicans, Trump has overwhelming support to be the party’s presidential standard bearer. More disconcerting, in polls of general voters in swing states such as Arizona, Georgia and Michigan, which determine the out-

come of presidential elections, Trump has narrow leads over Biden. Trump won those states in 2016. Biden won them in 2020.

So, as 2024 gets underway, the prospect of another Trump presidency is a real possibility. And this time, if it happens, it will be even more disruptive than the first go-around. This time, Trump knows how Washington operates and he would use his power to cement his control, punish enemies for slights both real and imagined, and perhaps plot to destroy American democracy more effectively than he did in 2021.

Of course, Trump’s re-election would have implications far beyond the United States. For Canada, the review of the re-negotiated NAFTA, or CUSMA, the trade agreement between Canada, the United States and Mexico, would fall into a second Trump term. His first time as president, he tried to destroy NAFTA, the predecessor of the current deal. How the current agreement would fare is a matter of concern.

Internationally, whether a Trump administration would continue to support Ukraine in its battle to repel the illegal Russian invasion of its territory would be questionable. That same trademark volatility would apply to an already volatile Middle East.

All of this will start to play out in 2024. That makes “Happy New Year” more aspirational than imperative in these troubled Trump times. **P**

Contributing Writer and columnist Don Newman, an Officer of the Order of Canada and lifetime member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, is Executive Vice President of Rubicon Strategy, based in Ottawa.



The fires of 2023 burned roughly 25 times the land base that Canada's foresters harvested all year. —FPAC

The Year that Proved Why Forestry Matters

The year 2023 is one that will long be remembered for Canada's worst-ever fire season. It was also the year that Canada's affordable housing crisis came into full view, with urgency for many policymakers across the country.

These issues impacted millions of Canadians in 2023 - and renewed a critical dialogue about the importance of more actively managing our forests and doing more with Canadian grown resources.

The record-breaking wildfires that ravaged more than 18 million hectares of land showed how our forests are being hit by hotter temperatures and drier conditions. The need for a crisis-level response similar to that being taken in the United States is clear, and more active management such as thinning and prescribed burns will be essential if we want to avoid more devastating fire seasons.

At the same time, the housing and affordability crisis underscored the need to get back to basics so that Canadian families can afford shelter, food, and other necessities. We need an estimated 5.8 million additional housing units by 2030 to restore affordability, and we must do more to support business conditions so we can attract investment to produce and build these homes.

Canada's forest sector offers practical pathways to lower greenhouse gas emis-

sions, support rural and northern prosperity, and take pressure off the cost of living with Made-in-Canada solutions:

- No industry is better equipped to prevent and mitigate impacts from catastrophic fires and support forest health and resiliency in the process. Canadian foresters are among the best in the world in how we steward our land for multiple values.
- As the largest producers of building materials, we are integral to accelerating new home building, easing construction bottlenecks, and helping solve the housing crisis.
- We provide an outsized contribution to climate action. Trees and wood are natural carbon sinks — the original carbon capture technology — and wood-based products can be substitutes for more carbon intensive materials.
- We do all this while keeping over 200,000 Canadians employed in rural and northern communities, where family-supporting job prospects are more limited.

That's a quadruple bottom line.

While there's much more government can do to leverage Canadian forestry solutions for the environment and the economy, we have seen positive developments in recent months.

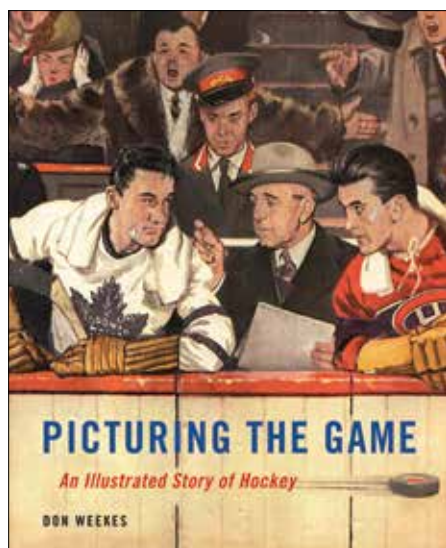
For example, the federal government's plan to introduce a catalogue of pre-approved housing designs to accelerate permitting approvals offers potential for wood products and to get more Canadians into homes they can afford more quickly.

