### Peace, Human Rights and the Rule of Law: Canada's Role in the Middle East

The Group of 78 Annual Policy Conference September 25 – 27, 2009 Cartier Place Suite Hotel 180 Cooper Street, Ottawa

#### **SPEAKERS**

#### Keynote speaker Friday Sept. 25

#### Richard Falk "The Israel-Palestine Conflict: International Law Matters"

UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, Professor Emeritus of International Law, Princeton University, Visiting Distinguished Professor, Global Studies, University of California at Santa Barbara

Richard Falk was a member of the Princeton University faculty from 1961 until his retirement there in 2001. He was the Albert. G. Milbank Professor of International Law and Practice at Princeton since 1965. Since 2002 he has been a Visiting Distinguished Professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara teaching in the Global Studies Program. In the Spring of 2007 he was a Visiting Professor at the UCLA School of Law. In 2007-2008 he was Leo Beck Professor at the Graduate School of International Studies, Denver University, in Fall 2008 he was the Wylie and Bette Aitken Distinguished Visiting Professor of Law, Chapman University School of Law. His recent books are Predatory Globalization: A Critique (1999); Human Rights Horizons (2000); Religion and Humane Global Governance (2001); The Declining World Order (2004); The Costs of War (2008); Achieving Human Rights (2009). He serves on various editorial boards including The Nation and The American Journal of International Law. He was a member of the Independent International Commission on Kosovo (1999-2001), Human Rights Inquiry Commission for Palestine of the UN Human Rights Commission (2002), and in 2008 has been appointed by the UN Human Rights Council to be Special Rapporteur for the Occupied Palestine Territories.

#### Panel 1: The Problem and its Contexts: Past and Present

# Nahla Abdo "Their Independence, Our Nakba: The Palestinian Ordeal in a Historical Perspective"

Professor, Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Carleton University

Nahla Abdo (Ph.D.) is an Arab feminist activist, Professor of Sociology at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. She has extensive publications on women, racism, nationalism and the State in the Middle East with special focus on Palestinian women. Among her recent publications: Gender and Citizenship in Israel: Comparing Palestinian, Mizrahi and Ashkenazi Women (forthcoming); Women and Poverty in the OPT: Some Conceptual and Methodological

Notes, 2007; Violence in the Name of Honour: Theoretical and Political Challenges, 2004 (with Shahrzad Mojab) and Women and the Politics of Military Confrontation: Palestinian and Israeli Gendered Narratives of Dislocation, 2002 (with Ronit Lentin). In addition to these books Professor Abdo has published numerous articles in academic journals. She has recently returned from a 5-month trip to Palestine/Israel where she worked with various civil society organizations on issues of human rights, racism, feminism and nationalism.

## Trevor Purvis "Toward a New World Disorder Challenges for Middle-East Peace after George W. Bush"

Assistant Professor, Department of Law/Institute of Political Economy, Carleton University

Since 9/11 my research has focused primarily on the legal fallout from the events of that day, America's ensuing war on terror, and what each of these portends for an international rule of law and global justice. Extraordinary rendition, the use of torture, Canada's involvement in Afghanistan, the legality of aggression, and the role of law in mitigating international conflict have become crucial concerns. I regard each of these as deepening a wider set of interests in processes of 'globalization' and the transformations its forces have engendered for social and political life in late-modernity.

#### Report: The Current Situation in the West Bank and Gaza

MPs Libby Davies and Richard Nadeau report on cross-party fact-finding trip to Jordan, the West Bank, and Gaza in August 2009.

Believing that supportable foreign policy is the product of broad consensus across our nation and across our political parties, we were delighted to learn that a cross-party fact-finding trip to the West Bank and Gaza was planned by Members of Parliament representing all four political parties in the spring of this year and carried out by three of the four planners in August. We understand that this is the first such trip to the West Bank and Gaza by any Canadian Members of Parliament since 2003—a fact that makes their observations all the more valuable.

When we invited Mr. Ted Menzies, M.P. of the Conservative Party, Mr. Boris Wrzesnewskyj, M.P. of the Liberal Party, Ms. Libby Davies, M.P. of the New Democratic Party, and Mr. Richard Nadeau, M.P. of the Bloc Quebecois to participate in our conference we stressed that our needs were to hear what they had learned from their fact-finding trip, especially that which was pertinent to our themes and that which highlighted their areas of agreement. We were not looking for competing political party presentations of Middle East foreign policy but a first hand report on what is happening on the ground, now. Despite the fact that election rumours are on the wind, we reiterate that what will be helpful to us is what was learned on the fact-finding trip.

We regret that prior commitments prevented Mr. Menzies and Mr. Wrzesnewsky from joining us. We welcome Ms. Davies, M. Nadeau and Kim Elliott who helped in the organization of this trip and who took the very informative photographs which will enliven the presentation.

