

ARMING APARTHEID

CANADA'S ARMS EXPORTS TO ISRAEL



CANADIANS FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE
IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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Arming Apartheid: Canada's Arms Exports to Israel

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

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Executive Summary

The annual value of Canada's exports of military goods to Israel have been accelerating in recent years, and in 2020 reached their highest level in over three decades, even when adjusted for inflation.

This current trend has continued despite the well-documented problem of ongoing Israeli violence against Palestinians, including (but not limited to) repeated military offensives in the Gaza Strip and armed violence conducted in the context of a military occupation. This trend also continues at a moment when Israel's practices are increasingly understood as amounting to apartheid – a crime against humanity under international law – according to Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and a multitude of Palestinian and Israeli organizations.

In other words, Canada's arms exports are going in the wrong direction, with military transfers rapidly increasing even as it becomes increasingly impossible to ignore the severity of Israeli violations. This presents a very serious risk that Canada's arms exports to Israel could be used to commit or facilitate violations of international human rights law, international humanitarian law, and other abuses.

Within the last several years, increased awareness and support for Palestinian human rights in Canada has translated into growing support for imposing an arms embargo on Israel, which has been endorsed by the New Democratic Party, the Green Party of Canada, the Canadian Labour Congress, Amnesty International, and other civil society actors (See Appendix A). However, there has been a lack of research into this subject which could provide context for this debate and inform policymakers and the public at large.

This report presents data related to Canada's export of military goods to Israel; this includes the current values and historical trends, the types of goods being exported, and the potential risk that these exports may contribute to a deteriorating situation for human rights and international law. This report also situates the current trend within an historical context, which reveals that there is precedent for restricting sales to Israel over concerns about human rights and military aggression.

Some of the key findings in this report include:

- The value of Canada's arms exports to Israel are at the highest level since 1987, and the upwards trend has been accelerating since the mid-2000s;
- Arms exports to Israel have historically been subject to restrictions, with exports virtually non-existent following the outbreak of the First Intifada (December 1987).

However, this “embargo” was lifted in parallel with the finalization of the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement (CIFTA) in 1996;

- A significant percentage of Canada’s recent military exports to Israel are categorized as explosives or related components, while the other major categories of exports appear to be related to Israel’s space program and military aircraft (although there may be significant additional exports which are not captured in this data).

The report further argues that Israel’s military occupation, repeated military offensives, and crimes against humanity of apartheid, present a situation of extreme risk in which Canadian exports may be contributing to violence against civilians and breaches of international law. The continued transfer of military goods into this context is inconsistent with Canada’s obligations under international treaties, and violates the spirit and intent of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT).

The report recommends that Canadian officials take immediate and proactive measures to eliminate the risks associated with its arms exports to Israel, by:

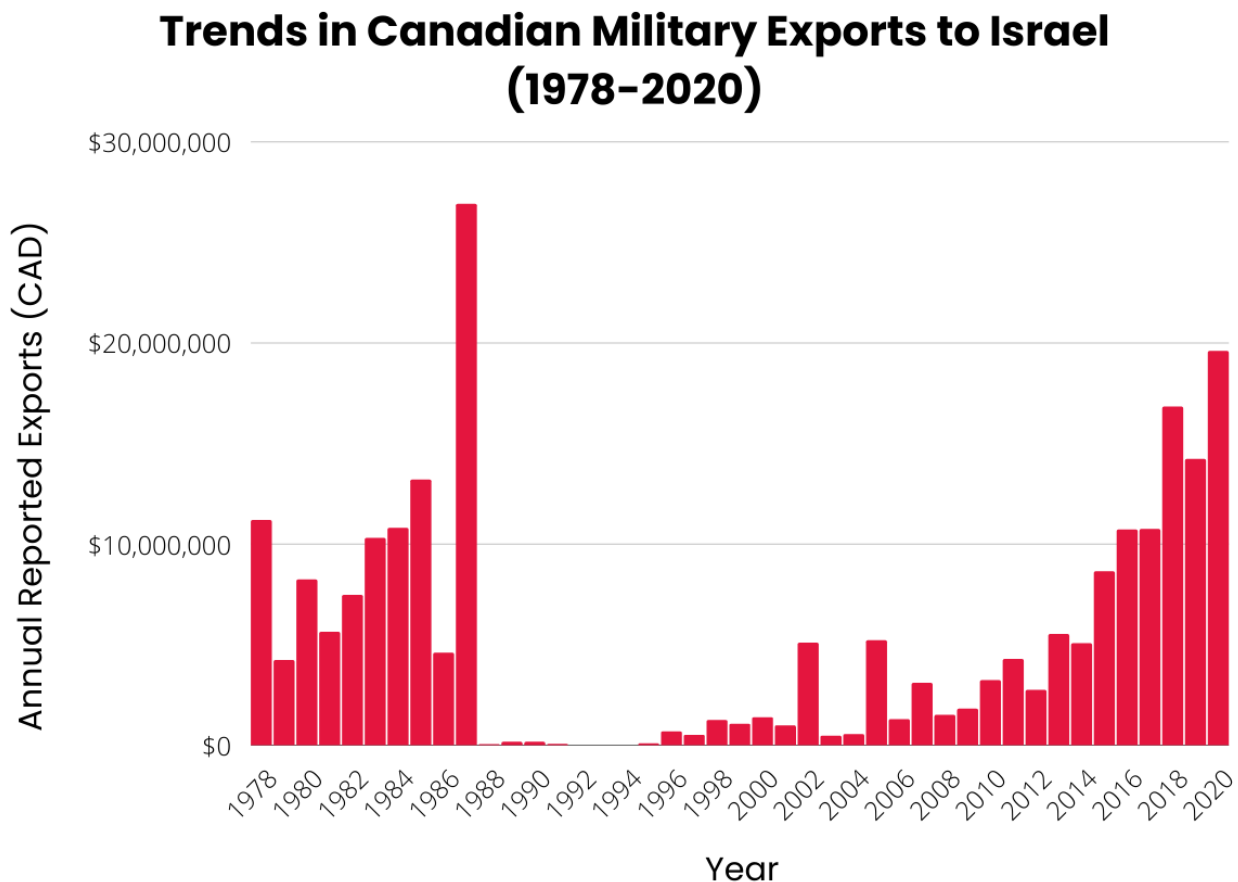
- 1) **suspending all military trade with Israel** until it ends its military occupation of Palestinian territories, dismantles its apartheid policies, and complies with international law; and
- 2) **launching a parliamentary study** to determine whether past and current Canadian arms exports have been used against civilians in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT) or in airstrikes on Gaza.

