

Securing the Economy and Economizing Security: An Analysis of Material Influences
Underpinning Canada's Position on the Israel-Palestine Conflict

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores Canada's relationship to Israel using a document and policy analysis in an attempt to reconcile discursive elements with actual bilateral relations between these two nations. Using a Marxian approach to interpreting Israel's military-industrial complex from the geopolitical perspective of Canada, this research highlights how Palestinian resistance contributes to the labour required for the production of security commodities within the capitalist world system. Documents retrieved via Canada's Access to Information Act reveal how the bureaucratic processes needed to facilitate capital accumulation are carried out between Canada and Israel. Despite Canada's historic rhetorical position as a neutral mediator, findings suggest that Canada is in collaboration with Israel's colonization of Palestine and positions itself in accordance with its own interests of capital accumulation. Moreover, they suggest that while pushing towards productivity is not the *reason* Israel and Canada colonize Palestine, it is nonetheless the *means* by which they colonize Palestine.

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1 Chapter: Introduction

On June 13, 2014, violent conflict broke out between Israel and the Palestinian territory referred to as the Gaza Strip, marking the most violent occurrence between Israel and Palestine since the Six-Day War in 1967. The violence and bloodshed persisted for three months before Cairo was able to mediate a ceasefire agreement on August 26, 2014. During the conflict, the State of Israel was militarily equipped to intercept incoming attacks with some of the most sophisticated military technologies in the world. This was made possible by Israel's national defence apparatus, which includes security agencies such as the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF), and Israel's Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations (Mossad), arguably the most well trained and capable agencies of their kind across the world. Israel's success was largely attributed to the technological capabilities these agencies have at their disposal, and was fortified by the high level of military training many Israelis endure as a pathway to citizenship.¹ In contrast to Israel's military might, the Palestinians had no standing Army, no Navy, no Airforce, and very little political power in combating Israeli aggression. This asymmetry of power enabled Israel to perpetrate a massive amount of devastation in Gaza which involved killing of thousands of people and the destruction of critical infrastructure, including hospitals and schools (Office of the High Commissioner, 2017).

During the 2014 violence, protests and demonstrations erupted across the world, voicing a demand for national and international authorities to condemn Israel's destruction of Gaza. The Government of Canada, while claiming to act as a neutral mediator in the conflict, had taken a hardline stance that was much more sympathetic to Israel than Palestine. Over the course

¹ Israeli citizenship is often contingent on military service with the IDF.

of the conflict, the Canadian government withheld criticism of Israeli violence by instead focusing exclusively on the violence perpetrated by Gaza. In the face of Canadian protest against this position, Canada's Conservative government repeatedly echoed its unequivocal support for Israel with reference to strong bilateral ties, and the common commitment they share in fighting terrorism (Galloway, 2014). Canada's one-sided stance on the conflict was alleged to be a reflection of shared values including human rights and democracy as well as the unquestionable principle that Israel has a right to defend itself (GAC, 2016). However, the overwhelming military strength of Israel; the flagrant abuse of human rights; the illegal occupation of the West Bank and Golan Heights; the daily regimentation of Palestinians by the IDF; the continuous destruction of Palestinian houses, and subsequent displacement goes far beyond the implementation of defensive measures.

Many scholars have offered analyses and suggestions for a solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict that seem to have had little impact on shifting the levers of power. Much of the literature on the Israel-Palestine conflict is based on discursive representations of race/ethnicity through media and political propaganda. These types of critical approaches have been popularized by Edward Said (1979; 1994; 2003), Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé (2010; 2015; Chomsky, 1989), among others². Too often these scholars overlook, or take for granted, the material conditions³ that reinforce the perpetuation of the conflict by building a case for a particular legal remedy

² See Abu-Laban & Bakan (2008) for a Canadian perspective which emphasises the 'racial contract' between Canada and Israel or Shinar (2009) who looks at 'peace journalism'.

³ See Eyal Wiegman (2007) for a new materialist interpretation of the Israel-Palestine conflict as it is governed through the special and temporal materiality of physical architecture. This type of material analysis is directly compatible with the approach taken here, but is set aside in favour of an approach that accounts for the general tendencies of capital in shaping and managing material relations.

based on sovereign independence (one versus two-state solution), which overlooks the need to renegotiate material relations. The same could be said of racial and ethnic tensions within any given capitalist society. Analyses of racial and ethnic identities must account for an analysis of material inequalities between particular social groups. Class is shaped and influenced by relations of racial/ethnic diversity and differentiation, but these racial/ethnic relations are also embedded within a milieu of class relations. An analysis of one implies a recognition of the inseparable connection between both (Andersen & Collins, 2015).

Another reason that ideas on the Israel-Palestine conflict tend to be bound by limited idealist categories is because legalist perspectives restrict their approach according to the rationale of prevailing institutions in an instrumental manner that aims to implement legal remedy. These approaches emphasize the centrality of legal institutions, particularly those at the international level such as international law, the International Criminal Court (ICC) or United Nations (UN) resolutions in taking action on the conflict. Their suggestions rest on their interpretation of, and appeal to, international law, thereby deflecting analytical pursuits toward challenging the material basis of these very legal systems and institutions. In recent years, scholars and activists have upheld Justice Richard Goldstone's "Report of the United Nations Fact-Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict"⁴ as an authoritative and impartial text on the 2008 conflict. This report has been cited as one of the most objective investigations by one of the most credible sources currently available. Yet material relations and realities are always changing and in need of constant reinterpretation. The relevance of this text is already somewhat obsolete, a point even Goldstone (2011) made only three years following the 2008 conflict:

⁴ See: Tutu (2011)

If I had known then what I know now, the Goldstone Report would have been a different document ...because [new evidence] probably would have influenced our findings about intentionality and war crimes (p.1).

Legal institutions, while sometimes laudable and revolutionary in their original intent, are unavoidably coopted by established bourgeois demands that fabricate and assert their own design upon international bodies such as the UN. The US Empire has played a pivotal role in this regard, leading the way in defending Israel's violence against the Palestinians while nations such as Canada follow suit (Teeple 2000, Engler, 2010). From this point of view, international legal bodies have failed to mediate the conflict in a meaningful way and have, in many cases, stood idly by in the face of the Israel-Palestine conflict while contributing at most, diminutive rhetorical condemnation.

Idealist frameworks, based on discursive representation or legalism, often jettison any recognition of the need to address and alter the economic relations that contextualize and underpin the discourse and law that has emerged from the history of Israel and Palestine. Accordingly, in this thesis I argue that in order to gain a thorough understanding of the conflict, we must adopt a mode of analysis that focuses on, or at least incorporates, an interpretation of material relations that challenge the limits of legal action and discursive constructivism. With this in mind, this thesis attempts to provide a partial solution to the question of how the tendencies of global capitalism inform Canada's unequivocal stance with Israel by locating the material basis of Canada's position.

1.1 Materialist Method of Political Economy

A secular approach to this conflict, as utilized in this proposal, rejects all metaphysical explanations of material and social relations originating from anywhere other than the material

world. The social world of competitive differentiation and armed conflict that humanity confronts is the creation of human society itself and not the creation of anything other. Social science embraces an approach that recognizes the primacy of the material world in influencing, shaping and sometimes determining the prevailing social relations that characterize the social condition and possibilities of individual well-being. Hence, in rejecting metaphysical explanations of the social world, social science conducts its inquiry through a materialist approach. Materialist inquiry supplements empiricist findings by situating them within a larger social and theoretical context. Through such an approach, objects and things become the entry point of historical analyses and draw the parameters from which social relations may be interpreted (Rigakos & Frauley, 2011). According to Marx, the materialist method begins with a definite premise: humans must first exist in order to “make history” (Marx, 1978.a, 155-156). The foundation of human existence is the development of cooperative social relations that allow any given society to satisfy their needs – whether physical or immaterial (Marx, 1978.a; Marx, 1990). Producing the materials to satisfy these needs is only achievable by organizing social labour in such a way as to create a generalized mode of production. Accordingly, the essential premise of history is the existence of a mode of production that sustains the subjects of history i.e. human beings. Thus materialism recognizes the inseparable connection between history and production, and accordingly, analyzes the history of human society as a history of economic relations (Marx 1978a, 1993).

A central tenet of this approach is the recognition of the dialectical process between social/economic relations and the discursive order that subsequently emerges in conjunction with the lived/material processes. The relationship between the material and ideal on a social scale is what many Marxists respectively refer to as the “base” and “superstructure” of society. This

draws attention towards the ways in which economic relations shape, and are shaped by, the non-economic forces, such as police, who attempt to manage the inherent capitalist contradictions (Althusser, 2014). For this reason, the focus of this thesis is on the historically specific form of policings that capitalism has produced. The political economy of capitalism is an economy of power as well as an economy shaped by powerful interests embodied in policing (Nitzan & Bichler, 2002). Power and capital exist in a dialectical, mutually constitutive relationship to one another and therefore, this thesis focuses on the formation of productive relations in conjunction with the development of policing.

There is a scarce amount of literature on the Israel-Palestine conflict that explores how the tendencies of capitalism have subsumed the conflict into the realm of global capitalism. In order to suitably account for the importance of Israel's military-industrial complex, this thesis suggests focusing on the role of policing in Israeli society. An analysis of Israel's military-industrial complex will allow this thesis to substantiate Canada's relationship to Israel and reveal

⁵⁵ The word "police" is used in a non-conventional, but historical sense throughout this paper. The etymology of "police" shows that this word has evolved in an increasingly restrictive way throughout history. The ancient Greeks began with the term "polis" which translates directly into the modern term "city-state" or "a body of citizens." France was, by various historical accounts, the first to implement a modernized form of policing through duties assigned to night watchmen and magistrates. English Enlightenment thinkers developed this into *polizeiwissenschaft* (police science), which focused on the visibility of police and the subjects they governed. During this time, uniformed police emerged alongside panoptical surveillance strategies developed through the study of *saatswissenschaft* (state craft). Enlightenment thinkers engaged with police science *and* political economy to develop policy that would render the social body governable. Police officers began to wear uniforms in order to signal their presence to the public and for individuals to realize the potential of being surveyed by the state. Uniformed police only began to take on the label of "the police" in recent history. For this reason the word "police" is used in a general sense throughout this paper. It is meant to encompass the practices of organizations such as the Israeli Police, the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF), the Israeli Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations (Mossad), Israeli Military Intelligence (Aman), and Israeli Internal Security (Shin Bet). It is furthermore intended to capture the policy formations which have impacted the surveillance, governance and management of populations it aims to control and regulate. See: Brodeur (2010) and Rigakos, McMullan, Johnson & Ozcan (2009).

the material conditions that inform the Canadian government's position on the question of Palestine.

1.2 Anti-security Analysis

The theoretical lens for this thesis is based on the nascent “anti-security” literature; an orientation that challenges the material foundations of security by highlighting its relationship to political economy. The value of this approach is revealed when considering the futile attempts of scholars in security studies to critically evaluate the object of security in capitalist society. This is because the concept of “security” presents a number of closely and interrelated challenges. “Security” is conceptualized as a neutral – perhaps benign – activity of providing safety. It is synonymous with words like “defence,” “secure,” “refuge,” and “haven,” which for people who have ample time to study the concept of security, is often the status quo. By attaching the concepts of “security” or “police” to generally positive terms such as “food security” or “community policing” the violence and repression of policing becomes further obfuscated as a universal good (Rigakos, 2011). Subsequently, the concept of “security” conceals analytical connections between the material relations of capitalist political economy and the role of police. Politics of (in)security redefine vast arrays of social problems as threats to various types of security: hunger is food security, government spying is national security, welfare is social security, imperialism is energy security, etc. When these social issues are redefined as security issues a discursive barrier is established to block opposition; after all, who could be against security? It has become one of the primary modes of discourse that is employed in defining the social world, and in doing so, has deradicalized alternative discourses. The more the classless concept of “security” coopts emancipatory politics, the more it reduces the prospect of critical approaches mounting a substantive critique of the structural violence that reproduces material inequality and deprivation

(Neocleous & Rigakos, 2011). Therefore, in order to break from the restricting confines of “security” studies, this thesis will lay the groundwork of an “anti-security” analysis.

This begins with a conceptual adjustment of understanding policing as “pacification”: a concept that was popularized by the US military in describing their military campaign during the Vietnam War (Neocleous, 2011). The concept of pacification encapsulates class-based conflict in a way that the concept of security simply cannot. “Pacification” limits the universality and reach of security. Unlike “security” which can widely attach itself to almost any term to legitimize police violence under the guise of social service, pacification simply cannot. It is unrealistic to expect the bourgeoisie to embrace the term “national pacification” over “national security” in the same way that radical scholars might. This is the point of its utility. Pacification problematizes the object of security by bringing resistance and class conflict into security studies. Anti-security means looking at security as a class-based attempt to pacify resistance through the violence and repression of policing. The theoretical substance of this term is reinforced by virtue of its opposition to conventional notions of security that presupposes docile bodies, content and willing to become subject to the demands of policing apparatuses used to pacify them. Instead, pacification, presupposes resistance by acknowledging the universal fact that no one wants to become subject to the violence and repression of policing apparatuses. While everyone may feel the need to be secure, no one feels the need to be pacified (Rigakos, 2011). This opens the range of analytical interpretations of how policing operates within the context of class conflict. The idea of policing as pacification lays the groundwork of emancipatory politics by building, rather than masking, critical connections between policing and resistance. Pacification illustrates the violent tendencies through which resisting populations become subject to the will of bourgeois interests (Rigakos, 2011). It presupposes war and resistance by presupposing the existence of

class war, thereby placing class struggle at the forefront of analysis and prompting new questions to be addressed such as: who is being pacified? Why are they resisting? What is the real objective of this policing project?

Radical approaches to policing and security require an explicit acknowledgment of the antagonisms inherent to the capitalist mode of production and the emergent social order by considering the easily forgotten fact that police have historically been mobilized as a means through which private property relations are secured and perpetuated (Rigakos, McMullan, Johnson, & Ozcan, 2011). The premise of this approach is situated within a historical trajectory of policing activity and reveals the fact that police are the frontline guardians of private property. It further suggests that security is achieved and pacification is successful when bodies and hands become productive. This systemic tendency of the capitalist system is enforced through coercive policing projects aimed to inculcate unproductive bodies into systems of exploitation and commodification and enforce the perpetuation of wage-labour (Neocleous et al., 2011; Halper, 2015). In summary, “pacification is the process by which labour is made productive” (Rigakos, 2016, p.5). The success of pacification can thus be measured by the magnitude of surplus-value its labour creates. This framework will allow us to query Israel’s pacification of Palestine as a productive endeavour through which Canada is deeply implicated.