#### Panel 2 Perspectives on Canadian Foreign Policy in the Middle East

Michael Byers - "Politics over policy: Canada's diminishing influence in the Middle East" Professor and Canada Research Chair, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia

Michael Byers holds the Canada Research Chair in Global Politics and International Law at the University of British Columbia. His work focuses on issues of human rights, the laws of war, sovereignty and Canada-US relations. Dr. Byers has been a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford (1996-1999) and a Professor of Law at Duke University (1999-2004). He has also taught as a visiting professor at the universities of Cape Town and Tel Aviv. Dr. Byers is the author of Custom, Power and the Power of Rules (1999), War Law (2005), and the national bestseller Intent for a Nation (2007). His next book, Who Owns the Arctic?, will be published in October 2009.

**John Sigler,** specialist on the Middle East is the former director of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. One of the founding members of the Group of 78, he remains committed to the goals of arms control and disarmament, conflict resolution, development, and a strengthened United Nations.

Luncheon Keynote Speaker Saturday Sept. 26 – Steven P. Cohen "A Tragedy for both the Middle East and Western Society (Can Canada help to resolve this conflict?)"

**Stephen P. Cohen** is a Harvard-trained social psychologist who has focused his career on citizen diplomacy in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. His success has been made possible by his extraordinary ability to communicate with both kings and radical extremists—and be trusted by both. In 1979 Dr. Cohen founded and has since been President of the Institute for Middle East Peace and Development, which remains his institutional base to serve as facilitator and private intermediary in peace-making and peace-building. He has pioneered too many efforts to list here, but suffice to say that he has worked with the highest levels of government and business leaders in creating innovative programs, not only in promoting peace, but economic development and social justice.

Dr. Cohen is widely credited as a major behind-the-scenes influence in several of the most important and successful peace initiatives in the Middle East. He created the first secret official negotiations between Israel and the <u>PLO</u> years before Oslo under the supervision of Chairman Arafat and Shimon Peres, launching the premier intermediaries of Israeli Prime Ministers and Yasser Arafat until the collapse of the peace process in the second intifada. He is a senior member of the United States group engaged in off-the-record US/Syria dialogue. He was the founding president of the foundations of Charles Bronfman, and he was the first President of <u>S. Daniel Abraham's Center for Middle East Peace and Economic Cooperation</u>. He also co-founded The <u>Business Group for Middle East Peace and Development</u>, co-chaired by Lester Crown. Dr. Cohen served as a behind-the-scenes confidant of Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan and Egypt's President Anwar Sadat in the launching of the peace process. He set up the first meetings between Shimon Peres and Sadat and between Yitzhak Rabin, Peres and Abba Eban with the leaders of Egypt's National Democratic Party.

Dr. Cohen is the pioneer of Track Two Diplomacy, which is the unofficial diplomacy that has been so important in advancing the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians. Dr. Cohen has developed close relations with Israeli leaders from all major parties, including Labor and Likud, religious and secular. On the Arab side, he has close relationships with heads of state, foreign ministers, and leading figures in almost every Arab state, including the deceased leaders, King Hussein, King Hassan and President Assad, as well as the current President of Egypt, President Mubarak, and the new successors of key states such as Lebanon, Syria, Algeria, Yemen and the Gulf States. He has a long history of transcending the limitations of particular partisan views and so has become a trusted ally to participants from all perspectives and has established unparalleled relationships and friendships in both Israel and the Arab countries.

## Panel 3 Persectives on the Israel-Palestinian Crisis: Differences and Discussion between Canadian Jews and Arabs

#### Jonathan Wouk "Talking to, rather than at, Israelis & Jews"

Jonathan Wouk has been involved with the Palestine-Israel issue for over forty years both formally and informally. He taught Political Science at Dalhousie University and the University of Pittsburgh in the 1970's and '80's. For three years between 1986 to [and] 1991 he was Board President of OCISO [now Ottawa Community Immigrant Services Organization]. As a hospital chaplain from 1996-2004, Jonathan worked with clergy and lay people of all faith-traditions and with some of the inter-faith groups active in Ottawa. Since retiring he has taught at the Ottawa Lay School of Theology, lectured at religious institutions in the Region, and been active in the Ottawa Arab-Jewish dialogue group "Potlucks for Peace.

#### Monzer Zimmo "The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict - Options and Possibilities"

Monzer Zimmo is a Palestine-Canadian, born in Palestine, received his university education in Egypt, and currently works as a financial advisor in the Canadian public service.

Monzer considers himself to be an active citizen who is engaged in matters of public interest. One subject that is of special interest to him is the search for a peaceful, durable resolution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Monzer advocates the resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict through the peaceful creation of one bi-national secular constitutional democracy, rooted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, over the whole of geographic Palestine, in which Christians, Jews, Muslims, and others feel at home, safe, secure, and equally respected. Monzer welcomes all other attempts to achieve justice-based peace in the Land of Canaan, and sees such attempts as steps on the right path towards achieving the ultimate objective of establishing sustainable peace for all that will be realized through the prevalence, and recognition, of the primacy of the human values of acceptance of the other, sharing, and respect; over all else.