What is the value of weapons that Canada is exporting to Israel, and how has this changed over time?

In 2020, Canada exported a total of \$19,583,838 in military goods to Israel.¹ This was Canada’s highest value year for arms exports to Israel since 1987, when arms exports were valued at \$26,893,255 (See Figure 1). Altogether, the value of Canada’s total reported military exports to Israel from 1978 to 2020 amount to \$228,827,781.

Unless otherwise noted, all values in this report are expressed in constant (2021) Canadian dollars, which adjusts for the effects of inflation to enable more accurate comparison between different time periods. Values marked with an asterisk (*) are expressed in current Canadian dollars.

Figure 1: Trends in Canadian Military Exports to Israel (1978-2020)



Values are expressed in constant (2021) Canadian dollars. Source: Global Affairs Canada, provided by Project Ploughshares.

History of the Canada-Israel arms trade

Historically, Canada's arms exports to Israel have been subject to considerable restrictions, and from the creation of Israel in 1948 until 1996 Canada had in place some version of what was commonly referred to as an "arms embargo."

In the early years after the creation of Israel, Canada's policy followed first the 1948 UN embargo and then the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 (signed by the US, UK, and France), both of which were meant to restrict transfers of arms to the Middle East. However, except for a temporary ban on arms sales during the Suez Crisis in 1956, Canada did not stop transfers completely. Instead, following the Tripartite Declaration, Canada restricted the sale of "significant" quantities of arms to Israel while still allowing for limited military exports if deemed to be for defensive and non-aggressive purposes.²

By the 1980s, Canada's arms control policy had evolved to restrict arms to "countries involved in or under imminent threat of hostilities" or where there was a credible risk that the arms could be used against civilians.³ However, this policy evidently allowed for the approval of considerable arms transfers, as reported Canadian military exports to Israel more than doubled from just over \$11 million in 1978 (the first year for which data is available) to the historical high-water mark of over \$26 million in 1987 (See Figure 2). Canada also exported over \$7 million in 1982, the year that Israel launched an invasion of Lebanon.

After 1987, however, Canada saw a steep drop in arms transfers to Israel, with exports falling dramatically to nominal levels in 1988 and remaining there for nearly a decade (See Figure 2). For the years 1992-1994, reported annual exports were \$0. This shift corresponded with the start of the first Palestinian "Intifada" (which broke out at the end of 1987), a popular and mostly non-violent Palestinian uprising that was met with severe violence and repression by Israeli forces deploying disproportionate and lethal force against Palestinian demonstrators. By mid-1990, Israeli forces had killed over 670 Palestinians, and injured thousands.⁴

Israel's response to the Intifada was strongly criticized by Canadian officials, including Secretary of State for External Affairs Joe Clark,⁵ and it is "very likely" that this was the direct reason for Canada's nearly non-existent arms exports during this period, according to one former diplomat.⁶ Canada's policy had not changed, but its restrictions on exports to countries involved in hostilities were apparently being rigorously enforced at this time. In 1988, a senior official at External Affairs told Montreal's *Gazette* that military products could not be exported to Israel because it was on a list of countries that are in conflict,⁷ and in 1991, the President of the Canadian NATO Industrial Advisory Group complained that weapons manufactures were "not allowed even to discuss anything" with Israel due to this policy.⁸ During this period it even became government policy to avoid *purchasing* Israeli military equipment. As a Canadian

official told the *Globe and Mail* in 1994, “during the intifada (the Palestinian uprising), it would have been unthinkable” to buy such equipment.⁹ Many Canadian officials considered the idea of military trade with Israel while it was involved in violence against civilians to be morally objectionable.¹⁰

Figure 2: Reported Canadian Military Exports to Israel (1980-2000)



Values are expressed in constant (2021) Canadian dollars. Source: Global Affairs Canada, provided by Project Ploughshares.

If Canada’s arms embargo on Israel was more strictly enforced during the violence of the First Intifada, this period came to an end with the finalizing of the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement (CIFTA), which was signed in 1996 and came into force in 1997. Israeli foreign affairs minister Shimon Peres had complained about Canada’s restrictions on military trade with Israel during a visit to Ottawa in 1993,¹¹ and by late 1994 Canada agreed to make “progress” towards lifting the “arms embargo” – it was reported that the Israeli government may have made this a condition of the trade negotiations.¹² The embargo was quietly dropped a year later.¹³

Aside from free trade considerations, an additional stated motivation for Canada to resume arms exports to Israel was to acknowledge the “progress” represented by the Oslo Accords,¹⁴