1.3 Overview

In order to analyze the development of Canada’s economic and diplomatic security relations with Israel in conjunction with Canada’s stance on the Israel-Palestine conflict, this inquiry begins with an analysis of The Canada-Israel Strategic Partnership (2014); a memorandum of understanding which highlights a “shared commitment to fight terrorism” (GAC, 2016). This text outlines the particular security arrangements that commenced between Canada and Israel and is

significant for four reasons: i) it is very broad and lays a general foundation for a number of further agreements between Canada and Israel, ii) it includes a detailed section of security as well as trade and economic development, iii) it was signed in 2014, only a few months before the 2014 Gaza war, iv) it provides the context within which further documents may be situated and interpreted. Additional information has been acquired from Global Affairs Canada (GAC), Foreign Affairs Trade and Development Canada (FATDC), and Public Safety Canada through ATIP requests. This method of data collection allows for an insight into the inner workings and logic of government policy although there are also clear limitations (Walby & Larsen, 2012). In Canada, ATIP legislation has enabled open-access to government documents which would otherwise be kept out of public domain. This has provided a critical source of information that may shed light on the rationale behind the practices of governance that inform and shape Canadian foreign policy (Brownlee & Walby, 2015). Documents that were gathered and included in this thesis include: written reports, briefing notes, e-mail correspondence, and documents regarding policy positions of the Canadian government. These documents amount to a case-study on Canada's relationship to Israel especially during the year 2014. This year is particularly salient because it was the year the Canada-Israel Strategic Partnership was founded, the year the Canada-Israel Free-Trade Agreement was renewed, and the year of the (2014) Gaza War. Sources of information acquired through ATIP requests, such as e-mail correspondence and financial statements, provided points of clarification in regards to the Canada's interest in this region. This information also helped contextualize the underlying purpose and intention of the three aforementioned documents and provided insight to the discussions within the Harper government. This part of the research involves a document analysis of the Harper government reports and how the positioning of this government relates to the history of Canada's approach to

the Israel-Palestine conflict. While by no means exhaustive, this is a suitable approach to gathering data on this issue because relationships between nations are conducted through certain bureaucratic procedures that include written records to document the intention and purpose of partnership initiatives.

Access to information requests were made to various Canadian government agencies including: Public Safety Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the Canadian Security Intelligence Services (CSIS), the Department of Defence, GAC, FATDC, and the Canadian Border Security Agency (CBSA). This research made use of quotes and other material found in ATIP requests and were referenced with footnote citations throughout. The appendix is provided as a reference for the information located within the text. Request numbers, physical description of files, and a brief summary of the contents of the files can be found there.

Information requests sought to collect data that would highlight diplomatic and security between Canada and Israel. After codifying roughly 3,000 pages of data, this research made use of four information requests that are available online at opencanada.ca. Information that was garnered from ATIP requests was highly censored, and excluded large sections of classified intelligence. One way of overcoming this barrier was relying on alternative sources, such as newspaper articles to supplement findings. A total of 12 ATIP requests were made to the Canadian government, and 8 requests were made for previously requested information. Information regarding Canada and Israeli trade in the defence industry was of particular interest in my requests for information. The most fruitful result of these requests was a series of email correspondence briefing notes that provided insight to the bureaucratic processes within the Canadian government during the 2014 Gaza War. This particular file (A-2014-02129) of documents was relied on heavily during the research process. For this reason the research

became increasingly focused on the year 2014 as a significant year between Canada and Israel as this year marked a strengthening of economic and security relations as well as the 2014 Gaza War.

This research is divided into seven chapters presented as follows. Chapter Two presents and discusses the Marxian labour theory of value in an effort to reveal a set of social relations between Israel and Palestine through which surplus-value is extracted from the conflict to the benefit of Israel and its trading partners such as Canada. Here, Marxian theory is expanded into the realm of security studies by drawing on the work of George S. Rigakos (2016) on the political economy of policing. This entails a revisit to the Marxian concepts of “value” and “productivity.” Chapter Three presents a brief historical account of the Israel-Palestine conflict from the inception of Israel, and how Canada has historically aligned itself with the Zionist movement since the early twentieth century until the 21st century. Chapter Four locates Canada’s interests in the development of the political economy of Israel and attempts to expose the influence of this relationship on Canada’s position on the question of Palestine. This chapter presents a discussion focused on the motivations behind Canada’s attempts to forge closer ties with Israel by looking at how Canadian foreign and domestic policy towards terrorism has evolved. It explores Canada’s interest in the Israel-Palestine conflict and presents an analysis of various government documents including official statements, email correspondence between ministers and other officials to illuminate the rationale for Canada’s policy positions. This will provide insight into the magnitude and complexity of the obstacles that must be addressed in order to achieve the basis for a discussion of lasting peace. Chapter Six presents a conclusion to this research revisiting the importance of politicizing the discipline of economics, and taking this research into consideration for future prospects at lasting peace in the Middle East. It will also

offer suggestions for further research that was bracketed outside of this thesis due to concision-related issues.

2 Chapter: The Political Economy of Israeli Policing

Literature that is relevant to this research project is scarce for two reasons: Marxian analyses tend to be underutilized, and Canadian interpretations tend to start from an idealist viewpoint. Moreover, there is little to be found in scholarly databases or libraries that interpret Canada's relationship through a Marxist lens. Marxian analyses of the Israel-Palestine conflict tend to originate from journalists or members of various communist parties (Hever, 2010). Canadian perspectives also tend to be presented through various forms of investigative journalism.⁶ However, descriptive narratives often do not situate findings within a broader theoretical context. Nevertheless, the scant literature that can be found on Marxian and Canadian perspectives can be a useful foundation for the formulation of an original approach to the conflict in a manner that allows for the reinterpretation of the role of police in the global political economy of Canada-Israel relations.

2.1 Marxist Perspectives

While Marxian theory is relatively scarce in regards to the Israel-Palestine conflict, realist theory is much more popular in this area, as it provides the context for discussions of security, policing, existential threat etc. However, the same outlook on policing is not as prevalent among critical scholars in this area. Marxian class-based analyses have are often stumped by the proposition that Israeli is a unique society where ethnic identity supersedes class identity – a conundrum referred to as the “Israeli anomaly” (Nitzan et al., 2002) Consequentially, Marxists have been deterred from critically appraising the Israeli political economy and have instead focused on the more obvious Israeli exploitation of Palestine.

⁶ See Engler, 2010 or Kilibrada, 2008.

Marwan Bishara (2001) argues that the Israeli ruling class does not exploit the Israeli working class to the same degree that Israel (as a colonial power) exploits Palestine. He contends that the Oslo Accords allowed Israel to exert control over the Palestinian territories, which perpetuated unequal development between Israel's and Palestine's economy. Jake Bower (2006) advances a similar line of thought and postulates Israeli colonization of Palestinian gas reserves is a major motivation behind continual occupation. This is one of many perspectives that located natural resources as a driving factor behind Israeli occupation. Other perspectives may employ this line of thought to interpret Israeli gains from Palestinian real estate, soil, markets, and labour through occupation. The most advanced argument in this regards comes from Efraim Davidi (2006), who contends that Israel's occupation plays a double role: first, it gives control of Palestinian labour and markets over to Israel. Second, it divides the Israeli and Palestinian working class against each other and gives greater control to the capitalist class in managing both populations by pitting their interests against each other. To him, the occupation creates a struggle between Israel and Palestine which is used to distract the working classes of each nation from the source of their exploitation.

On a similar line of thought, Sara Roy (2000, 2001), inspired by dependency theory, argues that Israeli policy is centred on the creation of circumstances that restrict and even retard Palestinian economic development. This argument rests on the notion that Palestinian industry is being purposefully repressed and limited to deter the likelihood of resistance groups arming themselves militarily. Amira Hass (2002) also uses a dependency theory lens to argue that Israeli violence and control over the occupied territories has reduced the affluence of the Palestinian economy and subsequently reduced the cost of labour, making Palestinian labour more exploitable than Israeli labour. She suggests that Palestine is plagued by a class struggle against a

privileged few in Palestine who benefit materially from the occupation. She postulates class struggle in Palestine to be the primary obstacle in preventing Palestinians from resisting the occupation.

Yagil Levy (2006), one of the few to take a militaristic view of the conflict, argues that the Israeli military conducts itself as any other industry would: it pushes for the continuation of the conflict in order to justify resource allocation to its coffers. The Israeli defence industry and the IDF are inclined to advance their own agenda based on the profiteering of conflict which requires the state to perpetuate the occupation. He sees the military as the customary instrument of the Israeli capitalist class in aiding in accumulation of capital and argues that Israel operates in a similar manner by creating a strong reliance on its military in extracting value from Palestine. Levy, among others, suggests that this series of intuitional responses to the conflict have shaped the Israeli economy in a unique way.⁷

However valuable and praiseworthy previous Marxian analysis have been, there remains a perceptible problem with Marxist literature on the subject is that it is primarily based on an empiricist approach. The development of Israeli political economy is largely discussed in terms of its exploitive relationship with Palestinian people and land in narrow terms that assume a commonplace understanding of exploitation. The common Marxist conception of a productive labourer is that of an alienated Palestinian worker toiling away to produce physical goods for an Israeli capitalist. This is in large part due to the positionality of the authors who have developed Marxian theories of the Israel-Palestine conflict. These authors, who are mainly journalists and

⁷ Along with the Israeli anomaly, many scholars tend to look at Israel as a unique case by virtue of its heavily armed and active military. This thesis suggests that Israel's economy is unique insofar as every national economy is unique. The uniqueness of Israel's economy however, is the outcome of systemic pressures that are applied indiscriminately across the global capitalist system.

communist party members, are taking account of the conflict as it exists on an empirical level. The relationship between Israeli capitalists and Palestinian proletariat is presented in vulgar terms that support a conception of exploitation that is somewhat archaic and, therefore, needs to be reinvigorated in Marxist literature by locating individual actions within a context of structural and systemic tendencies.

The first deviation of this thesis from the previous Marxian analysis rests on a reinterpretation of value and labour. Marxists have remained somewhat orthodox in viewing the creation of value as being realized by an industrial factory worker producing a tangible commodity. While the relevance of Marxian theory is persistent in the 21st century, it is continually troubled with the question of exploited labour. Marxian theorists have located exploitation in Palestine via cheap labour, natural resources, and markets, and while these observations may be accurate, they rest on a number of assumptions that require a reinterpretation of the labour theories of value. Marxist analyses of the have generally tended to focus on the occupation as a source of surplus-value by virtue of Israel's expansion into untapped Palestinian territory. They argue that such practices have allowed Israel to gain access to natural resources such as oil and natural gas which were previously out of reach by Israeli industry, allowing for the augmentation of Israeli markets and private property into occupied territory (Bower, 2006; Bishara, 2001; Davidi, 2006; Hass, 2002; Roy, 2000, 2001). For this reason, Marxian theory has tended to interpret the occupation and on-going conflict as a function of Imperialism and has overstepped any attempt at interpreting Israeli attempts to manage Palestinian resistance as the basis for the expansion of productive circuits of capital. The overall tone throughout Marxian literature seems to suggest that Israel is maintaining occupation of Palestine because it is a source of surplus-value. It may be true that many capitalists have done

well for their shareholders thanks to many aspects of the occupation.⁸ It may also be true that exploitative relationships between Israel and Palestine exists. But Israel does not appear to be perpetuating conflict simply for the sake of a few capitalist enterprises. After all, there is no guarantee that capital accumulation resulting from private enterprise acting upon the conflict, will generate surplus value. In fact, it is highly unlikely that Israel realizes a net material gain from conflict outbreak such as that which occurred in 2014. The difference between surplus-value extraction and capital accumulation is significant because Marxists have attempted to explain why the occupation persists (exploitation of Palestine), when they ought to explain how it persists, why it takes the shape it does, and what tendencies are being activated and responded to for its continuation. This is an important distinction because these two questions render completely different answers: “why?” prompts the need to identify a perpetrator, which from a Marxist point of view is invariably the capitalist class. But the question “how?” prompts an analysis of structural tendencies that characterize and reinforce the perpetuation of conflict. Therefore, there needs to be greater emphasis on locating the tendencies of capitalism in turning all labour into productive labour, rather than locating productivity exclusively at the point of production. Productive relations have reconfigured themselves in response to technological transformations at the point of production. As these relations have changed, so too have the circuits through which capital reaps surplus value from labour. As a result, this paper focuses attention towards capital accumulation as a social product that is made possible through the management of the Israel-Palestine conflict.

Second, theories of security and policing are somewhat taken-for-granted by Marxian thinkers. Even thinkers such as Yagil Levy, who attempt to answer the question of how the

⁸ For evidence of this see: Hussain, 2016; Shuttleworth & Wong, 2016; and Bahl, 2017.

Israeli military industrial complex has become so powerful, do not take into consideration how this same complex is one of the primary circuits of productivity in the Israeli economy, accounting for roughly 9% of its GDP (Halper, 2015). Levy argues that the military enriches itself from the purse of the state, without accounting for why the state allows for this to happen. This leaves an important question undisturbed: why is Israel not deterred by the high cost (both human and economic) of its policing operations through perpetual occupation? The Israeli government must use tax revenue and international support, such as the \$38 billion dollar aid agreement with the USA in 2016, to purchase armaments from high-tech industries (Baker & Hirschfield Davis, 2016).

Third, voids in Marxian literature on Israel-Palestine exist because many of these analyses fail to provide any adequate explanation for how the Israel-Palestine conflict is situated within the world system. For the most part, Israel is viewed as a colonial occupant of Palestinian land, and is exploiting their labour through various circuits of capital made possible through the occupation. Marxist perspectives also tend to point out that the occupation has allowed Israel to expand circuits of capital into the occupied territories. But these previously summarized observations have been too narrowly focused on Israel-Palestine as a regional problem, and have therefore failed to appropriately articulate meaningful connections between the global economy and its contribution in shaping the conflict.

Marxist scholars generally do not explicitly acknowledge the fact that Israel is not perpetuating the occupation or conflict because it is a productive endeavour. It should be clear that Israel finds itself in the highly contentious and undesirable circumstance of being at war with its neighbor(s), and therefore Israel's attempt to render the occupation into a productive venture that is not driven by profit per se, but by the tendency for all forms of labour to become

productive. In other words, the costs of the conflict may be too great for Israel to ever realize a profit from the conflict. However, as long as armed conflict lingers in the near future, Israel will actively engage, in whatever way it can, to minimize the costs of maintaining national security.⁹ This concept highlights the difference between approaches that interpret surplus-value to be the driving force of conflict, and those who see continual conflict as the driving force of pacification and capital accumulation as incidental. This thesis subscribes to the latter by suggesting that the enhancement of Israel's military-industrial complex has been a response to the conflict itself, and the perpetual need for a strong national defence apparatus. The export of Israeli goods on the global market is incidental to this process, but it has enabled Israel to situate itself in a position that allows for economic gains from occupation. In short, the occupation has itself become a productive endeavour that fabricates the conditions for differential accumulation to ensue. To reiterate, Marxist scholars have attempted to identify 'why' Israel exploits labour to produce material goods, but have failed to identify 'how' Palestinian resistance has become a necessary component in fabricating the conditions for productive resistance. While pushing towards productivity is not the reason Israel colonizes Palestine, it is nonetheless the means by which it colonizes Palestine. This point will be further elucidated in discussion.

⁹ This type of cost-benefit calculation is what Nitzan & Bichler refer to as “differential accumulation” – the tendency for costs and benefits *not* to be calculated against each other in absolute terms, but to be calculated in relative terms, where the reduction of costs or realization of benefits is measured on a relative scale against comparative performances. The point of differential accumulation is not to maximize benefits per se, but to maintain a strong position within a small margin of the average. For example, investors may be content with a small loss on capital gains if this loss is generally smaller than the average loss in the market. By this logic, investors may also be discontent with small gains if these gains are far less than the average market gains during an upswing in market value. Nitzan et al. (2002) argue that capitalists do not seek to maximize profits through intensification of exploitation in the first instance, but that their primary concern is to ‘beat the average’ by continually expanding market share while gradually broadening power to further accumulate. This notion is implicit in the phrase “capital accumulation” throughout this paper, and is used distinctly from the term “surplus value”

2.2 Productive and Unproductive labour

In order to safeguard against the distorted understandings of labour and value presented in previous Marxian analysis, we must first answer the questions: what is value? And where does it originate? Smith and Marx agree that all value originates in the labour process, but they disagree when trying to distinguish between labour that creates value and labour that does not, i.e. productive versus unproductive labour. Given that all value originates in labour but not all labour creates value, it appears there is an anomaly which requires us to make a distinction between that which constitutes productive and unproductive labour. Political economic analyses of policing centre on the role of police in fabricating the conditions that allow for the realization of value creation. This type of approach has been renewed by Rigakos (2016), who argues that policing must be understood as a central component of the capitalist system by virtue of its ability to generate productive labour through the pacification of resistance and commodification of security.

