# **Combating Anti-Palestinian Racism** and Antisemitism:

## An Intersectional Approach to Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy

April 15, 2024

### Submission from:

Arab Canadian Lawyers Association (ACLA) Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East (CJPME) Canadian Muslim Public Affairs Council (CMPAC) Independent Jewish Voices Canada (IJV)









CANADIANS FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Canada





### **Summary of Policy Recommendations**

- 1. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and associated handbooks/guides must recognize settler- colonialism as a central feature and foundation of racism within Canada and within Israel.
- 2. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy must include a description of anti-Palestinian racism.
- 3. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and IHRA Handbook must recognize the intersections and structural imbalance between efforts to combat anti-Palestinian racism and antisemitism.
- 4. The IHRA Handbook must provide a balance of examples of what antisemitism is and is not, and recognize the primacy of context.
- 5. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and associated handbooks/guides must protect Charter Rights, Civil Liberties, and the Rights of Human Rights Defenders.
- 6. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and associated handbooks/guides must recognize shortcomings of hate crime data and avoid privileging certain forms of racism over others.
- 7. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy must address the connection between support for Zionism and anti-Palestinian racism.
- 8. Canada must officially recognize the Nakba and our role in the partition of the Mandate of Palestine.



### Introduction

This Spring 2024, the Government of Canada is expected to publish its latest version of Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy (CARS). Afterwards, Canada will publish an associated 'International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) handbook' via the office of the Special Envoy on Preserving Holocaust Remembrance and Combatting Antisemitism to guide institutions in how to interpret and apply the controversial IHRA working definition of antisemitism. Our organizations oppose the IHRA definition as it falsely equates legitimate criticism of Israeli policies and actions with antisemitism,<sup>1</sup> and pits communities against one another rather than uniting Canadians in the fight against all forms of racism and bigotry.

We insist that CARS and its related materials and programs must take into account the unique issue of systemic anti-Palestinian racism, amid skyrocketing overall levels of anti-Palestinian, anti-Arab, Islamophobic (anti-Muslim), and antisemitic (anti-Jewish) hate emerging during what the International Court of Justice (ICJ) has recognized as a "plausible genocide" by Israel in Gaza. Canada must also recognize that conflating legitimate criticism of Israeli policies and actions with antisemitism makes it more difficult for the public to identify genuine antisemitism, thereby advertently putting Jews in danger. Further, insisting that Judaism/Jewishness means uncritical support for the policies and actions of a state that is widely and justifiably condemned for serious human rights violations is itself antisemitic, erases non-zionist Jewish identities and histories, and also puts Jews at risk. We believe we must address antisemitism, Islamophobia, and anti-Palestinian racism together hand-in-hand using an intersectional framework.

For the purposes of this submission, we will define anti-Palestinian racism using the *Arab Canadian Lawyers Association* description found in their 2022 APR framework report:

"Anti-Palestinian racism is a form of anti-Arab racism that silences, excludes, erases, stereotypes, defames or dehumanizes Palestinians or their narratives. Anti-Palestinian racism takes various forms including: denying the Nakba and justifying violence against Palestinians; failing to acknowledge Palestinians as an Indigenous people with a collective identity, belonging and rights in relation to occupied and historic Palestine; erasing the human rights and equal dignity and worth of Palestinians; excluding or pressuring others to exclude Palestinian perspectives, Palestinians and their allies; defaming Palestinians and their allies with slander such as being inherently antisemitic, a terrorist threat/sympathizer or opposed to democratic values."<sup>2</sup>

Our reference for describing antisemitism stems from the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism (JDA), a document created as an alternative and "corrective to overcome the shortcomings of the IHRA definition", endorsed by more than 350 of the world's leading scholars of the Holocaust, antisemitism, and the Middle East.<sup>3</sup> The JDA's definition is accompanied by detailed guidelines as to what does and does not constitute antisemitism. Its base definition reads simply:

"Antisemitism is discrimination, prejudice, hostility or violence against Jews as Jews (or Jewish institutions as Jewish)."



Below are our organizations' proposals regarding the revival of Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and the new IHRA handbook, including a consultation process for both.