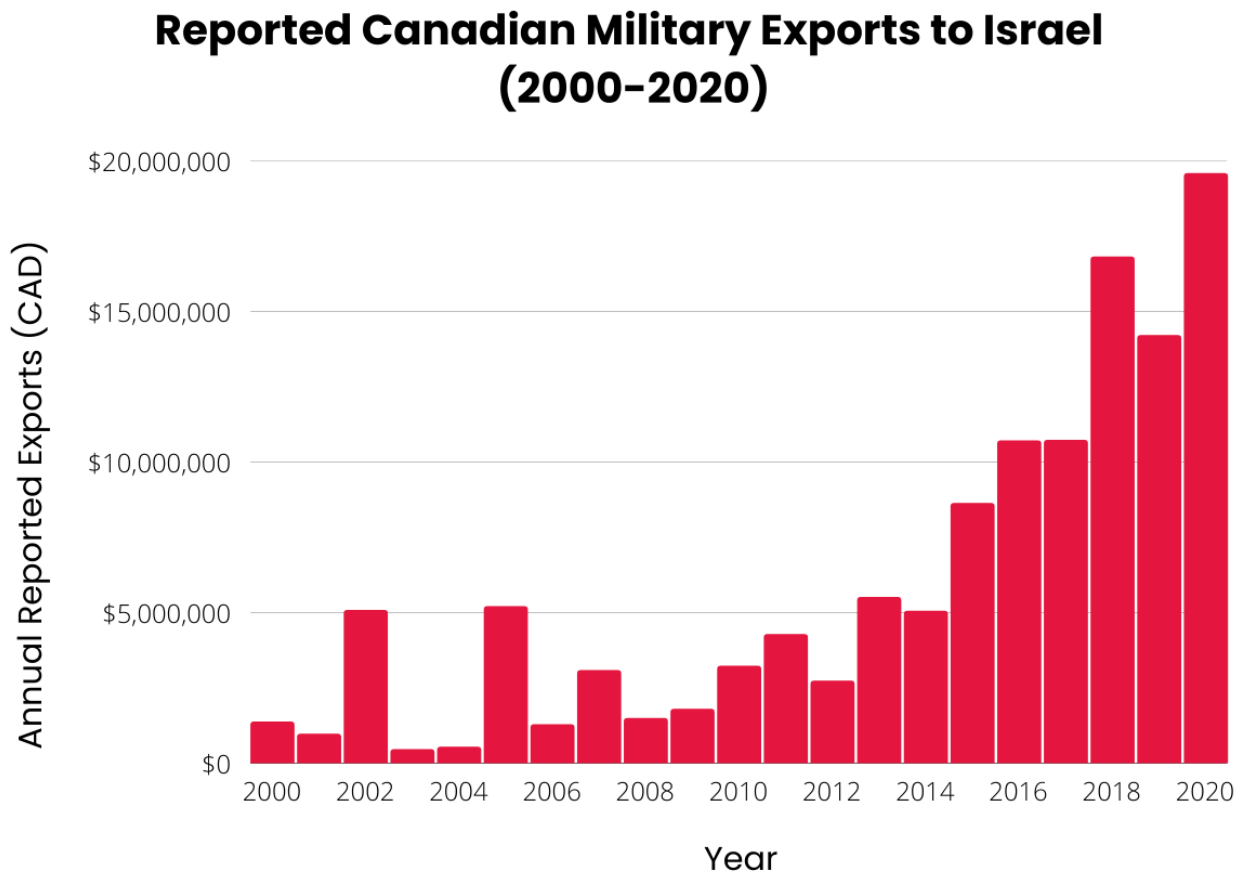
and to provide a “peace dividend” that would encourage Israel’s continued participation in the peace process. In the months leading up to the policy change, Canada’s Minister of Defence David Collenette said that “any review of our policy would have to take into account that Israel no longer, by its actions, could be accused by anyone of territorial expansion.”¹⁵

Military exports to Israel commenced again in 1996, albeit at very low levels, where they remained for the next decade. The exceptions to this were spikes in 2002 and 2005, both to approximately \$5 million per year.

Accelerating arms exports, mid-2000s to present

Since the mid-2000s and until today, there has been a clear upwards trend in the value of Canada’s military exports to Israel, with a notable acceleration starting in 2015 (See Figure 3). Between 2010-2015, Canada’s combined exports were valued at \$29,838,108. From 2016-2020 this value increased by approximately 145% to \$72,026,132.

Figure 3: Reported Canadian Military Exports to Israel (2000-2020)



Values are expressed in constant (2021) Canadian dollars. Source: Global Affairs Canada, provided by Project Ploughshares.

The Canadian Government made two policy and regulatory changes in 2014-2015 which correlate to, but probably did not cause, the rapid increase in military exports starting in 2015. In 2014, Canada and Israel signed the Canada-Israel Strategic Partnership Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), which strengthened defence and security cooperation between the two countries. One of the MOU's aims was to "increase Research and Development (R & D), defence material cooperation, and defence procurement opportunities."¹⁶ The following year, Canada made an amendment to add Israel to the Automatic Firearms Country Control List (AFCCCL), which allowed Israel to import automatic firearms from Canada; the stated objective of this initiative was to "open potential new market opportunities for Canadian exporters by allowing them to apply for export permits for the export of certain prohibited firearms, prohibited weapons and prohibited devices to Israel."¹⁷

While these changes likely did not lead the upward trend in exports that immediately followed,¹⁸ together they expanded procurement opportunities and the types of weapons that could be exported.

What types of military goods are being exported from Canada to Israel?

Data on Canadian arms exports are published in the annual *Report on Exports of Military Goods from Canada*. The Report is to be tabled in Parliament prior to May 31st of each calendar year.

Canada's military export data is categorized into 22 categories found in Group 2 (the "Munitions List") of Canada's Export Control List (ECL). Group 2 includes both full-systems, such as rifles, tanks, and fighter aircraft, as well as parts and components.

Whereas Canada's annual report has made marginal increases in transparency in recent years, little information is provided on the nature of individual transfers aside from what ECL category they belong to, the aggregate value of transfers, and how many export permits were authorized (or denied) for a given category to a given location. Data related to the export of dual-use goods (controlled technology that can be used in both commercial and military applications) is largely not included in the *Annual Report*.

For the period of 2016-2020, Canada's military exports fall under 13 ECL Group 2 categories (See Appendix B), with the highest cumulative values concentrated in 3 categories:

- 1. Electronic equipment, military spacecraft and components, not specified elsewhere on the Munitions list (Category 2-11).**

Canada reported \$24,608,602* of military goods in this category between 2016-2020.¹⁹ While the exact nature of these goods is unclear, it is likely that they are connected to Israel's space program.

Canadian suppliers have previously signed large-value contracts for the provision of satellite equipment to Israel, including a 2012 contract with Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI) won by Macdonald, Dettwiler and Associates Ltd. (MDA) to supply components for the AMOS-6 satellite, valued at nearly \$100-million.^{*20} IAI has produced and launched satellites for Israel's Ministry of Defence for the purpose of military surveillance.²¹

2. Bombs, torpedoes, rockets, missiles, other explosive devices and charges and related equipment and accessories, and specially designed components therefor (Category 2-4).

Canada reported \$19,407,302* of military goods in this category between 2016-2020. On average, these items represented approximately 28.2%, or more than a quarter, of Canada arms exports to Israel from 2016 to 2020.

3. "Aircraft", "lighter-than-air vehicles", "unmanned airborne vehicles" ("UAVs"), aero-engines and "aircraft" equipment, related equipment, and components, specially designed or modified for military use (Category 2-10).

Canada reported \$12,371,428* of military goods in this category between 2016-2020. These likely include aircraft components that are exported to Israel before being incorporated into full systems.