The distinction between productive and unproductive labour is a fundamental dichotomy that allows Smith to differentiate labour that contributed to the wealth of nations against idle labour that doesn't. Marx found this distinction to be politically significant but not essential to his theory. Much of what Marx says about productive and unproductive labour might be attributed to the need to spark class consciousness among the proletariat so they may recognize themselves as uniquely productive labourers (Hunt, 1979). But the mercantilism of Smith's time, and industrialism of Marx's time, have dialectically evolved throughout history into a much different form of capitalism that requires the question of productive labour to be re-examined (Rigakos, 2016). With the help of these theorists, further insights may be gleaned to facilitate a thorough understanding of how policing interacts and integrates with political economy.

Smith (2003) summarizes his distinction between productive and unproductive labour as follows:

There is one sort of labour which adds to the value of the subject upon which it is bestowed: there is another which has no such effect. The former, as it produces value, may be called productive; the latter unproductive labour. Thus the labour of the manufacturer adds, generally, to the value of the materials which he works upon, that of his own maintenance, and of his master's profit. The labour of a menial servant, on the contrary, adds to the value of nothing. Though the manufacturer has his wages advanced to him by his master, he, in reality, costs him no expense, the value of those wages being generally restored, together with a profit, in the improved subject upon which his labour is bestowed. But the maintenance of a menial servant is never restored. A man grows rich by employing a multitude of manufacturers; he grows poor by maintaining a multitude of menial servants. The labour of the latter, however, has its value, and deserves its reward as well as that of the former. But the labour of the manufacturer fixes and realizes itself in some particular subject or vendible commodity, which lasts for some time at least after that labour is past... The labour of the menial servant, on the contrary, does not fix or realize itself in a particular subject or vendible commodity (p.422-423, emphasis added).

Smith (2003) is arguing that the labour of a manufacturer is productive because it produces value in the form of a vendible commodity that can be sold on the market. The rigid distinction between labour which does or does not become objectified in material form reveals how Smith understands the difference between productive and unproductive labour.

Although Marx is proposing a critical response to the theories of liberal political economists like Smith, he also expands on the ideas put forth by the liberal tradition. Throughout

Marx's analysis in Capital Volume 1 he discusses capitalism as an abstract ideal capitalist system, based on the systemic tendencies that capitalism reinforces. In other words, Marx imagines how capitalism might function if all of the mechanisms of capital were permitted to operate unfettered (free markets, free trade, widespread private property etc.) without any resistance from countervailing tendencies. In doing so, Marx is attempting to answer the question: what does capitalism want to be? Looking at capitalist society in terms of its general tendencies allows him to illustrate the machinery of capital in its ideal form, and reveal how it reproduces itself through the satisfaction of certain requirements.

Overall, Marx agrees with Smith's contention that capitalism tends towards the creation of value in objective form. Indeed, this is how capitalism distinguishes itself from other previous historical epochs; it appears as "an immense collection of commodities" (Marx, 1990, p.125). However, Marx expands and limits this interpretation by postulating productive labour as that which produces surplus-value. He admits that sometimes it is unclear whether or not service labour is contributing to the realization of surplus-value with reference to vocational teaching:

If I buy the services of a teacher, not in order to develop my own capacities, but to acquire skills with which I can earn money—or if other people buy this teacher for me—and if I really learn something—which is in itself entirely independent of my paying for his services—these costs of learning form as much a part of the costs of production of my labour capacity as do my subsistence costs (Marx 1990, p.140).

Here, Marx (1990) acknowledges that unlike a manufacturer, a teacher cannot know whether his or her services are contributing towards the realization of value in material form. While vocational training generally equips workers with the knowledge they need to become productive labourers, the value that is added from this service in the final product is uncertain. Furthermore,

not all students of vocational teaching proceed to become productive labourers. It may be impossible to measure the value that teaching services add to the realization of surplus-value, but it is undeniable that vocational training does indeed contribute to the valorization of labour. Therefore, the profession of teaching and other services like it, can belong to Smith's categories of productive and unproductive simultaneously.

This inconsistency puts the categorical distinction between productive and unproductive labour into question. It is impossible to pinpoint when the labour of a teacher is productive in comparison to when it is idle. Before Marx (1990) discards the productive-unproductive binary he entertains this distinction at the peak of its absurdity by attempting to reason whether or not self-employed labour is productive:

The self-employed labourer, for example, is his own wage labourer, and his own means of production cannot confront him in his own mind as capital. As his own capitalist, he employs himself as a wage labourer. Anomalies of this type then offer a favorable field for outpourings of drivel about productive and unproductive labour (p.1042).

Marx's attempt to reason that a self-employed labourer exploits himself demonstrates how differentiating labour into categories based on productivity on an individual basis requires almost as many categories of "productivity" as there are labour positions. This firmly suggests that the foundations of the productive versus unproductive distinction are unsound. The distinction may have advanced Smith's conceptualization of political economy, but it is a distinction that is only made meaningful by viewing the labour process from an empiricist approach which attempts to categorize labour on an individualized basis (Rigakos, 2016).

2.3 Smith and Marx on Policing

Between Smith and Marx, it was certainly the former who had more to say about the relationship

between policing and political economy. Smith's contribution to policing theory is often overlooked by economists, but it was a necessary component to his moral and economic theories. In a lecture Smith gave on "Justice, Police Revenue and Arms," he contends that the role of police is to "provide cheapness of commodities, public security and cleanliness" (Smith, 2009, p.150, emphasis added). For Smith, the proper role of police was to ensure the conditions that would allow for markets to function optimally by facilitating cheap abundance of material wealth. Crucial to the development of markets, Smith says, was the deployment of police to "secure the individual who has enlarged his property, [so] that he may peaceably enjoy it" (Smith, 2009, p.153). Under this criteria police were to enforce private property laws by providing "cleanliness" and "public security" through the dispossession of social delinquents such as vagabonds, paupers and drunks from areas of commercial development. But dispossession is not the only tactic of policing that Smith proposes. Despite Smith harnessing a rather unsavoury attitude towards police, he imagined a very active role for policing in facilitating the growth of capitalist economies. He elaborates on the duty of police to incorporate idle hands into the realm productive activity by making them dependent on exploited wage labour:

The establishment of commerce and manufactures, which brings about... independency, is the best police for preventing crimes...Nobody will be so mad as to expose himself on the highway when he can make better bread in an honest and industrious manner (Smith, 2009, p.152).

Smith carries this line of thought into his prescription for the proper role of the military as well, advising that "there is foundation for war...when one nation encroaches on the property of another" (Smith, 2009, p.161).

The protection of private property was the primary duty of Smith's ideal of police. But despite his recognition of the intimate connection between political economy and policing, he saw the labour of policing as an unproductive but necessary cost in maintaining order and maintenance of capitalist society. In the 18th century, Smith wrote about policing as a form of necessary but unproductive labour that required an undesired cost to industry through taxation. He says that officers of

Justice and war....the whole army and navy are unproductive labourers. They are servants of the public, and are maintained by part of the annual produce of industry of other people. Their service, how honourable, how useful, or how necessary soever, produces nothing.... (Smith, 2003, p.423, emphasis added).

Marx indisputably agreed with Smith's observations, and even wrote about the need for capitalists to displace idle hands to be transformed into exploited labour through the enclosure of the commons (Marx, 2000). But even though Marx recognized the role of policing in enforcing private property relations he did not view policing as productive labour. He joined Smith in dismissing the idea of social delinquency as a productive activity by arguing that it could just as well be said that

The criminal produces not only crimes but also criminal law, and with this also the professor who gives lectures on criminal law and in addition to this the inevitable compendium in which this same professor throws his lectures onto the general market as "commodities"....The criminal moreover produces the whole of the police and of criminal justice, constables, judges, hangmen, juries, etc.; and all these different lines of business, which form equally many categories of the social division of labour, develop different capacities of the human spirit, create new needs and new ways of satisfying

them. Torture alone has given rise to the most ingenious mechanical inventions, and employed many honourable craftsmen in the production of its instruments (Marx, 1863).

But the tendencies of capitalism to coopt every realm of social existence (including deviance and subversion) into the mode of production have rendered Smith's and Marx's observations somewhat obsolete. In his own lifetime, Marx believed that capitalism was at a historic, transitional period that was moving towards communism, but 150 years later, capitalism persists and continues to colonize the life world into circuits of productive labour. This has only been made possible in part by the expansive policing apparatus that have persistently pacified resistance. In fairness, Smith and Marx could have never foreseen the development of a military-industrial complex as becoming one of the primary forces behind the perpetuation of the capitalist system. Socialist literature in the late 19th and early 20th century was among the first to critically analyze the military as a central institution of capitalism, when figures including Lenin (1966) and Liebknecht (1972) conveyed policing as totalizing aspect of capitalism and a primary tenet of Marxian theory. But by the 21st century policing had come to take on a more productive role, calling for a reinvigoration of Marxian theory through a reinterpretation of policing. In order to account for this change, it is critical to locate the role of policing in the theories of Smith and Marx to allow for an observation from a material premise that works toward a new interpretation of policing in capitalist society. Such a theoretical approach also provides the groundwork for an interpretation of the Israel-Palestine conflict as a productive policing project.

2.4 Labour as an Individual Category versus Labour as a Social Process

Even though Marx (1990) periodically engaged with the debate on productive and unproductive labour, he focused primarily on the general tendency of capital to transform all forms of work into productive labour i.e. labour which generates surplus-value by creating conditions

conducive to accumulation. In critiquing Smith's theory that commodities are the only outcome of value creation, Marx suggests that productive labour is that which creates surplus-value, leaving open the possibility of productive service labour. Marx (1990) argues that:

From the simple standpoint of the labour process, labour seem[s] productive if it realized itself in a product...[but] the immediate purpose and the authentic product of capitalist production is surplus-value, labour is only productive, and an exponent of labour power is only a productive worker, if it or he creates surplus-value directly, i.e. the only productive labour is that which directly consumed in the course of production for the valorization of capital...it is productive if it is realized in a surplus-value without any equivalent for the worker (p.1038-39, emphasis added).

Marx is therefore able to account for the productivity of service labour by emphasising the requirement that productive labour produces surplus-value, but not necessarily a commodity. His definition does not preclude service labour because his general criteria in determining whether or not labour is productive is based on whether it generates surplus-value. From this perspective, services employed under the provision of a capitalist – for example the defence industry – generate surplus-value and therefore may be considered productive.

However, as mentioned earlier, it is problematic to closely subscribe to a rigid distinction between productive and unproductive labour because labour is not a process which takes place on an individual scale; it is a social process which encompasses a wide range of human labour in a large network of production (workplace, home, education etc.). Viewing productive labour as a category (metalsmith, blacksmith, farmer, etc.) overlooks the importance of unproductive labour which contributes to facilitating the conditions through which productive labour may be activated and optimized in the creation of value. The difference between surplus-value extraction

and capital accumulation is significant here because there are many networks of surplus value extraction that constitute the larger project of capital accumulation. Exploited labour and surplus-value extraction is not executed at a specific moment or spatial location. Marx (1990) reflected this awareness when discussing human labour in the production of linen as a practice and not a category:

It is not enough to focus on the specific character of the labour power which goes to make up the value of the linen. Human labour-power in its fluid state, of human labour, creates value, but is not itself value.” (p.142, emphasis added).

Here, Marx makes an explicit note of the necessity of viewing labour in its “fluid state” as opposed to its “specific character” at any given point. He does not view labour from the standpoint of the individual but rather from the social because economies arise “as much from the social character of labour as surplus-value does from the surplus-labour of each worker taken in isolation” (Marx, 1993, p.172). The confusion that emerges from conceptualizing labour in immobile categories is generated through an individualist lens that does not comprehend or conceptualize these categories on a social level. From the standpoint of the general tendencies of capitalism, labour is a role that is not fixed on any one individual, but created through prevailing relations that surround and create those roles. Just as a pedestrian and a motorist move in and out of these mutually constitutive roles without ever permanently becoming one or the other, so too do labourers move between unproductive and productive roles without ever permanently becoming one or the other.

Marx views surplus-value to be the employment of productive labour time which extends beyond that which is socially necessary. Socially necessary abstract labour time is the average quantity of aggregate labour time a given society needs to reproduce itself. The technological

development of the means of production varies across geographical territory, which means that for those regions with highly developed productive capacities, the labour time necessary in manufacture is less than those with lesser developed productive capacities. As Marx (1990) says:

The value of a commodity would...remain constant, if the labour-time for its production also remained constant. But the latter changes with every variation in the productivity of labour. This is determined by a wide range of circumstances; it is determined, amongst other things by the workers' average degree of skill, the level of development of science and its technological application, the social organization of the process of production, the extent and effectiveness of the means of production, and the conditions found in the natural environment (p.130).

He recognized that the magnitude of labour power harnessed by a particular society varies according to geographical, and technological circumstances. Every society has a generally uniform collection of average labour power which varies according to the level of technological development that characterizes the means of production. He calculates labour time in the abstract based on general tendencies within a capitalist economy. His abstraction rests on the assumption of what he calls "simple average labour;" the average labour time it may take to produce a commodity under circumstances of fixed productive capacity (Marx, 1990, p.134-5). The forms of scientific and technological development that determine simple average labour hold a causal relationship to the socially necessary abstract labour time required for the production of a mass of commodities (Marx, 1990). In any given capitalist society, marginally reducing the average labour time it takes to produce a commodity will generally yield greater surplus-value, while marginally increasing the labour time will generally reduce surplus-value. Marx (1990) points out that the exchange-value of a commodity is thus directly tied to the socially necessary labour

time required in its production. He concludes that socially necessary abstract labour time, therefore, represents a quantifiable and objective origin of exchange-value that is created at the point of production.

Thus, the need to maintain a social level of analysis stems from Marx viewing labour as a fluid social process that does not reflect fixed categories of labour as either productive or unproductive. Marx understands that the labour process encompasses a social totality which cannot be reduced to individual actions. By investigating value from the standpoint of the social as opposed to the individual, he is able to see the origin of value within the aggregate mass of simple average labour, as opposed to on an individual case-by-case basis. This perspective broadens the definition of productive labour beyond the criteria that value materializes as a commodity, but also generalizes it to a point of rendering the productive versus unproductive dichotomy null. Instead, Marx (1990) emphasises the totality of capitalist relations which render a multitude of various forms of labour as a source of valorization. From the standpoint of the general tendencies of capital, he continually suggests that capitalism is a holistic set of social relations that reinforce the structures and tendencies that allow it to perpetuate. It is the overall tendency of capitalism to strive toward productivity by turning all forms of activity into exploitable labour (Rigakos, 2016). In other words, labour may be productive and socially necessary; unproductive and socially necessary; productive and socially unnecessary; or unproductive and socially unnecessary, but the tendencies of capitalism always push towards productivity.

2.5 A General Theory of Pacification

The previous discussion identified the shortcomings of classifying labour into binary categories and proceeded to establish an understanding of labour as a social process which constitutes a

general tendency of the capitalist system toward productivity. This analysis suggests that capitalism's survival is dependent on the creation of surplus-value and committed to transforming all forms of activity into productive labour. This section will show how policing practices are implemented in order to achieve this goal.