## Consultations on Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and IHRA Handbook

1. Our organizations want the process of developing the IHRA handbook and update of the CARS to be transparent and open to public scrutiny by civil society and average citizens. We request written commitments from the Minister of Canadian Heritage and the Minister of Diversity, Inclusion and Persons with Disabilities to expand the breadth and depth of consultations that will take place on the new CARS to ensure it includes those from Palestinian and allied communities. We request that this <u>new</u> consultation process be transparent and include the list of groups that are invited to participate.

Our organizations would like to be a part of the new consultation to provide feedback on CARS and associated materials before their release to the public. We also want to ensure that a plurality of Palestinian-Canadian organizations, ethno-religious groups, public sector labour unions, and international human rights organizations are also consulted before its release. We are concerned about the potential adverse impact on Palestinian human rights caused by Canada's Anti-Racism strategy that excludes the experience of Palestinians and allies; as well as the impacts of adopting the IHRA handbook that could adversely impact Palestinians and Muslim stakeholders by infringing on Palestinian. Canadians' and their allies' Charter, civil, and political rights. Given the experience of Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim communities under the war on terror across North America,<sup>4</sup> particular attention must be given to addressing the structural racism of Canada against these communities. In addition to broadly consulting with a diversity of Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim communities, it is also essential that a diversity of Jewish groups are consulted, notably those groups that support Palestinian human rights.

2. We request that the new consultations on the IHRA handbook include multiple modalities, including written submissions as well as written reports on oral submissions made via "What we heard" reports coming from all sessions. The consultations must be comprehensive and transparent. The consultation process must follow the methods used to develop the pan-Canadian climate framework from the government's first mandate as the baseline.

## Content of Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and IHRA Handbook

1. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and associated handbooks/guides must recognize settlercolonialism as a central feature and foundation of racism within Canada and within Israel<sup>5</sup>

Both Canada and Israel are settler-colonial states, created as an outcome of British imperialism.<sup>6</sup> Given this intersectional history, Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy must approach racism through the lens of settler-colonialism and therefore antisemitism and anti-Palestinian racism, like all forms of racism, must be understood within the structure of settler-colonialism present in



#### Canada.<sup>7</sup>

CARS and its associated handbooks must look at issues like criticism of Israeli policy and supporting Palestinian rights through the lens of settler-colonialism and be consistent with our own definitions of racism in Canada.<sup>8</sup> Viewing racism in Canada, and abroad, through this lens will enable us to properly identify the root causes of anti-Palestinian racism and antisemitism and address the imbalances of power between Palestinians and Jewish communities, enabling us to create equitable policies, programs, and associated materials. Canada must also recognize that Israel's regime of apartheid resembles our own colonial domination of Indigenous peoples.<sup>9</sup> It would be problematic for Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy to acknowledge Canada as settler-colonial but on the other hand restrict the same analysis of Israel on the grounds that it is racist against the colonizing population simply because they are Jewish.

#### 2. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy must include a description of anti-Palestinian racism

Anti-Palestinian racism must be recognized within Canada's anti-racist policy framework before guidelines are developed for implementing the IHRA definition of antisemitism in order to avoid adverse equity impacts on members of the Palestinian and allied communities.<sup>10</sup> Handbooks and guides should be consistent with an anti-racist approach that includes a definition of anti-Palestinian racism, along with other definitions of racism and discrimination. Importantly, anti-Palestinian racism must be understood as distinct from, but in instances intersectional with Islamophobia (anti-Muslim racism). Conflating anti-Palestinian racism with Islamophobia, erases the identity and experiences of Palestinians as well the root causes of the racism they experience.<sup>11</sup> Canada should adopt and understand the concept of anti-Palestinian racism in its anti-racism work. Where a definition of anti-Palestinian racism found in ACLA's report, which may be refined if necessary after the CARS consultations with the Palestinian community.

## 3. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and IHRA Handbook must recognize the intersections and structural imbalance between efforts to combat anti-Palestinian racism and antisemitism

The recent rise in antisemitic, anti-Arab, anti-Palestinian, and Islamophobic incidents cannot be separated from the escalation of racism and xenophobia we are seeing throughout the world; phenomena linked to the diminution of liberal democracy as it is influenced by the effects of ethnonationalism, surveillance capitalism, and environmental breakdown. Fighting and educating against antisemitism must be part of a larger struggle against white supremacy, eurocentrism, and all forms of group hatred and discrimination. CARS must be properly situated within this broader political reality so that the Ministers can be aided in understanding their work in an intersectional manner.