Export permit applications published by the Canadian government in 2021 indicated Viasystems Toronto was seeking to provide electronic components to Elbit Systems, one of Israel's largest weapons companies, to be integrated into V-22 Osprey and F-15 military aircraft.²²

Gaps in public reporting of Canadian military exports

It is important to note that the true value of Canadian military exports to any given location may be higher than reported. This is due, in part, to some technology being classified as commercial goods that otherwise have military end-use. For example, aircraft engines are often exported and reported as civilian goods, rather than military goods, even when they may be ultimately incorporated into military aircraft systems. This is the case for foreign companies which sub-contract engines from Canadian producers (such as Pratt & Whitney Canada in Longueuil, Quebec), and then deliver the final aircraft system for military use to Israel.

For example, in 2019, it was reported the Israeli Air Force purchased seven AgustaWestland AW119Kx training helicopters from Italy's Leonardo.²³ These aircraft are powered by PT6B-37A engines, manufactured by Pratt & Whitney Canada. Yet, it is unlikely these engines were deemed to be military goods, and as a result, their transfer would face little scrutiny from Canadian officials and would not appear in federal export data.

The US is the largest provider of military equipment to Israel, both through conventional arms exports and military aid. Some of this equipment may contain Canadian-made parts and components, also increasing Canada's total value of arms exports to Israel. Unfortunately, most of Canada's military exports to the US are uniquely exempt from public reporting requirements, making it difficult to discern this exact relationship.²⁴

Therefore, the actual volume of Canadian military equipment exported to Israel may be significantly higher than the reported amounts. These are longstanding loopholes which have been acknowledged by public officials as weaknesses in Canada's export control regime for decades.²⁵

Israel's human rights record

The Israeli government maintains a belligerent military occupation whose abuses are well-documented, engages in regular military offensives in the OPT, and there is a growing consensus that its practices against the Palestinians amount to the crime against humanity of apartheid. As such, any military exports to the country present a high risk of being used to violate international humanitarian and human rights law.

Canada's military exports do not have to be directly used in the OPT in order to present a risk that such exports could violate human rights, given that violence is regularly committed against Palestinians everywhere under Israeli control.²⁶ For example, during demonstrations in May 2021, Palestinian citizens of Israel experienced discriminatory, excessive, and unlawful use of force by police, as well as arbitrary arrests and torture.²⁷ However, given that the use of force in the OPT holds an additional risk for international law, the report below will highlight some of the risks associated with Israeli practices specifically in the OPT and which are most troubling from the perspective of transferring Canadian military goods.

Military Offensives

Israel has waged multiple military operations since the resumption of Canada's arms exports in 1996, including repeated offensives in the occupied Gaza Strip. In total, Israeli forces have killed

10,157 Palestinians (including 2,183 children) between the start of the Second Intifada in September 2000 and the end of 2021, according to B'Tselem's database of casualties.²⁸

Israel's offensives against the densely-populated Gaza Strip in 2008-09, 2012, 2014, and 2021, have taken an enormous toll on the civilian population, both in terms of casualties and damage to infrastructure. During Operation Protective Edge in 2014, Israel carried out more than 6,000 airstrikes and fired 50,000 tank and artillery shells, killing 2,251 Palestinians (including 551 children) and injuring 11,231 (3,436 children). Another 27 were killed (3,020 injured) in the West Bank and East Jerusalem during this period. An independent commission of inquiry launched by the UN Human Rights Council concluded in 2015 that the airstrikes and other actions by Israeli authorities during this time may have amounted to war crimes.²⁹

More recently, Israel's Operation Guardian of the Walls in May 2021 deployed the use of shelling, airstrikes, and attacks from the sea against Gaza, killing 240 Palestinians (63% of them civilians), and wounding 1,968.³⁰ Once again, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Michelle Bachelet warned that Israel's airstrikes in densely-populated civilian areas "may constitute war crimes,"³¹ and Human Rights Watch concluded that at least three strikes constituted apparent war crimes.³² A commission of inquiry on behalf of the UN Human Rights Council is currently underway.

Military Occupation

The maintenance of Israel's military occupation involves a range of violent and abusive acts, including the unlawful use of lethal force against Palestinians. Israel places intolerably low restrictions on the use of force; for example, Israel's "open-fire" policy in the West Bank officially allows soldiers to shoot at Palestinians for throwing rocks and other items, even if they are fleeing and pose no immediate threat.³³ Unfortunately, this lethal force is commonly used against children; in 2021 alone, Israeli forces shot and killed 17 children with live ammunition, most of them in the context of peaceful demonstrations.³⁴

During the weekly "Great March of Return" demonstrations in Gaza, which began in 2018, Israeli forces killed 214 Palestinians (including 46 children) and injured 36,100 (including almost 8,800 children).³⁵ Israeli snipers deliberately targeted demonstrators' knees and limbs with live ammunition, treating anyone approaching the barrier separating Israel from Gaza as a legitimate target.³⁶

Other ostensibly non-lethal weapons which are regularly used against Palestinian demonstrators include stun grenades, tear gas, skunk water, pepper spray, and rubber-coated bullets, which can cause significant threats to health and safety. A 2018 study explored Israel's "widespread and indiscriminate" use of tear gas against refugees in Aida and Dheisheh camps,

finding that 100% of residents had been exposed to tear gas in the previous year and that there was “no safe space” in the camps to escape from it – which had diverse negative impacts on the physical and mental health of the refugee population.³⁷

It is evident that Israeli violence is routinely deployed against civil society actors and the civilian population in an indiscriminate manner, rather than responding to genuine security risks. As Amnesty International warns, Israel’s “pattern of unlawful killings and infliction of serious injuries against Palestinian demonstrators appears to be aimed at eliminating opposition to Israel’s policies and practices in the OPT.”³⁸ It is not only physical safety and security which are being violated, but also freedom of assembly and association, among other civil and political rights.

Unlawful killings and the use of weapons (both lethal and non-lethal) against Palestinian civilians is only one dimension of Israel’s military rule over the OPT. It is one example of how military goods exported by Canada may potentially be used by Israeli forces in a variety of different settings.