In November, Finance Minister Chrystia Freeland announced green tax credits for biomass-related technologies — encouraging the use of leftover chips, sawdust, and bark for energy production — which will go some way to addressing growing competitiveness gaps with the US.

There is plenty more that can be done — from being more proactive about managing forests in fire sheds, to increasing incentives to use more wood in construction, to improving Canada's national building code, to upskilling worker training, to ensuring the unique realities facing rural and northern communities are factored into major national policy decisions at the front end.

Looking back at 2023, we are certainly reminded that our world is rapidly changing. Our obligation to future generations is to meet our pressing challenges with innovative solutions. To that end, Canada's forest sector and its workers offer a unique opportunity and a clear path forward.

This piece is sponsored by the Forest Products Association of Canada.



Picturing the Game: The Picture-Perfect Hockey Book

Picturing the Game: An Illustrated Story of Hockey

By Don Weekes

McGill-Queen's University Press

Reviewed by Paul Deegan

When *Policy* magazine asked me to review *Picturing the Game: An Illustrated History of Hockey* by Don Weekes, I thought to myself, “Piece of cake; I can breeze through a picture book and knock off a review in under an hour.”

Like Evan and Bruce Dowbiggin's *Inexact Science* and Gary J. Smith's *Ice War Diplomat*, Weekes puts the puck in the net — top shelf at that — with this effort.

As I started to flip through the first few pages of the PDF of the book, my ‘piece of cake’ thesis seemed spot on. However, as I scrolled to the end, I quickly realized that this 400-page tome was going to take even this speedy reader into at least triple overtime.

Weekes presents a compelling case for what a crucial role illustrators and sports cartoonists have played in capturing and promoting Canada's national pastime.

When most of us think of a visual image of hockey, we think of that iconic black-and-white photograph of Bobby Orr frozen in flight after scoring the game-winning goal in the 1970 Stanley Cup final. Despite amazing advances in photographic technologies, there has never been a more perfect image of the game since that one.

In the early 1900s, there were no 35mm cameras, let alone the long lens digital beasts of today. The beginnings of the game were captured by the *Montreal Daily Star* — the city's main anglo newspaper at the time. The *Star* contained lengthy written reports about hockey games, which were soon supplemented by illustrations and cartoons.

Early illustrators and cartoonists were among the first to bring the violence of hockey into public consciousness. Interestingly, in those early days, sports were considered entertainment and reports of early Stanley Cup finals never even made it to a newspaper's front page.

Weekes rightly observes that ‘although the art of cartooning is complex, the result has to be simple.’ Growing up in Montreal, I became a big fan of the *Montreal Gazette's* Terry Mosher, better known as Aislin, who explained his craft to Weekes this way, “It's not predictable...That's the beautiful thing about the human brain. We have no idea how it works. I think of it as being a pinball machine up there and these balls bounce around and they drop in different holes in various combinations. Then, boom! You come up with something.” Aislin comes up with something brilliant time after time.

Weekes argues that if our best editorial cartoonists can satirize greed, social injustice, and political idiocy on editorial pages, how hard could heckling hockey's cast of characters possibly be, arguing that Canada's game — like our politicians — offers more than its share of great material.

Photography eventually emerged as the primary visual medium in hockey. In the early days, photo editors attempted to explain to readers what they were looking at with inserted arrows and dotted lines, and even insert-

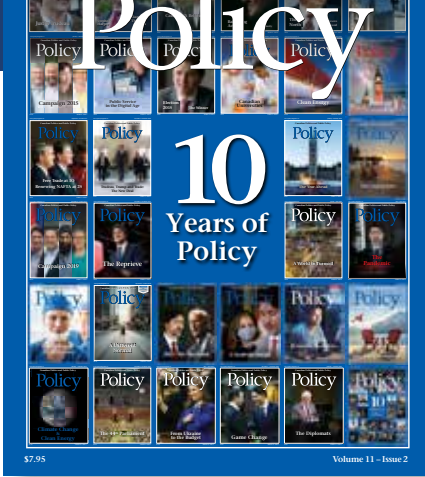
ed player names into the photos. By Toronto's victory over Montreal in the 1947 Stanley Cup finals, it was evident that illustration had taken a backseat to photography in newspapers. Sports cartoonists, however, continued to flourish, and the matches against the Soviets in the 1972 Summit Series provided particularly great Cold War material for them and belly laughs for the rest of us, as Aislin memorialized in his own picture book, *Montreal to Moscow*.