Police act on behalf of the interests of capital by maintain the order of capitalist society through the pacification of resistance. Pacification is the practice of maintaining private property rights through the policing idle hands of capitalist society into circuits of productive capital. In describing the techniques and technologies of policing, Proudhon (2003) may have summarized it best:

To be governed is to be kept in sight, inspected, spied upon, directed, law-driven, numbered, regulated, enrolled, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, checked, estimated, valued, censured, commanded, by creatures who have neither the right nor the wisdom nor the virtue to do so. To be governed is to be at every operation, at every transaction noted, registered, counted, taxed, stamped, measured, numbered, assessed, licenced, authorized, admonished, prevented, forbidden, reformed, corrected, punished. It is, under the pretext of public utility, and in the name of the general interest, to be placed under contribution, drilled, fleeced, exploited, monopolized, extorted from, squeezed, hoaxed, robbed; then, at the slightest resistance, the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, vilified, harassed, hunted down, choked, imprisoned, judged, condemned, shot, deported, sacrificed, sold, betrayed; and to crown all, mocked, ridiculed, derided, outraged, dishonoured. That is government, that is its justice, that is its morality (p.294).

The effort to pacify problem populations highlights the need for the ruling class to mitigate class conflicts embedded within all relations of capitalist society. The centrality of class conflict as constituting the *raison d'être* of policing is foundational to an understanding of policing as pacification. Therefore by viewing pacification as productive labour (i.e. labour that contributes to the realization of surplus-value) conventional notions of security may be better understood in terms of the material impact it has on those it subjugates. This approach challenges Marx's assertion that "security is the supreme concept of bourgeois society" by postulating security as a practice of shaping material and social relations in a manner that is conducive to the security of private property, markets, and capital accumulation (Marx, 1978b, p.43; Rigakos, 2016).

Based on this conceptualization of policing, a new theoretical approach is engaged which significantly departs from the set of assumptions associated with conventional security discourse. Understanding security as pacification brings the inherent violence of policing to the forefront of analyses and becomes the premise from which its activities may be critically examined. This approach, which concerns itself with questions based on systemic inequalities, unearths the source cause of social differentiation and prejudice. How do the working class and poor constitute the vast majority of prison populations across the world? How do property crimes constitute most violations of law? How does the justice system excuse white collar crime so often? These questions raise further questions about the legal double standards between rich and poor (and the racial/ethnic characteristics of class formation) and highlight the role of prevailing state institutions, such as police, as instruments of class war. Pacification theory has built-in answers to these questions and uses them as the premise from which Marxist investigations of policing begin.

According to Rigakos (2016) in order for capitalism to perpetuate, police have three tasks

they need to perform. First, they need to displace ‘idle hands’ from a certain territory (Indigenous populations, homeless people, youth, elderly, etc.), for the engineering of a new social fabric (colonialism, gentrification, capitalism, etc.). Second, they need to secure the hegemony of the ruling class by enforcing private property laws and creating the conditions under which workers become dependent on private property relations and sell their labour-power in return for a wage. Third, policing, like any other service, is subject to the laws of capital accumulation and therefore strives toward commodification. This process is not only about turning idle hands productive, but also about pushing the labour of policing toward productivity. Pacification is therefore understood as the activity of fabricating social conditions that foster circuits of capital accumulation by turning all forms of activity into productive labour, including those of police.

Literature that has covered dispossession and exploitation aspects of the Israel-Palestine conflict is extensive. Ilan Pappé has covered the process of dispossession in Palestine in his book *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2006), and Marxian analysis have highlighted the processes of Israeli capital accumulation from exploited Palestinian labour.¹⁰ Theoretical engagement on commodification, however, is notably absent. Yet pacification theory requires an answer to the question: how is the Israel-Palestine conflict being commodified? Rigakos (2016) identifies three central compulsions of policing that drive it towards commodification.

First, security contributes to surplus-value through the valorization of policing labour. Valorization is a primary constituent of the capitalist system by virtue of the fact that it “reflects capitalism’s pressure to render all production toward an “ideal” form (Rigakos, 2016, p.68). Policing responds uniquely to these pressures by governing the processes through which

¹⁰ See Bishara, 2001; Bower, 2006; Davidi, 2006; Hass, 2002; Levy, 2006; Roy, 2001.

exploitation of the subordinate class is implemented, legitimized, intensified and augmented. The capitalist system, in its drive to push all forms of labour into value creating labour, commodifies security and policing practices as well. Yet the productive capacities of policing range depending on their relation to processes of value creation. For example, in the case of Israeli industry, security services are a cost of production, much like rent, taxation, transportation etc. Their services are necessary for value creation, but they do not directly produce anything in the labour process. However, if Israeli industry outsources enough of their security matters to the security industry, security costs become part of a productive endeavour (Rigakos, 2016). Israel has devoted entire industries to the production of surplus-value through the development and export of policing techniques and technologies. Israel's security industry also incurs costs of production, such as experimenting with its innovations in field tests. Palestinians are ideal test subjects for these technological developments, and have become subjected to a plethora of these techniques and technologies on a daily basis (Halper. 2015). Within the capitalist system, policing faces the pressures to both valorize labour, and commodify its own activities. Since Israel has some of the most sophisticated policing institutions, this makes it a novel case-study for this type of approach (Rigakos, 2016).

Second, security also contributes to productivity and the advancement of surplus-value through prudentialization, which, Rigakos (2016) defines as: “the process by which all commodity production in a capitalist society is increasingly imbued with security planning and risk calculation within its circuits of production and consumption” (p.75). This form of scientific thinking is rooted in early Enlightenment thought which emphasised ‘the greatest good for the greatest number’ through utilitarian cost-benefit calculation, and has operated as the prevailing ethos and logos of private enterprise. This type of calculation is an essential principle of

profitability but is also used to calculate risk. “Risk” as it is defined by the capitalist institutions which construct it, is though as potential harm against profitability. 21st century capitalism, through its relentless push towards neoliberalization, has shown that reducing costs and maximizing surplus-value have become endeavours that are increasingly reliant on the role of police (Rigakos, 2106; Teeple, 2000). Ulrich Beck (1992) envisions a world “risk society” that is constantly preoccupied with managing colossal risk assessments derived from social issues of global proportions such as nuclear war and ecocide. One could make the case that the prevalence of risk management in Israel is far greater than any other core nation in the world system. The prudentialization of social security is popular among hawkish fractions of Israeli political discourse that construct Palestinian resistance in terms of existential threat. The supposition of existential threat postulates a scenario where the potential of total annihilation is present. Under such a conceptualization, prudential management is inclined towards an overcompensation of securitization. Israel faces Hamas, a political organization that is committed to the destruction of Israel and a return to pre-1948 Palestine;¹¹ as well as Iran, a country with nuclear capabilities and some anti-Semitic leading public officials.¹² Accordingly, Israel has organized its security infrastructure around the containment of risk and adjusted its political economic affairs accordingly. Much of Israel’s industry thrives on the insecurities of those it seeks to secure and has capitalised on the high-risk environment that Israelis are embedded within. These conditions allow industries to uplift the security commodity as the key to safety in the perpetual risk environment. The subjectivities and ontological insecurities of the Israeli population are thus, “being shaped by how safe and secure the commodity [they] purchase is....regardless of how

¹¹ As per the Charter of Hamas

¹² Iran’s former PM Mahmoud Ahmadinejad is an open Holocaust revisionist.

disconnected the product's actual use-value may be from security" (Rigakos, 2016, p.81).

The third compulsion Rigakos (2016) identifies is the fetishism of security commodities. As Marx points out, under conditions of alienated labour, commodities take on meaning which is entirely separate from their use-value. Commodity fetishism is premised on the notion that commodities harness a metaphysical value that transcend and supersede use-value. The use-value of two commodities may be qualitatively identical, while the quantitative exchange-value may substantially differ by virtue of the symbolic meaning they are ascribed within a particular culture. The status-symbols that are associated with commodities imbue them with an entirely new meaning beyond that which reflects its use-value. This is how various commodities, for example a handbag, can cost a manufacturer less than \$10 to produce, but may sell for more than \$100,000 when it is surrounded with certain social hieroglyphs that signify a particular status and/or class position. Commodity fetishism is achievable by reifying certain individual or social problems, and exaggerating the ability of commodities to alleviate these problems. Security commodities are not exempt from this general tendency (Rigakos, 2016). The security industry capitalizes on fear of danger by fetishizing security commodities as the key to safety, security, good health, prosperity, and over all well-being. This imbues them with more of a perceived virtue than an actual material benefit. The over-inflated rhetoric of risk management and insecurity that permeates political discourse props-up an over-inflated sense of how security commodities may keep the public safe. Innovating, and invoking risk is an effective strategy in crafting a schizophrenic culture of perpetual paranoia and social insecurity - an ideal consumer base for those involved in the production of security commodities (Rigakos, 2016). In Israel, this has been particularly apparent through the glorification and glamorization of the IDF. The popularity of Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu - a neoconservative, law-and-order war hawk –

can also be interpreted as a reflection of a widespread sense of Israeli insecurity. The fetishization of the IDF became particularly widespread during Israel's transition into neoliberalism. During this period, the Zionist sense of nationalist solidarity began to shift into a militaristic solidarity based on admiration and respect for the military (Nitzan et. al, 2002).

The need for policing is becoming increasingly necessary as the global capitalist economy exacerbates the material differences between those who own the social product of bourgeois society and those who produce the social product. Many contemporary scholars such as Loic Wacquant (2009), Nils Christie (2009), William I. Robinson (2013), George S. Rigakos (2016), and Gary Teeple (2000), have remarked on the relationship between political economy and policing. Policing activity ranging from local, state, military, private contractors and security guards, have responded to the pressures of capitalism by adapting circuits of capital to extract surplus-value in new areas. Police and industry have cultivated tighter associations - exemplified in what Robinson (2013) refers to as the military-industrial-prison-security complex – in order to achieve this goal. The connection between policing and industry has established conditions that enable policing to harness the potential to become a profitable institution that generates surplus-value by penetrating all facets of the social world (Rigakos, 2016). In other words, tighter relations between policing and industry have allowed the state and ruling class to transform the undesirable cost of policing into a productive enterprise.

Marx lays the groundwork for Rigakos (2016) to develop a “general theory of pacification.” Rigakos (2016) expands on Marx's labour theory of value by presenting policing as a critical component to capitalist material and social relations. He emphasises the need for policing to fabricate the conditions for private property relations and circuits of capital to persist and expand through dispossession, exploitation and commodification. Overall, he asserts an

interpretation of security and capital in dialectic relation to one another rendering the goal of policing practises as two-fold. On the one hand, police attempt to secure the economy through pacification of those who resist bourgeois social order. On the other hand, policing attempts to render its own activities productive through what we might refer to as the economization of security. Together, these functions constitute the process by which capitalism is produced and reproduced (Rigakos, 2016). This theoretical approach to policing and political economy provides the basis through which Israel's policing apparatus and Canada's material relations to Israel and Palestine may be appropriately considered.

2.6 The Productivity of Israeli Policing

Halper (2015), among others, suggests that the role of policing as a productive endeavour has gained traction in the neoliberal era alongside the relentless onslaught of deregulation, privatization, union suppression, welfare cuts and corporate tax-breaks. The 'social safety net' of the Keynesian welfare state, which functioned as a last resort in mitigating the disparities of the least fortunate, has been withdrawn and replaced with a punitive approach to managing kindred problem populations (Wacquant, 2009). The disparities driving social upheaval have prompted the need for the state to maintain the legitimacy of the capitalist system through the use of violence and coercion. According to Halper (2015)

The place we have now reached, where post-war capitalist endocolonialism has morphed into neoliberalism, has brought the issue of pacification back as the dominant force of capitalist rule, far more totalizing than conventional inter-state warfare (p.13-14).

Neoliberalism, far from becoming the model of freedom through the benevolence and wisdom of the invisible hand of the market, has come to rely more on the very visible fist of the state, prompting "an endless preparation for war... [giving] rise to human-security states driven by the

conquest for total security” (Teeple, 2000; Halper, 2015, p.14). A war against the people has come to fruition, rendering the need of a global pacification system deployed through various policing apparatuses made possible by leading security industries, such as those found in Israel (Halper, 2015). The global-historical realignment with bourgeois interests that neoliberalism signifies, has fostered substantial material inequalities within national boundaries as well as between the transnational capitalist class and the hyper-exploited working class across the global periphery. Many scholars have astutely pointed out that our current global political economy is largely defined by the endless perpetuation of war (Graham, 2010). The global capitalist system been held together through the circuits of capital that are fabricated by the coercive arm of the state - particularly but not exclusively the U.S. state. In wake of the global war on terror and the 2008 financial crisis, subversion to the capitalist system, and security forces at its guard, are both frequently present. The global capitalist economy as undergone an acceleration towards self-destruction and fostered a type of global resistance, expressed in the forms of: the Arab Spring (2008), the Occupy Wall Street Movement (2011) the G20 protests (2012), Anti-Austerity movements across Europe (2008), socialist mobilization in Latin America, as well as far-right reactionary politics based on nationalist-populism and xenophobic irrationality. As these struggles persist, states across the world will continue to rely on Israel to develop and test the most sophisticated policing technologies currently available at any given time. The inherent insecurity the capitalist system and the resistance it generates will always necessitate enhanced securitization and pacification techniques and technologies. The growth of militaristic economics and economic militarism has been emboldened by the perpetual need for security against radical political dissent. Scapegoat politics that have fostered growing insecurities of “the other” have prompted endless war - the war on communism, the war on crime, the war on drugs, the war on

terrorism – but these wars are never resolved because the militaristic approach used to address them is inherently unsuitable by virtue of its reactionary nature. Furthermore, this problem is only a problem for those who are victim to the violence of policing, because a very wealthy and powerful fraction of the global capitalist class are usurping their power and wealth from the very wars the global masses decry. Endless war is a business strategy for oil companies, defence contractors, weapons manufacturers, communications industries, high-tech industries etc. In fact, almost 9% of Israel's GDP is based in these industries and has therefore come to rely on war for its security as well as its economic survival. Herein lies the danger of capitalist economics working in conjunction with the violence of policing. While policing secures the economy of so-called civil society, the economy also influences the shape and trajectory of policing (Rigakos, 2016).

Halper (2015) uses the lens of pacification to argue that Israeli policing of the occupation (and general conflict) has allowed it to secure a position in the global order as a global hegemon and specialized vendor of high-tech security commodities. As a leader in what Halper (2015) calls “the global pacification industry,” Israel is able to influence security politics within the world-system by appealing to global capitalism's need for security. Israel spends \$15 billion a year on its military – between 6.5-8.5% of its GDP – a far greater proportion than any country in the world, including the US which only spends about 4.3% of its GDP on defence (Halper, 2015). In developing a highly sophisticated industry focused on innovating, developing, improving and distributing high-tech security commodities, Israel has elevated itself within the world-system as a core leader in policing, security, and defence. Its military-industrial complex had grown in conjunction with the increased necessity of pacifying Palestinian resistance and addressing foreign threats. These advancements in Israeli policing technologies and

infrastructure have improved and expanded throughout the history of the conflict and have trended toward maintaining “full spectrum dominance”¹³ over Palestine. This domination has been implemented through various forms of policing, including but not limited to, barrier walls, checkpoints, CCTV cameras, naval border guards, armed patrol, and cyber policing. Palestinian resistance has provided the conditions for the occupied territories to be viewed as an optimal “testing ground” for various security commodities (Halper, 2015, p.4). According to Halper (2015):

The Occupied Palestinian Territory has been transformed into probably the most monitored, controlled and militarized place on earth...In a situation where the local population enjoys no effective legal protections or privacy, they and their lands become a laboratory where the latest technologies of surveillance, control and suppression are perfected and showcased, giving Israel an edge in the highly competitive global market. Labels such as “Combat Proven,” “Tested in Gaza,” and “Approved by the IDF” on Israeli or foreign products greatly improves their marketability” (p.143).