The Mandate letter for the Minister of Diversity and Inclusion reads, "Across our work, we remain committed to ensuring that public policies are informed and developed through an intersectional lens, including applying frameworks such as Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+) ..."<sup>12</sup> To this end, Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy must address the role that the IHRA definition

of antisemitism has played in perpetuating anti-Palestinian racism.<sup>13</sup> Intersectionality in this context implies addressing the potential adverse equity impacts of Canada's policies through a GBA+ analysis, or via another assessment tool more suited to addressing racial equity,<sup>14</sup> one that is publicly available to civil society for review. In short, Canada's policy approach to antisemitism must not harm the ability of Palestinians and their allies to address their experiences of structural racism in Canada and in Israel. Canada must also assess how not adequately addressing anti-Palestinian racism may exacerbate Islamophobia, anti-Arab racism, and anti-Indigenous racism in Canada.

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# 4. The IHRA Handbook must provide a balance of examples of what antisemitism is and is not, and recognize the primacy of context

Antisemitism, like all forms of racism, can take various forms and is contextually specific. We therefore implore the Departments of Canadian Heritage and Global Affairs Canada to ensure that the Special Envoy commits to stating that criticism of Israeli policy and actions is not antisemitism and include "what antisemitism is not" examples in the forthcoming Canadians IHRA handbook. A broad range of civil society organizations in Canada have raised serious concerns about how IHRA conflates criticism of Israeli policy and actions with antisemitism and how IHRA is applied in practice to silence critics of Israeli policy.<sup>15</sup>

We request the Ministers responsible insist the handbook use the examples from the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism, instead of the IHRA examples, as the basis for delineating Canadian examples of what is not antisemitism. For example, the handbook should affirm that boycotting Israel based on its human rights abuses, criticism of Israeli policy (even when harsh) including anti-Zionism, using the terminology of apartheid or settler-colonialism, and supporting the right of return for Palestinian refugees, is not antisemitic. The Ministers must ensure examples of antisemitism are consistent with the protection of Canadians' civil and political rights and fundamental freedoms. Overall, Canada must make a clear distinction between adopting an anti-racist approach and adopting an IHRA approach that brands criticism of racist, ethno-nationalistic Israeli policy and action as inherently antisemitic.

#### 5. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and associated handbooks/guides must protect Charter Rights, Civil Liberties, and the Rights of Human Rights Defenders

The government must ensure that CARS does not silence Palestinians or human rights defenders by uncritically citing definitions like IHRA which conflate criticism of Israeli policy with antisemitism.<sup>16</sup> The Ministers must ensure that Canada commits to protect the Charter, civil, and political rights of Palestinians and their allies to criticize Israeli policies in Canada. Canada must affirm that Palestinians and their allies have a right to express their views about Palestinians' experiences of systemic and structural racism and occupation in Israel without repression by the Canadian state or government funded-institutions. Restricting the freedom of expression of Palestinians and their allies on issues of structural racism in Israel is not a reasonable limit on freedom of expression because it allows the perpetuation of a system of apartheid in Israel and racial dominance within Canada. Instead, Canada must harmonize CARS,

and its approach to antisemitism and associated handbook, with the Declaration on Human Rights Defenders and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.<sup>17</sup> As an example, the Ministers must ensure that Canada's approach to antisemitism cannot be weaponized to restrict the location of public gatherings, protests, or other legitimate activities meant to promote Palestinian human rights or protest war crimes, such as Canadian complicity in economic activity related to illegal settlements. These Charter protected rights, also found in both the Declaration and Covenant, affirm the right to peaceful assembly (ICCPR Article 21) and freedom of expression (ICCPR Article 19). Placing unreasonable restrictions on human rights defenders in this context is systemic anti-Palestinian racism.