According to Weekes, Aislin/Mosher filed cartoons for Canadian-site games with the Soviets from Toe Blake's Tavern, but he jetted off to Moscow to illustrate Jack Ludwig's book, *Hockey Night in Moscow*. In addition to the tools of his craft, Mosher showed up at four the Moscow games with photo equipment and bogus photographer credentials to conceal his occupation as a political/sports cartoonist. One of his great cartoons was of Phil Esposito, in which Esposito was re-cast as Jonathan Swift's Gulliver, roped and bound by his teammates. Aislin recalls how his ‘victim’ threatened to beat him up. “He told me, ‘I don't want that cartoon to be printed.’ I told him, ‘Too bad. It already has.’”

Picturing the Game: An Illustrated Story of Hockey has wide appeal. Not only is it the perfect book for the hockey fan in your life, it tells the social story of Canada over the past 125 years from an interesting perspective, and its vast compilation of illustrations and cartoons is truly a treasure-trove of Canadiana. This book is a trip to the Hockey Hall of Fame, the National Gallery of Canada, and the Toronto Reference Library all without having to leave the comfort of your couch on a snowy winter morning. It's a significant piece of scholarship worthy of a Ph.D, yet it's highly entertaining and very readable. It's also a reminder that no one does a hockey cartoon better than the great Terry Mosher — a.k.a. Aislin.

In short, *Picturing the Game* is a hat trick: Great to look at, a great read and a wonderful souvenir for fans of the national game. **P**

Paul Deegan is a contributing writer to Policy Magazine and a Montreal Canadiens fan.



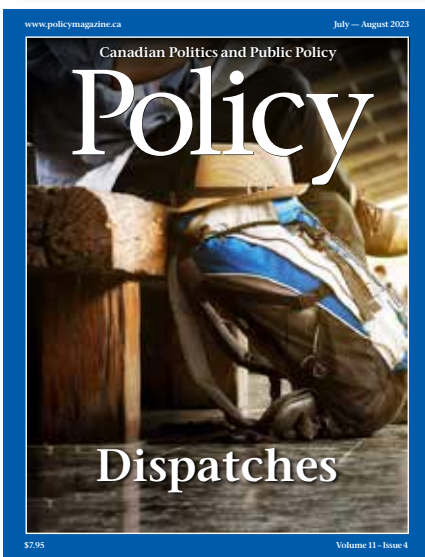
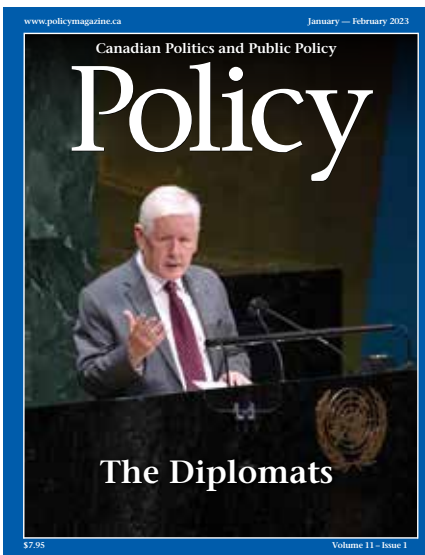
Canadian Politics and Public Policy

Policy

Reach the People Who Make the Policy

Policy print is delivered to all MPs and Senators, the Parliamentary Press Gallery, Air Canada Maple Leaf Lounges and Via Rail Lounges in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto and read by policy makers in Ottawa and across provincial capitals.

Companies and associations with messages for our select audience will find our reasonable rates for placements in Policy print, at Policy Online and in our weekly global politics and policy brief, The Week in Policy, at policymagazine.ca



For further information about advertising in Policy print, at Policy Online or in The Week in Policy, please contact Lisa Van Dusen at lvandusen@policymagazine.ca

Policy



Delivering Sustainability Worldwide

Barrick Gold Corporation's sustainability vision is to create long-term value for all our stakeholders. We contribute to the social and economic development of our host countries and communities. We protect the safety and health of our workforce. We respect human rights. And we manage our impact on the natural environment, both today and with future generations in mind.

dPA 6595