Unlike other nations who must take certain safety precautions in testing their weaponry, Israel is able to demonstrate and experiment the viability of its artilleries through real-life scenarios. When Canada tests or experiments with policing technologies, it must do so in isolated regions away from civilian populations until a major event renders policing necessary (such as the G20 protests). For Israel this is not the case. Israeli policing techniques and technologies are tested on Palestinian subjects and infrastructure to provide a real-life demonstration of the everyday capabilities that Israeli police have developed and exercise over Palestine (Halper, 2015). Thus,

¹³ Dominance and control over land, sea, air, sub terrain, terrestrial terrain, cyberspace, as well as the biological and the psychological.

Israel has been able to adjust its political economy to valorize surplus-value through the militarization of its economy and the economization of its military. Israel has managed to situate its conflict with Palestine within a larger productive endeavour made possible by its military-industrial complex. The prevailing tendencies of the capitalist system have, thus, co-opted the Israel-Palestine conflict in a manner which forces Palestinian resistance to incidentally become part of the Israeli security commodity production process. If Palestinians were to suddenly cease to resist Israeli occupation and colonization, it would decrease the need for Israel to expand its technological advancements in security commodities, or at the very least, eliminate the conditions that enable Israel to test its security commodities in real-life scenarios on living subjects (Halper, 2015). Thus, “Israel has turned its inability to resolve its conflict with the Palestinians into a marketing advantage, for the failure to come to terms with the Palestinians is not a failure at all, but as a successful case of pacification” Halper, 2015, p.144).

Politically speaking, these conditions have garnered international attention toward Israel and have invoked the global core and semi-periphery to consider how they might employ any of the various policing techniques or technologies in the domain of their own pacification projects. For this reason, the international community has recognized Israel as a global hegemon of security politics and have uplifted the importance of Israel’s military in leading the global security industry. The development of these commodities, which partly rely on Palestinian resistance, are what sustain the Israeli economy and place it in a hegemonic position within the capitalist world system. Israel exports the occupation of Palestine across the world market in order to sustain its military strength and further its economic development. Halper (2015) suggests that this is the primary reason that BRICS/MINT (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey) have recently curtailed their condemnation of

Israel's continual violation of international law through its occupation of Palestine. Halper, amply demonstrates how the global economy has allowed Israel to approach its conflict with Palestine as part of the necessary costs required in the production process, but omits any analysis on what this has meant for Palestinians. How are Palestinians invoked in the economic development of Israel's military-industrial complex? Have they been coopted into the production process as labourers? Or are they simply, unwilling test subjects on the manufacturing line of Israeli security commodities?

As we shall see, Palestinian resistance plays a peculiar role in the development of security commodities. Armed conflict provides favourable conditions for Israel to test and advertise its military hardware to the global market. Regardless of whether or not individual Palestinians can be placed under categories of "productive" or "unproductive" labourer, it is much clearer to see how the overall condition of occupation has been fashioned into a productive enterprise.

The next chapter demonstrates how Canada has situated itself alongside the interests of Israel and is a significant beneficiary of Israel's occupation of, and conflict with Palestine. This has led to the development of important material relationships between Canada and Israel that operate as the basis from which Canada positioned itself with Israel on the 2014 Gaza War. Canada's stance has not always been so unsympathetic to the Palestinian people, but it has always been in favour of Israel. But this armed conflict erupted at a peculiar time; only months after Canada had signed several agreements with Israel including the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement and the Canada-Israel Strategic Partnership. This conflict put Canada's commitment to Israel to the test. A closer analysis of this relationship will provide the backdrop for an

interpretation of Canada's position on Palestine and, in particular, a more concise understanding of its position on the Israel's war crimes during the 2014 Gaza War.

3 Chapter: A Brief History of the Canada-Israel Connection

This chapter summarizes the historical development of Israel's policing apparatus and Canada's relationship to Israel since 1948. Marxian political economy recognizes political affairs in dialectical relation to economic matters – i.e. the relationship between power and capital – as well as literature on Canada's relationship to Israel. Canada's position on the Israel-Palestine conflict is often understood in terms of the Canadian Christian-Zionist connection, mutually shared liberal-democratic values, or U.S. influence over Canadian foreign policy. These types of analyses, while helpful in fully contextualizing Canada's position, have almost entirely excluded an explanation accounting for the material relations between Canada and Israel. This chapter therefore discusses the literature that has focused on Canada's relationship to Israel through a materialist lens that emphasises relations of political economy. This is done by analyzing linkages between Canada-Israel security relations in conjunction with Canada's position on the question of Palestine.

3.1 Canada-Israel and the Colonization of Palestine

Theodor Herzl, most often recognized as the founding father of Zionism, advocated for the establishment of the nation of Israel in response to the pandemic of anti-Semitism that saturated most of the North American, European and Russian social landscape. Zionism offered a radical solution to the persecution (and Nazi-induced genocide) that Jews were facing across Europe (Jewish Virtual Library, 2017a). The idea of a Jewish nation and Jewish state were seen by many as not only practical but also somewhat of a romantic idea. Jews could return to the “homeland” of Israel and share in a collective sense of solidarity based on Jewish identity and values.

Christian Zionists supported the prospects of a Jewish state for religious reasons, but also as a

solution to the so-called “Jewish question”¹⁴ as it existed within Europe and North America. Indeed, the subtitle of Herzl’s *The Jewish State*, reads: “An attempt at a modern solution to the Jewish question.” By the 20th century, the prominence of anti-Semitism became more widespread, and the idea of a Jewish state began to have a major influence on the policies of North America, Europe and Russia (Engler 2010).

Despite the common attribution of the origins of the Zionist project to Herzl in 1890, as early as 1875 several Canadian Christians crusaded for Jewish “resettlement” in Palestine. In fact, Yves Engler (2010) presents historical evidence that Zionists roots in Canada are Christian, not Jewish. Although Canada did not develop autonomy from British foreign policy until 1931, Canadian support for a Jewish State was vigorous from the beginning. The Canadian government was motivated to support the establishment of a Jewish homeland; Prime Minister Robert Borden even participated in a 1918 British Imperial War Cabinet, where the fate of both the state of Israel and the Palestinian Arabs were discussed and planned. Enthusiastic support for the State of Israel was largely in response to prevailing anti-Semitic sentiment across Canada. The Canadian government, and even Jewish-Canadian lobbies, recognized that Palestine could be a safe haven for Jews, and a suitable solution to the so called Jewish question in Canada (Engler, 2010).

By 1897, a year after Herzl published his manifesto: *The State of the Jews*, Zionist organizations had been established across Canada in several major cities including Hamilton, Kingston, Montreal, Ottawa, Quebec and Winnipeg (Engler, 2010). Canadian politicians and media began to take an increasingly favourable stance on the establishment of a Jewish state which, in 1917, unfolded as a political project with the famous Balfour Declaration which reads

¹⁴ This was a popular phrase used in the 19th-20th century regarding the disparate political and civil status of Jews in European society.

(in its entirety):

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet. His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation. (Jewish Virtual Library, 2017b).

This letter from Arthur Balfour to Lord Rothschild was significant because it was the first time that the British Empire acknowledged the need - and declared an intent - to establish a Jewish state. Balfour was so committed to the realization of a Jewish state that his concerns for the rights of Palestinians soon became subordinated to the Zionist cause:

In Palestine, we do not propose to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country...Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, future hopes, or far profounder import than the desire and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land (Said, 2003, p.216).

This perspective, however unfitting to Palestinians, was widely shared across the European and Canadian political landscape.

Prospects for a Jewish state in Palestine invoked support by the U.S., Canada, and the rest of the British Empire for a number of reasons. First, the Jewish question revolving around

anti-Semitism and unequal treatment of Jews in Europe and North America would be resolved through the migration of Jews into the Middle East. Second, the value of having a “friendly people, who would act as a buffer state, protecting the Suez Canal, India, [and] Egypt” was widely agreed upon (Kenneth, 2006, p.148). Third, the idea of colonizing a “backward” population in pursuit of establishing a liberal-democratic capitalist society was nothing new to the British Empire (including Canada) and the US, who had plenty of experience building their own economies through the displacement and exploitation of indigenous populations. Zionists groups capitalized on Canadian anti-Semitism in the post-war years, by lobbying Prime Minister Mackenzie King that “Palestine could accommodate many of the Jews who might want to come to Canada” (Tulchinsky, 2008, p.358). Anti-Semitic sentiment gained traction in guiding immigration policy in Canada as well as Europe and Russia. The urgency for the establishment of a Jewish state was fostered across the globe as World War II, fascism, and the Holocaust fostered a hostile sentiment towards Jews across the world (Findley & Rothney, 2011).

An ironic mix of Zionism and anti-Semitism propelled the idea of a Jewish State onto the world stage with tremendous popularity during this period. Suggestions of a Jewish state in Palestine were gaining greater support across Europe and North America, but the Jewish population of Palestine remained a minority with only 4% of the population in 1900, and around 10% by 1917. However, Hitler’s rise to power prompted a wave of Jewish migration into Palestine which increased the Jewish population to roughly 30% by 1938. The “final solution” to the Jewish question that materialized in Germany in the form of the Holocaust created a great sense of urgency for European Jews to flee Europe. While millions were systematically massacred in the Nazi Holocaust, Canada had only allowed 5,000 Jewish refugees to seek asylum from 1933-1945 despite desperate Jewish-Canadian efforts to reverse this immigration

policy (Engler, 2010). Essentially, the Canadian government through its “one is too many” policy, deflected potential Jewish refugees into Palestine by intensifying its support for the immediate establishment of a Jewish state (Engler, 2010, p.27). This hypocrisy was detected by non-European nations such as Pakistan who criticized that

Those who talk of humanitarian principles, and can afford to do most, have done the least at their own expense to alleviate [the Jewish refugee crisis]. But they are ready – indeed they are anxious – to be most generous at the expense of the Arab (Engler, 2010, 28).

After the war and the liberation of the death camps, Britain had the task of rebuilding its economic infrastructure and, most importantly, handing the torch of Empire to the United States. Shortly after this critical period of world history, the Jewish mandate was passed from the League of Nations to the newly established UN. The establishment of Israel in 1948 took place alongside a medley of new initiatives and institutions intended to manage international relations according to the interests of the global core - particularly the US (Rothney et al., 2011). Canada was proud to be among the first to recognize the legitimacy of the State of Israel almost immediately after the UN partition plan, dividing Palestine into two equally sized but qualitatively distinct land masses.

In order for Israel to establish itself as a Jewish state, it needed a Jewish majority population. This required a large effort on behalf of Israeli supporters in the international community to aid in, not only the facilitation of Jewish immigration, but also the displacement of Palestinian Arabs from the newly established territory of Israel. In response to this colonizing project and radical restructuring of Palestine, surrounding Arab countries intervened immediately, sparking the first Intifada or (as Israelis know it), the War of Independence.

Canadian organizations, with help from their government, actively engaged in the pacification of Palestine through moral and material aid in support of Israel. “Canadian radio sets and other radio equipment became the backbone of Israel’s military communication network” (Bercuson, 1993, p.48). Israel also received military equipment which Canadians had smuggled to Haganah (later renamed Israeli Defence Forces) by renaming cargo containers. For example, flame throwers were labelled as “insecticide sprayers” (Engler, 2010, p.32). Israel also sought recruitment of Jewish Canadians to help fight for Israeli independence. During the Spanish Civil War, Canada outlawed recruitment and enrolment in foreign wars, but relaxed this law during the 1948 war and allowed many Canadians to join Israel’s struggle. Israel aimed to recruit Jews (and to a lesser extent, non-Jews) into the Israeli forces, several of whom came from Canada (Engler, 2010). This was unusual considering Israeli identity was not yet tied to a nation-state, but directly to Jewish identity. In fact, Montreal’s Sydney Shulemson, who served along with at least 52 other Canadians in the Israeli Air Force, is known as “the most decorated Jewish serviceman in Canada,” and honourably recognized as the “father of the Israeli air force” (Bercuson, 1993, p.155).

During the War of Independence (1947-1949), the IDF was “a hastily cobbled together, understaffed, under armed, and ill-equipped army” (IDF, 2015a). During this war, the Israeli troops were sorely lacking in military might, but had the numbers and determination to fight the hostilities that surrounded them. This task was made easier in light of the fact that the Arab attack was poorly coordinated and opposed by international authorities such as the newly established UN. This combination resulted in a proud victory for the Jewish people which marked the establishment of Israeli Independence Day, or what Palestinians refer to as Nakba (day of catastrophe). The success of Israel’s conquest of Palestine rested on international support

from countries like Canada which played an active role in providing armaments as well as personnel to fight alongside the IDF. It was also largely due to its opponents' highly-unorganized and uncoordinated attacks (Engler, 2010). The conclusion of the war was bittersweet for Israel, as triumph was only made possible through much devastation to the Israeli forces as "Israel had lost some four thousand of its fighters and more than two thousand civilians – a staggering total that amounted to more than ten percent of the young country's population at the start of the war" (IDF, 2015a). This marked the beginning of a widespread realization that Israel's existence depended on a strong, well-structured, and disciplined defence force.

3.2 The Expansion of Israel's Military-Industrial Complex

Several years after its independence, Israel found itself in another war with its neighbors but this time, victory was much quicker for Israel. The Suez Crisis, also known as the Sinai War in 1956, began after Egypt took control over the Suez Canal thereby blocking a critical means of trade for Israel. In response, the IDF launched an operation which decisively took control over the whole Sinai Peninsula in approximately 100 hours. Although Israel suffered 171 casualties, it was the first of many operations in which Israel would prove its superior military capabilities (IDF, 2015b). This experience also solidified Israel's realization of how deeply its economic development depended on a strong national defence apparatus.

Prior to its transition onto the world stage as a core nation in the 1960's, Israel remained a highly state-centric political economy, characterized by a large, bureaucratic, and interventionist model of governance (Nitzan et al. 2002). Centralized state power was necessary for Israel's initial survival as the Israeli economy was not nearly developed enough to create the necessary technologies for national defence. As the global economy became liberalized from trade barriers and technological limitations, Israel also adapted into the neoliberal framework of the world

system. This shift had major impact on Israel in regards to how it negotiated and managed its relationship with its security concerns and the pressures from the larger global market. The neoliberalization of the Israeli economy adapted to the pressures of global financial capital, as well as regional conflict by conflating the goals of each and allowing conflict to become conducive to the flow of global capital. The liberalization of Israeli development, trade, and finance thus became compatible with the on-going conflict that has played such a crucial role in the historical development of Israel's political economy (Nitzan et al., 2002).