The crime against humanity of apartheid

Within the last two years, both Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have independently concluded that many Israeli practices (for example, unlawful killings) can be understood in terms of the crime against humanity of apartheid, as defined by the Rome Statute and the 1973 Apartheid Convention, since they are committed in the context of an “institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one racial group over another, with the intention of maintaining that regime.”³⁹

These findings build on the analysis of Al-Haq, B’Tselem, Yesh Din, and many other Palestinian and Israeli human rights organizations working in the region.⁴⁰ Similar allegations have been put forward in a report to the United Nations Human Rights Council by Michael Lynk, UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of Human Rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967.⁴¹

These serious allegations of crimes against humanity hold significant implications for Canadian foreign policy, including those related to the authorization of arms exports. Both Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have appealed to states to restrict their military exports to Israel to ensure that these do not contribute to crimes against humanity (See Appendix A).

Risks associated with Canadian arms exports to Israel

Israel's military occupation, its recent history of repeated military offensives, and its crimes against humanity of apartheid, present a situation of extreme risk: the transfer of Canadian military goods into this context poses the possibility that such goods could be implicated in Israeli actions which violate international humanitarian and human rights law.

Under Article 7 of the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), Canadian officials cannot authorize the export of arms if there is a substantial and unmitigable risk that they “would contribute to or undermine peace and security,” or if they could be used to “commit or facilitate” a serious violation of international humanitarian or human rights law, and such risk cannot be mitigated.⁴²

The ATT is legally-binding and applies to all military exports – including to Israel – and these obligations are not superseded by any bilateral agreements that Canada might have, such as CIFTA or the MOU.

Of course, the precise risks and legal implications of Canadian military exports to Israel are hard to evaluate given the lack of clarity as to exactly what goods are being exported nor how they are used. As demonstrated above, however, the prospect of exporting arms to Israel – which could be used in an offensive on Gaza or to maintain the military occupation – unquestionably presents a situation of extreme risk.

In response to the Israeli military offensive against Gaza in May 2021, arms control and human rights organizations have argued that many arms exports to Israel would be incompatible with obligations under the ATT, and that states parties should therefore halt the transfer of military goods:⁴³

- The Control Arms Coalition urged “all states that provide arms or military support to Israel and those that purchase arms from Israel — including those developed and used for repression of and armed attacks on Palestinians — to take immediate action to halt all arms transfers.” It further noted that “to prevent further violence, ATT States Parties should continue to implement strict export control policies in line with their obligations under the ATT and extend restrictions even after the situation on the ground has improved.”⁴⁴
- The UK Working Group on Arms (UKWG) noted that exports to Israel contradicted the UK's obligations under the ATT, and called on the UK government to “cease the licensing of arms and equipment to Israel immediately, alongside other forms of military cooperation.” Members of the working group include Oxfam, Saferworld, Amnesty International UK, and more.⁴⁵

- Palestinian NGO Al-Haq, joined by 244 other organizations, argued that arms exports to Israel are “inconsistent” with ATT obligations given Israel’s violations of human rights and international law. These organizations are urging States Parties to the ATT to “immediately terminate any current, and prohibit any future transfers of conventional arms, munitions, parts and components ... until [Israel] ends its illegal belligerent occupation of the occupied Palestinian territory and complies fully with its obligations under international law.”⁴⁶

Conclusion and Recommendations:

Canada’s military exports to Israel are trending in the wrong direction. Canada’s arms transfers have accelerated to a 30-year high despite the continuation of Israeli armed violence against Palestinian civilians, and the growing realization that Israeli practices amount to the crime against humanity of apartheid. This is a situation of extreme risk in which Canadian exports may be contributing to violence against civilians and breaches of international law.

While we do not know the exact military goods being transferred to Israel, nor how they are used, the context of risk is so high that it is implausible that such risk can be adequately mitigated. To echo the conclusions of international arms control and human rights groups, Canada’s arms exports to Israel are inconsistent with its obligations under international treaties, and violate – at a minimum – the spirit and intent of the Arms Trade Treaty.

Fortunately, the existence of a Canadian arms embargo on military trade with Israel following the First Intifada (1988 to 1995) demonstrates that there is a precedent for restricting arms sales as a response to Israeli violence and grounded in a concern for the protection of human rights. This is an approach which Canadian officials should immediately resume.

In fact, looking back at Canada’s decision to resume arms sales in 1995, it becomes clear that the stated reasons and conditions for doing so have expired:

- One justification for resumed arms exports was to be a “peace dividend” that would reward and encourage Israel’s involvement in the peace process. Today, however, the “peace process” represented by the Oslo Accords has been stalled for many years, with no movement towards an end to Israel’s military occupation, and no prospects for a negotiated solution.
- One factor in the resumption of arms exports, according to the Minister of Defence at the time, was that “Israel no longer, by its actions, could be accused by anyone of territorial expansion.”⁴⁷ Today, however, the number of Israeli settlers living illegally in the occupied Palestinian territory has tripled since the arms embargo was lifted, and Israeli leaders are openly talking about annexing significant portions of the West Bank.

More than 25 years later, it is impossible to view Canada's provision of military goods to Israel as serving as an incentive for progress. Instead, it rewards the Israeli government for maintaining the status quo of perpetual occupation, and it demonstrates that there are no consequences for violence or territorial expansion.

To put it simply, there is no excuse for continuing to provide military transfers to a state which is credibly accused of apartheid, war crimes, and a multitude of forms of violence against Palestinian civilians. The Canadian government may refer to Israel as a "steadfast ally," but this should not prevent Canada from taking a hard look at its arms transfers to Israel in light of international arms treaties.

Recommendations:

1. Canada should suspend all military trade with Israel until it ends the military occupation, dismantles its apartheid policies, and complies with international law.

Until Israel takes significant steps to dismantle its military occupation of the Palestinian territories, and to end its discriminatory policies and other violent and abusive acts against the Palestinian people, the potential risks to human rights will remain far too high to justify any military transfers.

2. Parliament's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development (FAAE) should launch a study of Canada's arms exports to Israel. Due to the lack of public information regarding the type and use of the military equipment that Canada has been transferring to Israel, an FAAE study is necessary to determine whether past and current exports have been used against civilians in the OPT or in airstrikes on Gaza, and to determine the risk that current and future exports may likewise be used in such contexts.