# 6. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy and associated handbooks/guides must recognize shortcomings of hate crime data and avoid privileging certain forms of racism over others

According to the Canadian Department of Justice, a mere 1 in 10 hate crimes are reported to police.<sup>18</sup> This underreporting is believed to be especially pervasive among racialized and Indigenous people largely on account of their mistrust of the criminal justice system and policing forces as well as a paucity of the resources necessary to encourage the filing of such complaints. By contrast, Jewish-Canadians have a long history of being encouraged to report possible hate crimes via well-established reporting structures, as well as positive relationships with law enforcement and other agencies and, therefore, report alleged hate crimes and discrimination at much higher rates.<sup>19</sup>

Rates of antisemitism are further inflated because organizations like B'nai Brith Canada apply the IHRA definition uncritically and without reference to context so that instances of legitimate criticism of Israeli policy and actions are lumped together with those of actual antisemitism. Despite these methodological shortcomings, statistics of both reported and verified hate crimes – from Statistics Canada, police departments or pro-Israel advocacy organizations like B'nai Brith – are frequently presented as fact<sup>20</sup> (i.e. without acknowledging the context or bona fides of the complaint), generating skewed understandings of the relative targeting of different minority groups, and consequently policy development and resource allocation implications.

The government's announcement of a handbook to ostensibly deal with one form of racism alone – antisemitism – is but one case in point, and can be viewed, in and of itself, as an example of structural racism and erasure of Palestinian rights. We therefore caution against relying on such statistics, which risk privileging certain groups and further marginalizing others, in this case Palestinians and their allies.

## 7. Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy must address the connection between support for Zionism and anti-Palestinian racism

If the government wants to truly be anti-racist, it must eliminate - not conflate - Islamophobia and anti-Palestinian racism. To do this, it will be required to examine the ways that Canada's systemic support for political Zionism (Israeli ethnonationalism) is a key contributor to anti-Palestinian racism, anti-Arab racism, and Islamophobia.<sup>21</sup> Professor Jasmin Zine's study on the

Islamophobia Industry in Canada identified "pro-Israel, fringe-right groups"<sup>22</sup> as key players in perpetuating hate through anti-Muslim activism and spreading anti-Islamist conspiracy theories about Arabs and Palestinians. Zine's report also found that these fringe groups have weaponized the IHRA definition of antisemitism "as an alibi to censor legitimate criticism of Israel and its policies, especially criticisms that charge Israel with engaging in racist, colonial, and apartheid practices."<sup>23</sup> Research on anti-Palestinian racism shows that support for Zionism is a key driver of anti-Palestinian racism perpetrated by Zionist organizations in Canada.<sup>24</sup> A key feature of this distinct racism is erasing Palestinians by denying their unique identity/history and instead seeing them as only Arab and/or Muslim.

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CARS must also acknowledge that the promotion of Zionist narratives, in Canada and Israel, often involves the promotion of policies (including foreign policies) which uphold forms of racial oppression against Palestinians, or perpetuate anti-Palestinian tropes. Just as colonial narratives of "terra nullius" are used to justify the dispossession of Indigenous peoples in Canada, similar Zionist narratives are used to justify the dispossession (and genocide) of Palestinians.<sup>25</sup> Government Officials are a significant source of dehumanizing rhetoric or racist stereotypes about Palestinians and their allies in their statements, which then fosters racism from broader Canadian society and media (i.e. slandering pro-Palestinian rallies as pro-Hamas rallies, which resulted in workplace reprisals and online hate) and end up baked into government policies.

# 8. Canada must officially recognize the Nakba and our role in the partition of the Mandate of Palestine<sup>26</sup>

The Nakba ("catastrophe" in Arabic) refers to the pre-planned ethnic cleansing of the Mandate of Palestine that began before Israel unilaterally declared independence, and culminated in the forced expulsion ("transfer") of over 750,000 Palestinians during the creation of Israel. The Nakba was viewed as necessary by Jewish settlers to achieve demographic superiority. This act of dispossession, and Canada's support for it, has never been acknowledged by Canada. Nakba denial is a common form of anti-Palestinian racism.

Millions of Palestinian refugees continue to be forcibly displaced from their homes, many still living in refugee camps throughout the region including in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, and in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza. Canada must recognize the Nakba as a historical and ongoing injustice. It must also recognize the Canadian state's involvement in, support for, and complicity in the Nakba by virtue of the fact that Canadian politicians played a leading role in the creation and execution of the UN partition plan that severed historic Palestine, as well as its complicity in the ongoing ethnic cleansing and genocide of Palestinians.<sup>27</sup> Such recognition would allow for a balanced conversation about Canada's responsibility to remember and address the Holocaust without erasing the violence experienced by Palestinians as a result of the founding of the modern state of Israel. The current Canadian denial of the Nakba has created a policy and public climate that strips Palestinians and their criticism of the Israeli state of critical context, easily allowing them to be smeared as antisemitic and/or terrorist sympathizers when they are simply describing their experiences of structural violence.