By 1967, Israeli ambitions to expand territorially increased alongside technological sophistication of the IDF. While being attacked simultaneously from Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Iran and Jordan, Israel was able to defend itself and expand its borders to encompass the entire Sinai Peninsula thereby tripling its size. For Israel, this war was yet another opportunity for it to prove itself as a militarily superior nation. The 1979 Camp David Accords required Israel to relinquish control of the occupied Egyptian territories in return for a peace agreement. However, a similar approach was not taken with the Palestinian territories that remained occupied indefinitely (IDF, 2015c). By this time, Israel had a fully developed military that was made possible by a mature industrial sector which could serve the needs of the IDF as well as the demand of domestic markets. Israeli citizens were able to enjoy the benefits of mass production and widespread market distribution of goods instead of relying on state rations. This also signalled the fact that Israeli markets had become saturated to the point of preventing capital expansion - a common problem other core nations across the world were facing. The popularization of free trade, global markets, and capital liberalization enabled Israel to increase production for the global export market alongside military-industrial expansion (Rivlin, 2011). In the process of this endeavour, political and business interests made a concerted effort to align the interests of the private sector

with those of the state's need for national security (Nitzan et al, 2002). The structures and incentives that positively reinforce the distribution of monetary reward are realized through the sale of armaments and other warfare technologies. Therefore, private companies that manufacture policing apparatuses came to have a direct interest in bolstering perpetual conflict (Nitzan et al., 2002).

Through the course of Israel's history, the development of its economy has always needed to account for the imperative of a strong national defence apparatus. The Israel-Palestine conflict has been a consistent point of destabilization within the Middle East since 1948. The development of institutional mechanisms which incentivise armed conflict and distribute material benefits to those involved in the perpetuation of warfare function as practical structural adaptations of the Israeli economy in dealing with the reoccurring problems it faces in being surrounded by hostile neighbors. The cooptation of national security into the realm of enterprise offers an efficient and pragmatic solution for the Israeli government. However, it also fosters and perpetuates an institutional inertia in sectors that rely on the continuation of conflict as a means of maintaining the survival of the armaments industry. Furthermore, these industries are not immune to the capitalist system's general tendency toward market expansion and growth. These industries, like any other, must remain competitive within Israel as well as on the global market in order to survive. This became particularly pronounced during the period from the 1970's to the 1990's, as Israel's military-industrial complex integrated itself into global markets of free trade and financial capital (Nitzan et al., 2002).

Up to the 1990s, Israel was widely regarded as an exceptional case with limits of development set by the mandate to secure its nation from foreign attack. It was understood that this left Israel with a 'no-choice' ideology based on pragmatic solutions via state intervention

into social and economic affairs. Israeli statism was understood as the default form of governance appropriate to manage the economic function of the economy, not only through defence spending, but also through spending on social programs. However, the statist model of governance came under attack in the 1980s by free market ideologues who argued that Israel could liberalize its economy by embracing the Washington consensus of privatization, deregulation, and curtailments of social spending. This marked a significant transition because the old consensus of Zionism had become subordinate to the Washington consensus which put laissez-faire considerations at the forefront of Israeli policy (Nitzan et al., 2002).

Israel cultivated a wide-range of sophisticated technologies used for national defence that continuously pressed the boundaries of technological capabilities. This enabled greater technological advancements at the point of production, allowing Israel to increase the ratio of constant capital to variable capital required in the production process. This culminated in the development of a widespread high-tech sector, particularly in the information and communications technologies industries. Israel's military-industrial complex was refined by a direct pipeline of resources from the high tech industry to military. Furthermore, a 'revolving door' between the defence industry and IDF personnel developed such that the two institutions are hardly separable. As Rivlin (2011) elaborates:

Defence industries have either been run by the government directly or by former army officers or reservists whose outlook, ideology, and motivation were affected by their army service. The size and preponderance of the military sector also means that many of the decisions in the economy are made as a result of military rather than economic considerations or, at most, economic factors being only one of the deciding criteria. Many

important decisions affecting the economy are made within the confines of the defence establishment (p.138).

This allowed Israel to continually modernize its military capabilities, and export various security commodities such as computing equipment, electronic components, aircraft, electronic communication equipment, control and supervision mechanism and various surveillance equipment across the world (Nitzan et al., 2002; Rivlin, 2011, p.100).

These developments in Israel's high-tech industry were intimately connected with, and in many respects originated from, Israel's need to develop a strong national security apparatus. The imperative for Israel to simply exist was more than sufficient motivation for the state to become willing to fund experimental Research and Development (R&D) orientated towards the improvement of a stronger security state. The 1985 Law for the Encouragement of Industrial Research and Development was a key piece of legislature aimed at cultivating scientific-based export-oriented industries, and played a significant role in advancing Israel's position within the world-system by helping channelling billions of dollars into the private coffers of the defence industry (Kilibrada, 2008). This fostered a connection between Israeli industry and defence that permeated all sectors of the economy and reconfigured circuits of capital accumulation across Israel. It gave the defence industry a substantial amount of political clout when it came to national security and granted the IDF commercial power. Again, Rivlin (2011), highlights this point:

The IDF provided a large market for [security] products and was able to impose high standards and test products. Its use of these items in war became an important sales feature in export markets. An example of this was the decision by a foreign customer to

purchase whichever of the two Israeli-produced drones that the IDF decided to purchase (p.132).

This was partly made possible by the substantial amount of government subsidies through the R&D provision that covered up to 50% of R&D for established companies in the high-tech industry, and also offered up to 60% of the start-up costs for aspiring entrepreneurs to establish new enterprise (Rivlin, 2011). By 1994, Canada and Israel began to collaborate in R&D with the establishment of the Canada-Israel Industrial Research and Development Foundation (CIIRDF) which brought Canadian and Israeli governments together in promoting collaborations between their nations' respective industries. It was further facilitated by the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement in 1997 (Engler, 2010). This led to Israel becoming Canada's fastest growing trade partner in the Middle Eastern region which helped foster closer industrial ties between industries. Since then, a number of Canadian defense-industrial firms have been involved in the production of components designed for security commodities to be used by the IDF including: ATI Technologies; BAE Systems Canada Inc.; Bristol Aerospace; CAE Electronics; Canadian Commercial Corp; Cercast; CMC Electronics; Derlan Aerospace Canada; Litton Canada; Magellan Aerospace; Northrop Gruman; Northstar Aerospace; Virtual Prototypes Inc.; CAE; Canadian Marconi Co; Dowty Canada Ltd.; Hypernetics Limited; Northrop Grumman, Canadian Operations; Lucas Industries Canada; Rolls Royce (Canada); Allied Signal Aerospace Canada; Atlantis Systems International; AWSM Enterprises (Division of Avcorp Industries); Bomem Inc.; Canadair; Canadian Commercial Corp; CMC Electronics Inc. (formerly Canadian Marconi Company); Devtek Corp; Durmitor Inc.; DY 4; ELCAN Optical Technologies; Fleet Industries; Garrett Manufacturing; Haley Industries; Honeywell ASCA Inc.; Hypernetics Ltd; Magellan Aerospace; Northrop Gruman, Canadian Operations; Rockwell International of Canada; Virtual

Prototypes Inc.; West Heights Manufacturing (Kilibrada, 2008).

These types of industrial defence agreements on trade and collaboration had even greater significance at the beginning of the 21st century with Canada's role in the war on terror. Interestingly, increased collaboration between Canada and Israel seems to have aligned much more closely with shifts in the emergence of so-called global terrorism. This correlation is significant because it could suggest a number of things. Did Canada sign its free trade agreement with Israel in response to failed peace negotiations at Oslo in 1993? Did Canada begin to strengthen its ties to Israel in response to the 2000 Intifada? Or the War on Terror? Or Hamas' rise to power? If increased cooperation between Canada and Israel was in response to any of these events, then it was the Liberal government of Canada, and not the Conservatives, that began to strengthen this bilateral relationship.

4 Chapter: Israel and the New Canadian Foreign Policy

Previous chapters have established the theoretical lens for analyzing Canada's material relationships as well as outlined a brief history of the relationship between Canada and Israel, providing a suitable context to locate findings. In order to situate this thesis within a historical framework, a brief outline of the Canada-Israel connection has also been presented. Together, these have provide the historical and theoretical groundwork of Israel's military-industrial complex and Canada's proximity to it. The following chapter further builds analytical connections between Canada, Israel, Palestine, and the world-system, and locates Canada's relationship to Israel and Palestine within the context of the global political economy. It is focused on the political relations that have unfolded under the Harper government, particularly during the year 2014. This year was given significant attention since it was the year that the 2014 Gaza War broke out against a backdrop of increased relations between Canada and Israel. In the 21st century Canada remains a close partner with Israel, collaborating in the high-tech industry with a particular focus on military applications. Prior to September 11, 2001 and the subsequent war on terror that commenced shortly thereafter, Canada had little interest in developing a strong military-industrial complex. This changed when the Liberal government agreed to aid the U.S. and the North Atlantic Treatise Organization (NATO) on a military campaign in Afghanistan starting in 2003. The war on terror prompted the need for Canada to make a crucial decision: to either maintain its identity as a so-called peace-keeping nation or to join the ranks of Empire and employ policing pacification strategies across the global periphery in an effort to secure hegemony. In opting for the latter, the Canadian military stepped up its role in the war on terror when it agreed to lead a campaign in Kabul, strategically aiding U.S. troops in fulfilling imperialist resource ambitions (Klassen, 2014). During this time, Canada was also involved in

establishing a secret base in the United Arab Emirates, expanding naval operations across the Arabian Sea, the Caribbean, the Horn of Africa, the Arctic, the Pacific Rim and the Persian Gulf, and even sent troops to Haiti on two occasions - one of which was to aid in a right-wing coup d'état against an elected president. The emergence of this disciplinary military doctrine coincided with key policy changes on Canada's position on the Israel-Palestine conflict (Klassen, 2014). According to Klassen (2014) this effort has characterized Canadian foreign policy and led it to strengthen its support for Israel. Klassen (2014) characterizes the "New Canadian Foreign Policy" (NCFP) under four general tendencies: bridging economic and military interests; increased ties with the global core; a shift towards disciplinary militarism; and capitalizing on disasters. These four tendencies will be further outlined under the next four headings.

4.1. Bridging Economic and Military Interests

The NCFP, as Klassen (2014) describes, bridges economic and military interests by actively engaging in neoliberal market enforcement. Since the beginning of the so-called war on terror Canada has aided US forces in conducting military operations in Haiti (2004, 2010), Afghanistan (2001-2014), and Libya (2011) to achieve neoliberal reforms. This shift was seen during an upsurge in Canadian wealth in the corporate sector. According to Klassen (2014), in Canada this neoliberal phase was characterized by deregulation and privatization, leading to the emergence of a new capitalist class formation. This wealthy class became increasingly class conscious and cooperative in advancing common interest through the expansion of its bloc of corporate power into circuits of global capital through military force (Klassen, 2014).

Canada's commitment to fighting in the war on terror prompted the need for Canada to strengthen its military. Part of this process involved strengthening Canada's military industrial-complex and situating itself among the global core of the world system. In 2004, the Canadian

Association of Defence and Security Industries, funded largely by government grants, hosted a Canada Israel Partnering mission to “advance industrial partnerships between Canadian and Israeli companies” (Engler, 2010, p.60). This event brought together a number of top Canadian bureaucrats as well as leading weapons manufacturers who, after presenting at the conference, held one-on-ones with their Canadian counterparts. The goal of this conference was realized when B.C.-based MacDonald Dettweller collaborated efforts with Israeli Aerospace Industries on developing unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) technology. Around the same time, Toronto-based A.U.G. Signals created a partnership with Israel’s InfoWrap Systems “to develop intelligent video software for an integrated surveillance system...the first to enable reliable, automatic outdoor moving object identification, even during night” (Engler, 2010, p.60).

During Israel’s 2006 War in Lebanon, some journalists pointed out that the technologies being used to kill civilians and bomb critical infrastructure were either produced or financed by Canadian tax-payers. The infrared technologies that were used for bombing were produced in Canada, and the Canadian Pension Fund held investments in Boeing and Lockheed Martin, two U.S. weapon-manufacturers. According to a 2009 report by Coalition to Oppose the Arms Trade (COAT), more than 140 Canadian firms in the weapons-manufacturing industry export armaments to Israel. Leaders in this industry include companies such as Nortel, Bombardier, Frontline Robotics, MDA, and Mawashi Corp. For example, Israel enlisted the services of Elbit Systems, to aid in the installation of surveillance along Israel’s apartheid wall. The website for Canadian-owned Althone Global Security (AGS) boasts that it “capitalizes on Israel’s robust [security] sector by systematically analyzing the most promising new technologies and selecting potential investments based on strict criteria of technological soundness, market potential, and management quality” (Engler, 2010, p.61). Among AGS’s board of directors is former IDF Maj.

Gen. Doron, among others, who come from official positions within the Canadian as well as U.S. military.

As of 2007, trade volumes between Canada and Israel amounted to approximately \$1.39 billion; and by 2014 increased to \$1.5 billion (Embassy of Canada to Israel, 2016). This was bolstered by increased levels of bilateral foreign direct investment and partnerships forged in the ‘homeland security’ and defense-industrial sectors. Canada and Israel have also embarked on collaborative efforts in rooting out global terrorism. Canada’s relationship to Israel has been covert in this regard. In the 21st century, bolstered by the war on terrorism, Canadian Security Intelligence Services (CSIS) and Communications Security Establishment Canada (CSEC) have forged close ties with Israel’s intelligence agency Mossad, monitoring groups that may hold positive sentiments towards Palestinians. Surveillance has focused on political activists and Iranian students within Canada. Mossad has also provided Canadian Border Security Agency (CBSA) with intelligence that may aid in the screening process of suspected terrorists who wish to take advantage of Canada’s liberal immigration policies. This arrangement has been active for many years now. In the past Canada has provided Israel with faux Canadian passports for Israelis to travel under the guise of Canadian citizenship. In 1997, Israel was caught carrying out an assassination attempt on Hamas’ Jordanian Branch Chief using Canadian passports. Canada was identified as one of the implicated nation-states. Canada’s then Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy briefly postured a display of public outrage before returning Canada-Israel relations back to normal (Engler, 2010).

In short, Canada’s military has become suitably equipped in pacifying the resistance it faces in joining the global core. The NCFP reflects an ambition on behalf of Canada to situate itself among the top echelons of states involved in the class-based effort of fabricating global

capitalism. In 2008 this sentiment was expressed by Canadian Forces Chief of Defence Staff, Rick Hillier who boasted that “we’re not trying to be one of the big boys, we are one of the big boys” (Klassen, 2014, p.220).

4.2 Increased Ties Among the Global Core

The NCFP reflects Canada’s ambition to join Empire through a deep integration with global power, requiring a dependency on military-style policing techniques and technologies.

Consequently, Canada has turned to Israel for support to grow its military capabilities and capacities. In the spring of 2005, Canada invited the Israeli Air force to join in NATO’s (of which Israel is not a member) annual “war games” exercise. Israeli sent a 150 member crew to take advantage of the opportunity to train in Canada’s large airspace. Canada’s treatment of Israel as a fellow British colony is well established in informing Canada’s policy towards Israel (Halper, 2015). Israeli enthusiasm for the invitation was expressed by Lieutenant Sonia Connok, who explained that “Israel arrived two weeks early and is staying a few extra weeks to take advantage of Cold Lake Air Weapons Range, one of the world’s largest unrestricted air spaces” (Engler, 2010, p.59). Some Journalists saw that this invitation was more than a gesture of good political will, and noted the implications this relationship has on Palestinians. John Elmer drew parallels with Britain’s use of the same air space: “Good night Battle of Britain, Good Morning Gaza” (Engler, 2010, p.59).