Appendix A: Canadian and Civil Society Support for an Arms Embargo on Israel

- New Democratic Party (May 13, 2021) – “We now call on Canada to end arms sales to Israel until the end of the illegal occupation.”⁴⁸ According to a policy adopted by NDP members in April 2021, the NDP also supports “suspending the bilateral trade of all arms and related materials with the State of Israel until Palestinian rights are upheld.”⁴⁹
- Green Party of Canada (Policy adopted 2016) – Supports “The termination and indefinite suspension of all military and surveillance trade and cooperation between, on the one hand, the Government of Canada and Canadian corporations or residents of Canada and, on the other hand, the State of Israel, Israeli corporations or residents of Israel’s illegal settlements.”⁵⁰
- Canadian Labour Congress (June 18, 2021) – The CLC will “call on the Government of Canada to halt all arms sales to Israel and play an active role in ensuring the right of both Palestinians and Israelis to live in safety and security.”⁵¹
- Unifor (May 18, 2021) – Asks that Canada “issue a full weapons ban/embargo on Israel. We should not be supplying arms that Israeli forces are using to commit these human rights atrocities against the Palestinian people.”⁵²
- CUPW (May 21, 2021) - “Since destructive modern weapons were unleashed against civilians on a mass scale, Canada must ban arms sales to this rogue state immediately.”⁵³
- Thirty-nine national, regional, and local Canadian labour organizations (June 8, 2021) - “We demand that the Government of Canada immediately suspend bilateral trade of all arms and related materials with the State of Israel.”⁵⁴
 - Major signatories include Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), Canadian Federation of Nurses Union (CFNU), The Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada (PIPSC), Conseil central du Montréal métropolitain-CSN, Amalgamated Transit Union of Canada (ATU), Ontario Federation of Labour, Canadian Union of Public Employees – Ontario, Canadian Union of Public Employees – British Columbia, British Columbia Government and Service Employees Union (BCGEU), British Columbia Teachers’ Federation (BCTF), and more.
- Amnesty International (2022) - Urges states to “immediately suspend the direct and indirect supply, sale or transfer, including transit and transshipment to Israel of all weapons, munitions and other military and security equipment, including the provision of training and other military and security assistance.”⁵⁵
- Human Rights Watch (2021) - Urges states to “condition arms sales and military and security assistance to Israel on Israeli authorities taking concrete and verifiable steps towards ending their commission of the crimes of apartheid and persecution.”⁵⁶
- Oxfam Canada (2014) - “Suspending arms and ammunition transfers [to Israel and Palestinian armed groups] is vital to ensure no more civilians are harmed.”⁵⁷
- Al-Haq and 244 other Palestinian, regional, and international civil society organizations (2021) - Urging States Parties to the Arms Trade Treaty to “immediately terminate any current, and prohibit any future transfers of conventional arms, munitions, parts and components ... until [Israel] ends its illegal belligerent occupation of the occupied Palestinian territory and complies fully with its obligations under international law.”⁵⁸

Appendix B: Value* of Canadian Military Exports to Israel by ECL Group 2 Category (2016-2020)

Canadian Military Exports to Israel by ECL Group 2 Category (2016-2020)						
	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	TOTALS
2-1	\$179,499	\$88,990	\$11,972	\$1,652,874	\$7,200	\$1,940,537
2-2	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-3	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-4	\$4,332,010	\$3,692,274	\$4,241,210	\$1,294,647	\$5,847,158	\$19,407,302
2-5	\$670,980	\$242,612	\$605,258	\$952,782	\$2,634,058	\$5,105,693
2-6	\$181,815	\$144,959	\$368,539	\$121,590	\$326,580	\$1,143,486
2-7	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-8	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-9	0	0	\$560,303	0	\$199,194	\$759,497
2-10	\$1,021,455	\$2,079,963	\$2,074,483	\$3,157,570	\$4,037,954	\$12,371,428
2-11	\$2,710,681	\$3,621,626	\$6,707,319	\$5,973,545	\$5,595,429	\$24,608,602
2-12	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-13	\$24,638	\$6,544	0	0	\$55,338	\$86,521
2-14	\$14,483	\$8,578	\$60,862	\$10,007	\$5,567	\$99,499
2-15	\$389,729	\$237,745	\$300,407	\$307,252	\$510,732	\$1,745,867
2-16	\$93,578	\$20,457	\$1,064,435	\$286,399	\$122,742	\$1,587,613
2-17	\$2	0	0	0	0	\$2
2-18	\$59,243	\$2,894	\$6,384	\$1,148	\$73,412	\$143,082
2-19	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-20	0	0	0	0	0	0
2-21	\$100,880	\$58,891	\$748	\$755	\$107,091	\$268,365
2-22	\$2,078	\$32,357	\$3,773	\$3,911	\$2,600	\$44,719

* Values are expressed in current Canadian dollars.

For illustrative examples of exports for each ECL Group 2 category, see Global Affairs Canada, Table 10: 2020 – Group 2 (Munitions List) of Canada’s ECL, “2020 Exports of Military Goods.” For a detailed explanation, see Global Affairs Canada, “A Guide to Canada’s Export Control List,” December 2018, <<https://www.international.gc.ca/controls-controles/assets/pdfs/documents/guide-2018-eng.pdf>>.

Appendix C: Value of annual Canadian Military Exports to Israel (1978-2020)

1978	\$11,169,863	1996	\$660,616	2014	\$5,046,315
1979	\$4,213,405	1997	\$492,248	2015	\$8,628,856
1980	\$8,222,745	1998	\$1,224,609	2016	\$10,705,424
1981	\$5,617,796	1999	\$1,042,727	2017	\$10,722,784
1982	\$7,454,537	2000	\$1,365,974	2018	\$16,807,857
1983	\$10,279,829	2001	\$963,560	2019	\$14,206,229
1984	\$10,788,180	2002	\$5,074,747	2020	\$19,583,838
1985	\$13,189,570	2003	\$449,814		
1986	\$4,572,094	2004	\$528,371		
1987	\$26,893,255	2005	\$5,201,890		
1988	\$23,827	2006	\$1,273,853		
1989	\$144,629	2007	\$3,078,313		
1990	\$144,629	2008	\$1,482,913		
1991	\$38,982	2009	\$1,789,125		
1992	\$ 0	2010	\$3,214,842		
1993	\$ 0	2011	\$4,268,199		
1994	\$ 0	2012	\$2,724,867		
1995	\$71,558	2013	\$5,500,029		

Values are expressed in constant (2021) Canadian dollars.