<sup>1</sup> Independent Jewish Voices, (February 2023), 30+ Civil Society Groups to Canadian Heritage: Ditch Controversial Antisemitism Definition from Granting Procedures, <u>https://www.ijvcanada.org/30-civil-society-groups-to-canadian-heritage-ditch-controversial-antisemitism-definition-from-granting-procedures/</u>; Human Rights Watch, (April 2023), Human Rights and other Civil Society Groups Urge United Nations to Respect Human Rights in the Fight Against Antisemitism, <u>https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/04/04/human-rights-and-other-civil-society-groups-urge-united-nations-respect-human</u>; CJPME, (December 2022), IHRA's True Intentions: This is the speech about Israel and Palestine that IHRA wants to silence, <u>https://www.cipme.org/ihra\_intentions</u>

<sup>2</sup> Arab Canadian Lawyers Association, (April 2022), Anti-Palestinian Racism: Naming, Framing and Manifestations – Community consultations and reflections,

https://static1.squarespace.com/static/61db30d12e169a5c45950345/t/627dcf83fa17ad41ff217964/16524122922 20/Anti-Palestinian+Racism-+Naming%2C+Framing+and+Manifestations.pdf

<sup>3</sup> The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism, <u>https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/</u>

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<sup>4</sup> Palestine Legal and the Centre for Constitutional Rights, (Feb 2024), Anti-Palestinian at the Core: The Origins and Growing Danger of U.S. Antiterrorism Law, <u>https://ccrjustice.org/anti-palestinian-core-origins-and-growing-dangers-us-antiterrorism-law</u>

<sup>5</sup> For background on settler colonialism see: Wildeman & Ayyash, ed., (2023), Canada as a Settler Colony on the Question of Palestine, University of Alberta Press; Tilley, V. ed., (2012), Beyond Occupation: Apartheid, Colonialism & International Law in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Pluto Press; Rashid Khalidi, (2020), The Hundred Years War on Palestine: A History of Settler Colonialism and Resistance, 1917-2017, Metropolitan Books; Noura Erakat, (2019), Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine, Stanford University Press; Falk, Duggard, & Lynk, (2022), Protecting Human Rights in Occupied Palestine: Working Through the United Nations, Clarity Press; Regan, B., (2017), The Balfour Declaration: Empire, the Mandate and Resistance in Palestine, Verso Books; MacMillian, M., (2001), Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World, Random House Trade Paperbacks; Veracini, L., (2021), The World Turned Inside Out: Settler Colonialism as a Political Idea, Verso Books; Gott, R., (2011), Britain's Empire: Resistance, Repression, an Revolt, Verso Books; Ali, T., (2022), Winston Churchill: His Times, His Crimes, Verso Books; Awad & Levin, (2020) in Awad and Bean, Palestine: A Socialist Introduction. Haymarket Books; Pappe, I., (2006), The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine, Oneworld Publications;

<sup>6</sup> Canadian Heritage, Building a Foundation for Change: Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy, 2019-2022, <u>https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/campaigns/anti-racism-engagement/anti-racism-strategy.html</u>

<sup>7</sup> Wolfe, P., (2016), Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race, Verso Books;

<sup>8</sup> UN News, (Oct 27, 2022) Israel's illegal occupation of Palestinian territory, tantamount to 'settler-colonialism': UN expert, <u>https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/10/1129942</u>

<sup>9</sup> Amnesty International, (2022), Israel's Apartheid Against Palestinians: A look into decades of oppression and domination, <u>https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2022/02/israels-system-of-apartheid/</u>; Human Rights Watch, (2021), A Threshold Crossed: Israeli Authorities and the Crime of Apartheid and Persecution, <u>https://www.hrw.org/report/2021/04/27/threshold-crossed/israeli-authorities-and-crimes-apartheid-and-</u>

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<sup>10</sup> Arab Canadian Lawyers Association, (April 2022), Anti-Palestinian Racism: Naming, Framing and Manifestations
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<sup>11</sup> Arab Canadian Lawyers Association, (April 2022), Anti-Palestinian Racism: Naming, Framing and Manifestations – Community consultations and reflections,

https://static1.squarespace.com/static/61db30d12e169a5c45950345/t/627dcf83fa17ad41ff217964/16524122922 20/Anti-Palestinian+Racism-+Naming%2C+Framing+and+Manifestations.pdf