There are also less conventional ways Canada supports Israel’s military. During the 2006 War in Lebanon, Canadian Jewish News reported that “youths leave home to join Israeli army” (Engler, 2010, p.62), and during the 2008 assault on Gaza at least 25 Canadians from the Greater Toronto Area left home to join Israeli forces. While it is technically illegal for foreign armies to recruit soldiers from Canada, the Canadian government took a blind stance when Canadian

Zionist groups advocated for Jewish Canadians to join the Israeli military as civilian volunteers. Various Canadian charities support funds such as the Fund for Strengthening Israeli Defense which provide material and financial support to the IDF. However, while it may be illegal for Canadians to provide material or financial support to Palestinians, former British MP George Galloway was barred from entering Canada on grounds that he was providing financial support to Hamas, the Palestinian government of Gaza which the Canadian government identifies as a terrorist group (Engler, 2010, p.52; Public Safety Canada, 2016).

Perhaps the most significant instance of Canada and Israel joining efforts to support each other's economies and militaries was through the signing of the Canada-Israel Strategic Partnership. The Canada-Israel Strategic Partnership is a Memorandum of Understanding that was signed between Global Affairs Canada (GAC) and Israel seven months prior to the 2014 Gaza War. It is a pivotal document because it represents the start of an accelerating integration of economic and security relations between these two states. The opening sentence of the memorandum states that it is based on an understanding that the security of Israel and the wider region directly affects the security of Canada. It states that it is necessary to forge closer relations with Israel through diplomatic partnerships; trade relations; government-to-government meetings; conferences; summits; development of solutions to regional issues; providing emergency assistance; conducting annual research dialogues; collaborating on developmental projects; strengthening institutional linkages; promoting science, culture, academics, and sport; and most importantly, forging closer trade and security relations (GAC, 2014). This document is significant because it was the first to develop the broad groundwork from which former Foreign Minister John Baird and former Minister of Transport Lisa Raitt would forge closer ties with Israel in more specific language in 2015 including the: Canada- Israel Joint Declaration of

Solidarity and Friendship; Memorandum of Understanding – An Enduring Diplomatic Partnership; Memorandum of Understanding Regarding Public Diplomacy Cooperation; Declaration of Intent between Canada and Israel on Enhancing Trade Promotion; Addition of Israel to the Automatic Firearms Country Control List; Grand Challenges Israel (GCI); Air Transport Agreement; Declaration of Intent on Aviation Security; and Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in the Field of Transportation.¹⁵ Of the 3026 words within the MOU, 1073 are under the heading of “Defence and Security” and 706 are under “Economic prosperity.” In other words, one-third of the commitment of this memorandum is aimed at tighter security relations and to a lesser extent commerce and trade between these two nations.

Under the “Defence and Security” heading the memorandum states that Canada and Israel will base the scope of their activities for this deeper defence and security relationship on the following seven themes: 1) increased security discussions between ministries and departments; 2) forging broader defence relations; 3) strengthening counter-terrorism collaboration; 4) advancing regional security and Middle East peace; 5) enhancing public safety and emergency preparedness; 6) forging cyber-security ties; and 7) improving aviation security. In order for Canada and Israel to gain a “common understanding of the threats they are facing” they outline the basic strategy for creating a “strong and open security and defence relationship” (GAC, 2014, p.1) In order to create closer ties, the MOU states that Canada’s military will have more regular contact with the IDF and “maintain military attaché offices” in Israel to help “establish a high-level military-to-military working group” and regular “joint training opportunities” with “special operation forces” (GAC, 2014, p.1). This would require a substantial financial obligation to “increase Research and Development (R&D), defence material

¹⁵ Information on these agreements was rendered from ATIP request A-2015-00555

cooperation, and defence procurement opportunities.” Other agreements that were taken into consideration with the signing of the strategic partnership include: the Canada-Israel Free Trade Agreement signed in 1997 and expanded in 2011; the Canada Space Agency-Israeli Space Agency MOU in 2005; the Canada-Israel Agreement on Industrial Research and Development, signed in 2006 and expanded in 2011; an MOU on Defence and Security Cooperation in 2011; the Canada-Israel Agreement on Energy Cooperation in 2012.¹⁶

Overall, the Strategic Partnership encapsulates the effort on behalf of Canada to forge deeper military industrial ties with Israel to “counter terrorism, cybercrime, and promote security” (GAC, 2014, p.1) It says this will be accomplished by: enhancing intelligence sharing; the exchange of best practices and lessons learned; and the development and delivery of joint projects to “improve the safety and security of their citizens” (GAC, 2014, p.1) The document’s “Security and Defence” section ends with a review of how Canada and Israel may improve aviation security – “in particular strengthening the security of Canadian and Israeli airline passengers and air cargo” (GAC, 2014, p.1). The goals of the memorandum are far-reaching and ambitious, which may in fact, be a reflection of the tight relationship and deep trust Israel holds with Canada and vice versa. Canada appears to place much certainty in the prospect that Israel, a non-NATO member, has common interests with Canada and is engaged in combating a common foe. After all, the memorandum states that it seeks to “enhance intelligence sharing,” reflecting a definitive degree of trust between these two states (GAC, 2014, p.1). This memorandum has allowed for the integration of Canadian and Israeli military and security relations to flourish into each other deeply.

¹⁶ A-2015-00555

4.3 Disciplinary Militarism

The NCFP marks a shift away from the traditional role of Canada as a peacekeeping nation into a role more akin to the U.S. style of disciplinary militarism towards the global periphery. This endeavour came at a great cost to the human rights and overall well-being of a large portion of the Afghan population. But the Canadian government's attitude towards human rights in the global periphery is casual. According to Klassen (2014) Canada recognized that criminals and warlords could function as assets in fulfilling imperialist goals, and in more than a few cases appointed them to key positions within this particular pacification project. The Canadian Armed Forces also sunk below the level of observing human rights, or so-called "just war" laws against suspected Afghan insurgents by indiscriminately murdering civilians. Corporal Paul Demetrick recounts such atrocities committed by the Canadian Forces:

we respond[ed] to hostile fire by indiscriminately bombing and shelling of villages, killing innocent men, women and children; we fire[d] white phosphorus (a chemical weapon outlawed by the Geneva Conventions due to the horrific way it burns human beings) into vineyards where it was known Afghan insurgents were deployed; we hand[ed] over prisoners of war to Afghan authorities, who torture[d] them; and we [shot] and kill[ed] a two-year-old Afghan boy and his 4-year-old sister (Klassen, 2014, p.231).

The list of Canadian violence against the people of Afghanistan during its occupation is too long to list here, but what these crimes indicate is a much more pro-active effort on behalf of the Canadian government to advance their interests through increasingly repressive means. The occupation, war crimes, and questionable organization of military strategy fits into a larger narrative of pacification of the Afghan people.

In the context of the systemic crisis of capitalism,¹⁷ the global capitalist class has become increasingly concerned with securing domestic private property relations as well. The effects of global capitalism on class polarization and formation have not only generated greater power in the hands of the global elite, but have also charged the international working class with a greater motivation towards rebellion. The Canadian capitalist class is therefore not only concerned with pacifying foreign nations, but also concerned with keeping its domestic population pacified as well. As noted earlier, John Baird has been instrumental in signifying Canada's attitude towards Palestine on his trip to East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, where expressed the urge to "set a precedent" by travelling to these region. These behaviours, reflective of Canada's historic colonial attitude, signify the persistence of a sentiment that is as old as Canada itself. Canada was founded as a settler-colonial state and, like Israel but not to the same degree, faces resistance from its indigenous population. Indigenous resistance in Canada, is among one of the many forms of anti-capitalist resistance in Canadian society. The analytical connection between Canada's resisting population and the resistance of Palestinians cannot be overlooked here. As Canadian policing becomes "Israelified," resistance movements become "Palestinianized" (Halper, 2015). Canada has a rich history of Indigenous, environmentalist, and other direct-action activist groups who struggle against capitalism's colonization of the planet; its resources and its people. The Canadian capitalist class has therefore struggled to legitimize its militarized policing efforts in pacifying its domestic populations as well. One of the ways this has been accomplished was through redefining "activism" and conflicting its definition with terrorism.

¹⁷ Systemic crises of accumulation occur by virtue of the tendency for rates of profit fall in order to sustain overall profit growth through the sale of commodities to a consumer base that is increasingly unable to afford the purchase of said commodities (Marx, 1993; Robinson, 2013). The systemic crisis of capitalism is becoming increasingly evident with the vast polarization of wealth on a global scale.

In 2006, the newly elected Harper government accelerated support for Israel and started to reinvigorate its domestic policing apparatus as well. As of 2006, Canada's law-and-order approach to sociological issues has resulted in an expanding prison population and underwent a repressive means of maintaining social order. The Vancouver Olympic Games and Toronto G20 Summit were two mega events that bolstered the power of policing agencies such as the RCMP, local police, CSIS, CSEC, and the Canadian Armed Forces to combat terrorist threats. During these events, Canadian policing agencies were restructured in a more integrated fashion to share the spread of signal intelligence (SIGINTEL) i.e. communications, and human intelligence (HUMINTEL), by forming "Integrated Security Unit's" (ISU). Under the official mandate of the RCMP, the ISU for the 2010 Vancouver Olympics was comprised of roughly 15,500 police from 120 Canadian police and law enforcement agencies. These systems of intelligence sharing between policing agencies operates in accordance with a criteria set out by a Threat Assessment Centre (ITAC), which determined the profile of potential terrorists.

Monaghan and Walby (2012) show that ITACs conflated the use of the term "terrorism" and "extremism" in a sweepingly broad manner that includes various types of peaceful demonstrations under the new category of "Multi-Issue Extremism" (MIE). This reconceptualization reflected a shift in perceived threats leading to slippages and inconsistencies of threat categories in ITAC reports. Because of this substantial shift and purposeful slippage of categorization, Multi-Issue Extremism has become the umbrella term under which Al-Qaeda and Greenpeace share a common identity. In Canada, left-wing activist groups involved in direct action methods have become subjected to 'mission creep' and catalogued as extremist groups. Crucially, this paved the way for CSIS to monitor activist groups and infiltrate their organizations under the guise defending the national security of Canada. CSIS views MIEs as

threats to public infrastructure and private property, as well as civilians. Yet none of the groups included within the MIE category have intentionally harmed a civilian. Despite the facts, CSIS conflates the protection of private property with the duty of providing national security (Monaghan et al., 2012).

The policing practices of Canada, and the militarized approach it takes to profiling its domestic population under “terror identities,” reveals how the Canadian police are coming to define its domestic population through the categories of terrorism. It also shows how Canadian policing is conflating activism with terrorism through the wide-sweeping concept of “Multi-Issue Extremism”. This militarization of the RCMP, may signify the impact of Israeli policing techniques and technologies on Canada. For these reasons, Canada, like the rest of the global core, has become increasingly reliant on Israel’s weapons systems. But Canada is not the only one; Israel has elevated itself to the global core by becoming the leading supplier of high-tech security commodities to the world.

4.4 Disaster Capitalism

A major tenet of the NCFP is its ability to capitalize on disasters, such as the Israel-Palestine conflict, in order to secure economic interests. This “disaster capitalism” comes straight from the “shock doctrine” of U.S. Empire, and has been taken up by the Canadian government in establishing a “Grand Strategy” across the global periphery (Klein, 2008; Chomsky, 1989). Canada’s “Grand Area” of capital circuits in the global periphery has been employed to advance the interest of the Canadian elite of the world-systems core (Chomsky, 1989; Klassen, 2014).

On June 13, 2014, a headline in the Guardian news read: “Israel Launches Search around Hebron after Three Teenagers Go Missing” (Beaumont & Lewis, 2014). This IDF operation involved the killing of several Palestinians and widespread arrest and detention, amounting to

what many human rights organizations have identified as “collective punishment” (Jews for Justice for Palestine, 2014; Amnesty International, 2014; B’Tselem, 2014). After widespread search for eleven days the deceased bodies of the three teenage boys were eventually discovered buried in a field (Lappin, 2014). A day after the funeral for the Jewish teens, a group of Israeli settlers abducted a sixteen year-old Palestinian boy from East Jerusalem who was badly beaten and set ablaze while still alive in an act of revenge to the murder of the three Jewish boys (Sharon, 2014). In response, many Palestinians demonstrated in the streets in protest against IDF brutality and collective punishment of Operation Brother’s Keeper. At the same time, Israelis were still grieving the loss of their compatriots. Tensions soon came to a critical juncture as riots intensified on both sides and clashes between Israelis (particularly the IDF) and Palestinians reached a breaking point on July 8, 2014, marking the beginning of armed conflict known as the 2014 Gaza War. Both sides refused to accept each other’s proposed terms for a ceasefire until they felt that their own interests would be secured. Israel wanted to ensure that Hamas was materially unequipped to conduct offensives or have the means to effectively resist the political will of the Israeli state, while Hamas wanted to capitalize on the opportunity to negotiate with Israel as a means through which Palestine may be able to secure political sovereignty and autonomy (Thrall, 2014). In wake of such problematic ceasefire conditions, neither side was willing to compromise, prolonging the war and escalating the destruction of Gaza.

According to Israel, by the time Cairo was able to mediate a ceasefire agreement on August 26, 2014, over 4,500 rockets were fired at Israel from Gaza, while 5,200 “terror targets” in Gaza were destroyed through precision air strikes (State of Israel, 2015). According to the UN, during the period from 8 July until 26 August 2014, 2,251 Palestinians were murdered, 1,462 of which were believed to be civilians, including 551 children. Sixty-six Israeli soldiers and five

civilians, which included one child, were also killed. Overall, 11,231 Palestinians suffered injuries during the course of the conflict. Roughly 1,000 children were left to cope with permanent disabilities for the rest of their lives as a result of their injuries, and also left more than 300,000 children in need of psycho-social support. Furthermore, over 142,000 housing units were impacted by the conflict, of which 9,117 were destroyed beyond repair while 5,417 were severely damaged. The conflict led to a homelessness crisis in Gaza, with almost 500,000 persons displaced in the aftermath of the war. In addition, 118 United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) installations were damaged, including 83 schools and 10 health centres (UNRWA, 2016). The UN also issued a statement that war crimes had been committed by both sides as well as violations of international humanitarian law through the indiscriminate targeting of civilian populations by Hamas, and the precision strikes on schools and hospitals in Gaza by Israel (Human Rights Watch, 2014; B'Tselem, 2014).

While Israel harbours some of the most sophisticated policing technologies in the world, it also harnesses one of the best trained military forces in the world (Halper, 2015). The strength of its military is also due, in part, to Israeli military conscription which dictates a mandatory two to three years of military service from Israeli citizens (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). In contrast to Israel's military might, Hamas has no Navy, no Airforce, and no Army. Although Hamas claimed responsibility for the majority of the rocket attacks on Gaza, Hamas holds an exceptionally limited mandate over the conduct of Palestinian offensives (IMEU, 2009). In short, Israeli forces are highly trained, well-equipped, and immaculately organized while their Palestinian adversaries have a scarcity of resources (military and otherwise) and extremely basic combat training, used and exercised in a highly unorganized and chaotic manner. The result of two disproportionate military powers engaging in combat with one another is, as would be

expected: a massive amount of destruction and death on one side. Unsurprisingly, this has been the fate of the Palestinians throughout most of the history of the conflict and no different in the outcome of the 2014 Gaza War. Israeli military reports refer to “mowing the lawn” across the Gaza strip, with precision air strikes that targeted non-combatants, critical infrastructure, humanitarian posts, as well as rural and urban housing areas (Chomsky, 2014, p.1). The precision that is afforded by Israel’s high-tech policing apparatuses is unsurpassed by any military in the world. The implications of this are identified by Middle Eastern analyst Mouin Rabbani (2014), who argues that if we take seriously Israel’s “continual insistence that it uses the most precise weapons available and chooses its targets carefully, it is impossible to conclude that the targeting [of civilians and critical infrastructure] is not deliberate.” But the exaggerated use of violence Israel employs in pacifying the Palestinians is not unique to the 2014 Gaza War in particular. Various news sources report on IDF murders, kidnappings, evictions, imprisonment, brutalization, destruction of homes, or displacement of Palestinians on a frequent basis. Nevertheless, Canada remains blindly supportive of Israel, despite its violations of international and humanitarian law.