¹ Global Affairs Canada, Report on the Export of Military Goods from Canada for years 1978 to 2020, “Export and Import Controls.” Reports from 1978-2006 are on file at Project Ploughshares; reports from 2007-2020 are available online at <https://www.international.gc.ca/controls-controles/report-rapports/index.aspx?lang=eng>. Unless otherwise noted, all values in this report are expressed in constant (2021) Canadian dollars.

² Zachary Kay, *The Diplomacy of Prudence: Canada and Israel, 1948-1958*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997; Zachariah Kay, *The Diplomacy of Impartiality: Canada and Israel, 1958-1968*, Waterloo ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010.

³ Ernie Regehr, “Military Sales,” in Robert O. Matthews and Cranford Pratt (Eds.), *Human Rights in Foreign Policy*, McGill-Queen's University Press: 1998, 215-218; Sixth Report, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Sub-Committee on Arms Exports, Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade, Third Session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1991-92.

⁴ Human Rights Watch, “The Israeli Army and the Intifada: Policies that Contribute to the Killings,” August 1990.

⁵ During a controversial address to the Canada Israel Committee in 1988, Clark accused Israel of using live ammunition, tear gas, and beatings of civilians, as “deliberate instruments of the so-called 'ironfist' policy, designed to re-establish control by force and by fear.” Quoted in David Taras and David Goldberg, *The Domestic Battleground: Canada and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989, p. 212. See also Andrew N. Robinson, “Talking with the PLO: Overcoming political challenges,” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 2021, 27(1), 21-30.

⁶ As recalled by former Canadian diplomat Andrew Robinson, who served as director of the Department of External Affairs' Middle East Relations Division from 1988 to 1992, “it is very likely that the decrease in Canadian arms sales to Israel in that period was directly related to Canadian concerns about Israel's actions.” Correspondence with the author, March 19, 2022.

⁷ In 1988, Palestinian protestors noticed that tear-gas canisters which the Israeli military was using against them featured the words “Made in Canada.” As Montreal's *Gazette* reported, sources inside External Affairs could not explain this: “I'm as puzzled by this as anyone else,” the official said. Canadian law forbids exports of military hardware to countries that are in conflict or in danger of going to war, and Israel is on that list, he said. ‘Those (tear-gas) grenades are defined as military products,’ and therefore could not be exported to Israel even if they were produced in Canada, he said.” “Tear-gas canister mystifies Canadian officials,” *Gazette* (Montreal), February 18, 1998.

⁸ In a meeting of the Sub-Committee on Arms Export, the President of the Canadian NATO Industrial Advisory Group complained that “there are certain countries that I am aware of that we are not allowed to ship to, for instance, that the United States, France, and Germany ship to, and Israel and Taiwan are two examples. We are not allowed even to discuss anything with them.” To which MP Lloyd Axworthy replied, this policy is because “[Israel's] in an area of conflict.” House of Commons Committees, 34th Parliament, 3rd Session : Sub-Committee on Arms Export, November 28, 1991.

⁹ Patrick Martin, “Canada, Israel talking free trade Ottawa to begin lifting ban on sales and purchases of military arms,” *The Globe and Mail*, November 25, 1994.

¹⁰ In May 1989, MP Dan Heap raised concerns about the presence of Israeli firms participating in an arms exhibition, noting “I believe that Israel is already quite well enough armed and does not need for good purpose or other to buy armaments from Canada.” MP Ross Harvey also raised the moral question of selling weapons to Israel which could be used to “kill Palestinians [in] the occupied West Bank.” House of Commons Debates, 34th Parliament, 2nd Session, May 19, 1989.

¹¹ As Shimon Peres complained to Parliament's Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade, “Canada still doesn't permit us to sell arms to Canada, which again is a bit strange [...] We felt if Canada is selling arms, for example, to Saudi Arabia, there was no reason why Israel could not enjoy an equal opportunity, as long as this is the case.” Third Session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament, March 30, 1993.

¹² Patrick Martin, “Canada, Israel talking free trade Ottawa to begin lifting ban on sales and purchases of military arms,” *The Globe and Mail*, November 25, 1994.

¹³ Gordon, Sheldon, “Canada lifting arms embargo on Israel, *Forward*, September 1, 1995.

¹⁴ Patrick Martin, “Canada, Israel talking free trade Ottawa to begin lifting ban on sales and purchases of military arms,” *The Globe and Mail*, November 25, 1994.