<sup>12</sup> Prime Minister of Canada, (Dec 16, 2021), Minister of Housing and Diversity and Inclusion Mandate Letter, <u>https://www.pm.gc.ca/en/mandate-letters/2021/12/16/minister-housing-and-diversity-and-inclusion-mandate-letter</u> <sup>13</sup> CJPME, (2023), Anti-Palestinian Racism in Canada: CJPME's 2022 Report,

https://www.cjpme.org/apr\_report\_2022

<sup>14</sup> Such as the Racial Equity Impact Assessment Toolkit: <u>https://www.raceforward.org/practice/tools/racial-equity-impact-assessment-toolkit</u>

<sup>15</sup> Independent Jewish Voices, (February 2023), 30+ Civil Society Groups to Canadian Heritage: Ditch Controversial Antisemitism Definition from Granting Procedures, <u>https://www.ijvcanada.org/30-civil-society-groups-to-</u> <u>canadian-heritage-ditch-controversial-antisemitism-definition-from-granting-procedures/</u>;

<sup>16</sup> Sheryl Nestel and Rowan Gaudet, (2022), Unveiling the Chilly Climate: the Suppression of Speech on Palestine in Canada, Independent Jewish Voices, <u>https://www.ijvcanada.org/unveilingthechillyclimate/</u>; CJPME, (Dec, 2022), IHRA's True Intentions: This is the Speech About Israel and Palestine that IHRA Wants to Silence, <u>https://www.cjpme.org/ihra\_intentions</u>; Gould, R., (2023), Erasing Palestine: Free Speech and Palestinian Freedom, Verso Books;

<sup>17</sup> UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights Defenders, (March 1999), Declaration on human rights defenders, OHCHR, <u>https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-human-rights-defenders/declaration-human-rights-defenders</u>; UN General Assembly, (Dec 1966), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, OHCHR, <u>https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights</u>

<sup>18</sup> Department of Justice Canada, (2022), Disproportionate Harm: Hate Crime in Canada <u>https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/csj-sjc/crime/wd95\_11-dt95\_11/p0\_1.html</u>

<sup>19</sup>Robert Brym, Keith Neuman & Rhonda Lenton, 2018 Survey of Jews in Canada. Environics Institute, University of Toronto, York University.

<sup>20</sup> Sheryl Nestel (2021), The Use and Misuse of Antisemitism Statistics in Canada, Independent Jewish Voices <u>https://www.ijvcanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Sheryl-Nestel\_Use-and-Misuse-of-Antisemitism-Statistics.pdf</u>

<sup>21</sup> Massoumi, Mills, & Miller, eds., (2017), What is Islamophobia: Racism, Social Movements, and the State, Pluto Press; Razack, S. (2022), Nothing Has to Make Sense: Upholding White Supremacy through Anti-Muslim Racism, University of Minnesota Press; Kumar, D. (2021), Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire: 20 years after 9/11, Verso Books;

<sup>22</sup> Jasmin Zine, "The Canadian Islamophobia Industry: Mapping Islamophobia's Ecosystem in the Great White
North," Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project and the Islamophobia Studies Center (Berkeley), 2022,
153ff, <u>https://www.iphobiacenter.org/content/canadian-islamophobia-industry</u>

<sup>23</sup> Zine, 154.

<sup>24</sup> CJPME, (2023), Anti-Palestinian Racism in Canada: CJPME's 2022 Report,

https://www.cjpme.org/apr report 2022

<sup>25</sup> Richie Assaly, "A closer look at the racist myth at the heart of Selina Robinson's comments," *Ricochet*, February

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<sup>26</sup> CJPME, (2023), The Nakba: FAQ, <u>https://www.cjpme.org/fs\_235</u>

<sup>27</sup> Bercusion, D., (1985), Canada and the Birth of Israel: A Study in Canadian Foreign Policy, University of Toronto Press; Tauber, E., (2002), Personal Policy Making: Canada's Role in the Adoption of Palestine Partition Resolution, Praeger Press; Engler, Y., (2010), Canada and Israel: Building Apartheid, Fernwood Publishing.