Among Monzer's interests is his work, with several Arab-Canadian, Palestinian-Canadian, multiethnic, multicultural, and other community-based organizations interested in the question of

Palestine. Monzer has been an active member of the community for more than 25 years. He is a past president of the Association of Palestinian Arab Canadians, Capital Region (APAC), a past director of the Canadian Arab Federation (CAF), a past treasurer of the Islamic School of Ottawa, and a contributing member of many civil society organizations.

Monzer is fully aware of the grave past, present, and indeed future sufferings on all sides that are characterizing the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. However, he believes that persistent search for the common humanity, among Muslims, Jews, Christians, and others, will eventually lead to the realization of everyone's hope for the long lasting and sustainable peace for all.

#### Panel 4 Working Toward Peace: Essential First Steps

#### Michael Lynk "Back to the Future: Lessons from the Past on Israel/Palestine's Future"

Michael Lynk is Associate Dean, Academic and Associate Professor at the Faculty of Law, the University of Western Ontario. He joined the Faculty in 1999, and has taught labour, human rights, constitutional and administrative law.

Professor Lynk has also taught labour law at the University of Ottawa and Victoria University of Wellington (New Zealand). He is a graduate of Dalhousie University (LL.B.) and Queens University (LL.M.). Before becoming an academic, he practiced labour law in Ottawa and Toronto for a decade. Professor Lynk is also an active labour arbitrator, and is a vice-chair with the Ontario Grievance Settlement Board, and has served as a vice-chair with the Ontario Public Service Grievance Board. He has written widely on the issues of labour law and human rights in the unionized Canadian workplace, and is a frequent speaker at industrial relations and labour law conferences across the country.

Professor Lynk is the co-author of Trade Union Law in Canada (Canada Law Book), and the coeditor, with John Craig, of Globalization and the Future of Labour Law (Cambridge University Press, 2006). He is a senior co-editor of the Labour Law Casebook (7th and 8th eds.), which is the national casebook used in law schools across the country. Prof. Lynk is also an editor of the Canadian Labour and Employment Law Journal. In recent years, he has been the co-organizer of a very successful annual labour law lecture and conference series at the University, which has attracted leading academic, legal and judicial figures from Canada and abroad as speakers. In addition to his labour law activities, Professor Lynk has worked with the United Nations in the Middle East, he has published academic legal articles on the area, and he is a regular commentator in the print and broadcast media on political and legal developments in that region.

#### Michael Molloy "Obama, the Middle East Peace Process and Canada"

**Michael J. Molloy** began his career with the Manpower and Immigration Foreign Service in 1968. His training included six weeks in Vienna working on the Czech refugee movement. He served in Tokyo 1969-71 and Beirut 1971-72. The Beirut posting included two months as deputy head of the Canadian team sent to Kampala, Uganda, to rescue Asians expelled by the dictator Idi Amin. He opened and managed the visa section of the Canadian Consulate in Minneapolis 1972-1976 before returning to Ottawa.

In Ottawa he was Director, Refugee Affairs from 1976 to 1978 developing the refugee sections of the 1976 Immigration Act including the refugee sponsorship program, the first humanitarian designated classes, the Refugee Status Advisory Committee, and the refugee component of the Immigration Levels exercise. In 1979 and 80 he led the Indochinese Refugee Task Force which coordinated the selection, transportation, reception, and settlement of 60,000 Indochinese Refugees.

He spent 1981 to 1989 abroad, first at the Canadian Mission to the UN in Geneva where he was responsible for Canadian relations with the UNHCR, and the Red Cross institutions. After a one year assignment in Jordan he spent 1985-6 in Syria, establishing the first Canadian Embassy there. From 1986 to 1989 he managed Canadian immigration and refugee operations in East Africa from Nairobi.

Returning to Canada in 1989 he served as Director General, Refugee Affairs and Settlement (1989-91) CEIC; Director, Refugee Coordination, (1992) External Affairs; and Director General, Policy Coordination and Program Development, (1992-94) CIC. He was Director General Citizenship and Immigration, Ontario Region 1994-1996.

During this period he served as advisor to the Canadian Delegation to the Multilateral Working Group on Palestinian Refugees.

From 1996-2000 he was Canadian Ambassador to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and from 2000 until his retirement in 2003 he served as Canada's Special Coordinator, Middle East Peace Process responsible for orchestrating international work on the Palestinian refugee problem.

On retiring he co-founded the Jerusalem Old City Initiative (based at the University of Windsor) which is developing governance options for the future of Jerusalem. He is president of the Canadian Immigration Historical Society and a Senior Fellow at the University of Ottawa's Graduate School of Public and International Affairs.

**Awards:** Canada - The Queen's Golden Jubilee Medal

Jordan - Order of Al-Istiqal (Independence)

Association of Professional Executive Officers (APEX)

Career Contribution Award (2003)

**Publications:** "The Jerusalem Old City Initiative Discussion Document:

New Directions for Deliberation and Dialogue". Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto, 2005 (with Michael Bell and John Bell)

"Humanitarian Intervention and the Middle East". (with Dr. Peter Jones) UCLA Center for Middle East Development 2007