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- ¹⁵ Gordon, Sheldon, “Canada lifting arms embargo on Israel, *Forward*, September 1, 1995
- ¹⁶ Global Affairs Canada, “Canada-Israel Strategic Partnership – Memorandum of Understanding,” 2014.
- ¹⁷ Canada Gazette, “Order Amending the Automatic Firearms Country Control List,” January 14, 2015, <https://canadagazette.gc.ca/rp-pr/p2/2015/2015-01-28/html/sor-dors10-eng.html>.
- ¹⁸ Canada has not exported substantial numbers of firearms to Israel, with the exception of 2019, when it provided 90 “rifles and carbines” valued at \$1,652,874*.
- ¹⁹ Values marked with an asterisk (*) are expressed in current Canadian dollars.
- ²⁰ Marc Boucher, “MDA signs significant communications payload contract for Amos-6 satellite,” *SpaceQ*, June 25, 2021
- ²¹ IAI, “The Israel Ministry of Defense and IAI Have Successfully Launched the Ofek 16 Satellite – Which Has Begun its Orbit in Space,” July 6, 2020.
- ²² Global Affairs Canada, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development (FAAE), documents submitted on June 16, 2021 in the course of its study on the “Granting of Arms Export Permits, with a Particular Focus on Permits Granted for Exports to Turkey.” To review documents and other committee materials: <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Committees/en/FAAE/StudyActivity?studyActivityId=11056320>.
- ²³ Gareth Jennings, “Israel acquires AW119Kx training helicopter,” *Janes*, February 18, 2019, <https://www.janes.com/defence-news/news-detail/israel-acquires-aw119kx-training-helicopter>
- ²⁴ Project Ploughshares, “Restoring Canada’s arms control and disarmament credentials,” January 2022.
- ²⁵ Sixth Report, Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Sub-Committee on Arms Exports, Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade. Third Session of the Thirty-fourth Parliament, 1991-92.
- ²⁶ Amnesty International, “Israel’s Apartheid Against Palestinians: Cruel System of Domination and Crime Against Humanity,” February 2022.
- ²⁷ Adalah: The Legal Centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, “Adalah demands Israeli police end mass arrests of Palestinian citizens,” May 17, 2021; Amnesty International, “Israeli police targeted Palestinians with discriminatory arrests, torture, and unlawful force,” June 24, 2021; Human Rights Watch, “Israel: Abusive Policing in Lod During May Hostilities,” December 14, 2021.
- ²⁸ B’Tselem, Fatalities database, accessed February 20, 2022, <https://statistics.btselem.org/en/intro/fatalities>
- ²⁹ UNGA Human Rights Council, “Report of the independent commission of inquiry established pursuant to Human Rights Council resolution S-21/1,” June 24, 2015.
- ³⁰ Al Mezan Center for Human Rights, The Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, and Al-Haq, “Assault on Gaza in Numbers: A Statistical report,” January 2022.
- ³¹ Michelle Bachelet, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, in statement to the Human Rights Council. “To avoid next round violence, root causes must be addressed – Bachelet on escalation in Gaza and the occupied Palestinian territory.” May 27, 2021.
- ³² Human Rights Watch, “Gaza: Apparent War Crimes During May Fighting,” July 2021.
- ³³ Judah Ari Gross, “IDF begins allowing troops to shoot at fleeing rock-throwers,” *Times of Israel*, December 20, 2021.
- ³⁴ Defense for Children International - Palestine, “2021 is deadliest year for Palestinian children since 2014,” December 2021.
- ³⁵ UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, “Two Years On: People Injured and Traumatized During the ‘Great March of Return’ are Still Struggling,” April 2020.
- ³⁶ Hilo Glazer, “‘42 Knees in One Day’: Israeli Snipers Open Up About Shooting Gaza Protesters,” *Haaretz*, March 6, 2020; Medecins sans frontieres, “Great March of Return: Shattered limbs, shattered lives,” November 2019.
- ³⁷ Human Rights Center School of Law University of California, Berkeley, “No Safe Space: Health Consequences of Tear Gas Exposure Among Palestine Refugees,” January 2018.
- ³⁸ Amnesty International, “Israel’s Apartheid Against Palestinians: Cruel System of Domination and Crime Against Humanity,” February 2022, p. 250.
- ³⁹ Amnesty International, “Israel’s Apartheid Against Palestinians: Cruel System of Domination and Crime Against Humanity,” February 2022, pp. 30-32, 248; See also Human Rights Watch, “A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution,” April 27, 2021, pp. 170-195.
- ⁴⁰ For an updated list of prominent Palestinian, Israeli, and international organizations who use the terminology of apartheid to describe Israeli practices, see CJPME’s resource: “Who is talking about Israeli apartheid?”, https://www.cjpme.org/apartheid_list.

⁴¹ United Nations, “Israel’s 55-year occupation of Palestinian Territory is apartheid – UN human rights expert,” March 25, 2022.

⁴² Arms Trade Treaty, <https://thearmstradetreaty.org/treaty-text.html>.

⁴³ Control Arms Coalition, “ATT States Parties must halt all arms sales to Israel to protect civilians in Gaza,” May 19, 2021; UK Working Group on Arms (UKWG), “UK Working Group on Arms statement on the continuous conflict between Israel and Palestine,” July 9, 2021; Al-Haq, “Open Letter to the States Parties to the Arms Trade Treaty on the Need to Impose a Comprehensive Two-Way Arms Embargo on Israel,” August 31, 2021.

⁴⁴ Control Arms Coalition, “ATT States Parties must halt all arms sales to Israel to protect civilians in Gaza,” May 19, 2021.

⁴⁵ UK Working Group on Arms (UKWG), “UK Working Group on Arms statement on the continuous conflict between Israel and Palestine,” July 9, 2021.

⁴⁶ Al-Haq, “Open Letter to the States Parties to the Arms Trade Treaty on the Need to Impose a Comprehensive Two-Way Arms Embargo on Israel,” August 31, 2021.

⁴⁷ See above.

⁴⁸ NDP, “NDP: Canada must play an active role in helping build a just and sustainable solution for Palestinians and Israelis,” May 13, 2021. In April 2021, NDP membership also voted by 80% to adopt a resolution to support “suspending the bilateral trade of all arms and related materials with the State of Israel until Palestinian rights are upheld.” See Palestine Resolution 2021, <https://www.palestineresolution2021.ca/resolution>.

⁴⁹ CJPME, “CJPME applauds NDP for adopting bold sanctions policy on Israel,” April 10, 2021.

⁵⁰ Green Party of Canada, “Measures to pressure the government of Israel to preserve the two-state solution: addendum to current Middle East policy,” 2016, <https://www.greenparty.ca/en/sgm-2016/voting/resolutions/s16-p013>.

⁵¹ Quoted in CJPME, “CJPME Applauds Canadian Labour Congress for Endorsing Sanctions on Israel,” June 18, 2021.

⁵² Unifor, “Unifor condemns attacks on Gaza,” May 18, 2021.

⁵³ CUPW, “Statement: CUPW Condemns Attacks on Palestine and Watches Closely as a Ceasefire Takes Hold,” May 21, 2021.

⁵⁴ Labour for Palestine, “‘The Canadian government must end complicity in violence and apartheid’: Labour Organizations Call for Immediate Arms Embargo on Israel,” June 8, 2021.

⁵⁵ Amnesty International, “Israel’s Apartheid Against Palestinians: Cruel System of Domination and Crime Against Humanity,” February 2022, p. 277.

⁵⁶ Human Rights Watch, “A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crimes of Apartheid and Persecution,” April 27, 2021, p. 209.

⁵⁷ Oxfam Canada, “World Must Suspend Arms Sales to Protect Civilians as Gaza Violence Escalates Again,” August 21, 2014.

⁵⁸ Al-Haq, “Open Letter to the States Parties to the Arms Trade Treaty on the Need to Impose a Comprehensive Two-Way Arms Embargo on Israel,” August 31, 2021.