During the 2104 war, much of the international community recognized that the violence between Israel and Gaza was decidedly asymmetrical. The devastating loss of life, the countless images of slain or maimed Palestinian children as well as the sheer destruction of property and infrastructure captured the consciousness of people around the world. The disproportionate use of violence against Palestinians caught global attention and rendered a public outcry for the international community to take action in order to alleviate the suffering of people involved in this war, particularly for Gazans who appeared to be the greatest victims of this conflict (Human Rights Watch, 2014).

Canada is interested in a strong security-industrial relationship with Israeli companies because it is widely recognized that they harness a superior capability in the development of high-tech security commodities via its superior capabilities in high-tech military equipment, high-tech medical equipment, aerospace components, microelectronics, telecommunications, nanotechnology, robotics, cybersecurity, infrastructure, life sciences, and space innovation. Foreign Affairs Trade Development Canada (FATDC) keeps a number of Canadian companies, such as Bombardier, Pratt & Whitney, Bell, CAE, DA-Integrated, and others,¹⁸ in contact for opportunities to collaborate with Israel. Canadian companies are encouraged by FATDC to engage with Israel's \$15 billion defence market (\$7 billion in exports)¹⁹ on collaborative efforts. Canada also keeps a number of Israeli companies such as Elbit Systems, in close contact to advertise the technological projects being carried out in Canadian industry, as well as to facilitate collaboration projects between Israeli and Canadian companies.

Elbit is a major partner of the Canadian government and has also worked with the Canadian Armed Forces and defence industry on a number of collaborative initiatives including but not limited to cybersecurity and communications systems. In recent years, Elbit, an “international defense electronics company” in Israel, partnered with Canadian-based-CAE, a “global leader in training for the civil aviation, defence and security, and healthcare markets” to

¹⁸ The “others” were not included in the documents I had received from FATDC but it did include a list of 24 companies that it keeps in close contact for things like industrial-round table meetings. The “fields of business” of interest to FATDAC were broken down as follows: Defence (6), Unmanned Aerial Systems (4), Unmanned Motor Vehicles (3), SIBAT (Israeli-based defence company) (3), Cyber (2), Robotic Solutions for Defence (1), Electronic Systems (1), Surveillance Systems (1), Intelligent Sensors (1), Explosive Remnants (1), Secondary and Emergency Power (1), Corporate Marketing (1).

¹⁹ A-2014-02129

collaborate on the Integrated Soldier Systems Project (ISSP).²⁰ CAE was partnered with Elbit in Canada to implement this technological project for military application in the Canadian Army. The ISSP was designed to “acquire and support over 4,000 soldier-wearable communication suites, complete with required accessories, support equipment, contract management, training, logistic and engineering support (collectively referred to as the Soldier System)...significantly enhancing the dismounted soldiers situational awareness, generate precise navigation and provide greater synchronization of activities, thus improving their performance and protection” (National Defence and Canadian Armed Forces, 2013). This wearable piece of technology was designed to enhance the battlefield capabilities of soldiers is a contemporary example of an advanced security product on the cutting-edge of modern warfare being developed by Canada and Israel.

Canada is also interested in how Israel is able to apply certain security commodities in its conflicts with Palestine and regional neighbors. There are a number of Canadian owned business who have aided Israel in establishing an apartheid state, including Toronto-based AECON: an engineering company that landed a contract to operate Israel’s highway tolls on the Trans-Israel highway. This highway runs through Israel with connecting roads, and divides Palestinian territory into sections among the West bank. Brampton-based Nortel has also capitalized on the occupation by using the West Bank as a setting for their “Smart City” pilot to

set-up a WLAN ‘mesh network’ allowing the settlement to control wireless surveillance cameras, remotely monitor water meters, and to carryout ‘wireless municipal law enforcement functions’. Nortel considered the Ariel contract ‘a show piece project’ that helped the company emphasize the relevance and reliability of its WLAN ‘mesh

²⁰ A-2014-02129

networks' for both civilian and military applications (Engler, 2010, p.65).

This project is quite literally using the West Banks as a test laboratory for a larger project regarding the militarization of urban spaces (Graham, 2010)

In wake of the 2014 War in Gaza, where Israel tested the durability of its “Iron Dome” for the first time, it was able to make a sales pitch regarding its utility. Canada took note and decided that one of the components of the apparatus – a radar piece used to operate the high-technology surveillance function – was suitable for its own surveillance needs in Afghanistan (Macparland, 2015). Once Israel “tests” the applicability, accuracy, endurance and efficiency of security products, it can make this information known to Canada so that it may consider how to use these techniques and technologies in its own pacification projects. A Globe and Mail report describes the nature of a defense contract won by an Israeli company to assist in the UAV surveillance of Afghanistan:

Early next year, 10,000 metres above Afghanistan, unmanned aerial vehicles carrying surveillance equipment designed by MacDonald Dettwiler and Associates Ltd. will become part of Canada's effort to defeat the Taliban in one of its strongholds, Kandahar province. The flights are part of a two-year \$95-million Department of National Defence contract won last month by MacDonald Dettwiler (MDA) and partner Israel Aerospace Industries Ltd. The deal will also see about 20 MDA employees, 17 stationed at Kandahar airfield, with duties including overseeing takeoff and landing of the aircraft. For MDA, it is the first big breakthrough after five years of work in the burgeoning realm of UAVs (Kilibarda, 2008, p.16-17).

Canada also monitors Israel through news coverage that may provide information of how Canadian security commodities may enhance the IDF's capabilities in pacifying Palestinians. In

a set of circulating FATDC emails, various media articles highlighted the security concerns of the Israeli military during the 2014 Gaza War. In June 2014 (prior to the Gaza war), the IDF launched an attack on a Gazan fisherman's boat at sea. Shortly after this news surfaced and as circulated among FATDC emails, the department sought the information of contacts to potentially export Canada's Submarine Dolphin rescue systems.²¹ Admittedly, it is highly speculative whether or not this was in response to this incident, but the timing between the two coincides closely, and the logic informing the decisions of FATDC seems to be originating from media sources quite frequently.

A clearer example of how FATDC develops strategies of capital accumulation from the pacification of Gaza is in regards to its efforts to match Canadian firms with a contract that provided assistance in locating Hamas' underground tunnels. This contract involved indirectly aiding in the bombing and destruction of "terror tunnels"²² in Gaza. The company Sensors & Software develops products that are used in "underground utility locating concrete inspection, archaeology, geology, as well as search & rescue, forensics and military." This organization was asked "many times" if they could locate the underground tunnels in Gaza. The company added that their product is often used for mining but can also be used for military applications and that they were happy to see Israel was interested because they already had "half a dozen or so customers" Israel and were "looking to expand" their business. FATDC said it was "happy to facilitate" this arrangement.²³

These documents reveal the efforts of on behalf of the Canadian government to forge

²¹ A-2014--02129

²² These are underground tunnels that were purportedly being used by Hamas to smuggle armaments into Gaza. They were understood by Israel to be a critical point in the supply chain of Hamas' military armaments.

²³ A-2014-02129

trade and security relations with Israel while actively participating in the colonization and occupation of Palestine. The correlation between Canada's relationship with Israeli military and high tech industry, and its one-sided support for Israel illuminates a linkage that informs Canada's position on the occupation and overall conflict. FATDC urged for the forging business ties on a continual basis and even capitalized on the opportunity to exploit the destruction of Gaza as a business enterprise. The impersonal, unsympathetic, bureaucratic attitude regarding the potential harm such business practices may be inflicting on Palestinians was apparent throughout the correspondence as there is never a discussion about the well-being of Palestinians, or about whether Canada should directly implicate itself in contributing the destruction of Gaza.

5 Chapter: Discussion

Canada has become an increasingly friendly trading partner to Israel and holds a significant material stake in the outcome of its occupation of Palestine. While some scholars and journalists have critically noted the contradictory stance that Canada takes on the conflict, their analyses often fall short of providing an explanation that can reconcile this contradiction. It is only from a particular standpoint that Canada's position seems contradictory. However, from the point of view of pacification theory, its position on the question of Palestinian sovereignty appears tailored to fit the interests of Canadian security, military and industry. According to a statement by the Government of Canada regarding "Canadian Policy on Key Issues in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," Canada's purportedly impartial support for Israel is based on "shared values, including democracy" (GAC, 2016). This sentiment is common throughout Canadian political and media discourses. However, after examining the material basis for Canada's support for Israel, this research found that the "shared values" that are most apparent between Canada and Israel are based on military and industrial relations. With the support of the global core, Israel has joined the upper echelons of the world system through the export of security commodities across the global core and semi-periphery. These conditions have been made possible by Palestinian resistance, which has essentially become a necessary component of the labour that is objectified in the development of Israeli security commodities. Palestinians play a crucial role as value creators in attracting global capital towards Israel's military-industrial complex. Canada's role in this arrangement has been enthusiastic toward furthering the destruction and colonization of Palestine in the pursuit of private gains. While it may be argued that Canada's position on the conflict is informed by many other non-material factors, these factors need to be grounded in a material relation, otherwise they simply exist as unsubstantiated,

free-floating ideas. As demonstrated earlier, security and capital work in dialectical relation to one another and directly influence the form and function of policing technologies and techniques take in pacifying resistance. As the conflict has trended towards productivity, it has become a source of employment and income for many people. The growing interests of industry to implicate themselves in the destruction of Palestine are not informed by moral, historical or political debate, but the mandate of capital. Dependency on conflict as a source of surplus value has created the structurally reinforces path dependency of institutions like FATDC, Boeing and Elbit. These companies have swept the Israel-Palestine conflict into their private concerns to accumulate capital by viewing it as a business venture. By incorporating the Palestinians into productive enterprise as such, they have swept the conflict into the institutional inertia of private enterprises that have much to gain from terrorism.²⁴ The dehumanizing and alienating effects of the capitalist system are the greatest barrier the world faces in creating peace not only for Israelis and Palestinians but for the rest of humanity as well.

5.1 The Supposed Contradiction in Canada's Position

Canadian foreign policy has been unapologetically supportive of the destruction of Palestine in the 21st century. The disregard for Palestinian autonomy is seen in Canada's voting behaviour on Middle East UN Resolutions. Its behaviour shows that Canada has been obstructive, uncooperative or inactive in supporting proposed peace resolutions. The Canadian government says it "has long been concerned by the large number of unbalanced resolutions in the General Assembly on the situation in the Middle East that unfairly single out Israel."²⁵ It finds the UN

²⁴ See: Berreb & Klor (2008)

²⁵ A-2013-002939

resolutions to be “unreflective of the complexities of the issues.”²⁶ Instead of taking the Canadian government’s rhetoric at face value, a thorough analysis should look at the actual practices that constitute Canada’s position. Canada has frequently voted “no” or abstained in UN Security Council Resolutions in a “frustration” towards the “unbalanced nature” of the resolution process.²⁷ It has also persisted in obstructing justice for Palestine by refusing to vote against UN recognition of Palestinian statehood, and has taken substantial measures to prevent Palestine from depositing an Article 12(3) declaration which would grant Palestine statehood recognition by international institutions such as the International Criminal Court (ICC). Canada considers the emerging prospect of Palestinian statehood recognition to be a “dangerous development”²⁸ to which it has filed objections with the UN. Canada even tried to (unsuccessfully) block the UN from flying the Palestinian flag outside of UN headquarters (Anna & Lederner, 2015).

This is where the supposed contradiction in its stance is perceived. On the one hand, Canada advocates a two-state solution, but is simultaneously helping to block the UN from recognizing Palestinian statehood. These efforts on behalf of Canada to deny Palestine statehood recognition is motivated by the fact that if Palestine is granted this recognition it could file grievances against Israel in the ICC. Canada was explicit about this concern after the 2014 Gaza War when Mahmoud Abbas of the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank attempted to file a case. On January 16, 2014, the ICC Prosecutor launched a preliminary examination into the situation in the West Bank and Gaza to determine if there is a reasonable basis to proceed with an investigation. Canada communicated with the ICC Prosecutor, urging her not to go forward with the investigation. Moreover, Israel has publicly called for States parties, including Canada,

²⁶ *ibid*

²⁷ *ibid*

²⁸ A-2013-00239

to consider “suspending their financial support for the court.”²⁹ Canada’s advocacy for a two-state solution is based largely on the need for Canada to subscribe to international law and UN resolutions. As a member of the international community, Canada is inclined to advocate the legal solution that has emerged under a consensus of the UN assembly. However, this does not require Canada to currently recognize Palestine as a sovereign state. Accordingly, Canada does not need to recognize Palestine as a viable candidate for the ICC. In fact, Canada has designated the Palestinian government in Gaza as a terrorist group, further exonerating Canada from recognizing the state of Palestine. But why does Canada contribute to the blockage of Palestine from achieving statehood?

The NCFP regarding this region of the Middle East is almost purely an extension of US and Israeli interest. Canada argues that Israel is unfairly targeted by the UN, without acknowledging the fact that Israel has violated international law more than any other nation since the founding of the UN and has provoked more UN Resolutions than any other conflict in 20th-21st century history. In continual violation of international law, Palestine has a strong case to make against Israel in the ICC which could lead to reparations or other resolutions. This is why Canada advocates for a two-state solution with one important contingency: that Israel condones the solution. With the continual colonization and settlement expansion in the West Bank and the incarceration of Gazans within what is tantamount to a prison camp in the Gaza Strip, Israeli practices of governance offer no reason to suggest that a two-state solution is currently attainable. Some scholars, such as Norman Finkelstein³⁰, argue that a two-state solution is viable, but there is a lack of political will that prevents this from happening. Others, such as

²⁹ A-2013-00293

³⁰ See an interview at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8YFfQnWuVLo>

Noam Chomsky, argue for a one-state solution that would democratize the political landscape of Israel-Palestine and render the 'Jewish' part of the Jewish state as obsolete. Both proposals present idealist solutions to a problem that is not fully understood. The continuation of the occupation is grounded in real material relations between actually existing people. Therefore, it is important for Palestinian support groups to locate the relations of occupation at their material source.

5.2 Canada and Israel in the 21st Century

Israel has found itself in perpetual conflict with its Arab neighbors since before its establishment in 1948. Upon its founding, Israel was regarded as a type of socialist political economy that was based on commonly held land and state interventionism. Its policing apparatus was based on the imminent threat of Palestinian resistance against colonization. By the Six-Day War in 1967, Israel had been able to demonstrate how policing techniques and technologies had reached new heights. With the transition into a neoliberal economy, characterized by free trade agreements, and expanded circuits of global capital, the Israeli military-industrial complex was transformed within Israel's economy, expanding its export markets to absorb surplus-production. Israel's comparative advantage in the world system is based on its high tech policing apparatus used on its Arab neighbors, particularly in Palestine. By 2006, the liberalization of Israel's economy had become the fifteenth most globalized economy in the world by capitalizing on its competitive advantage in producing high-tech commodities (Rivlin, 2011). States such as Canada have recognized the connection between Israel's ability to supply high-tech security commodities across the globe and its need to test these commodities on Palestinians. Israel is able to appeal to the global core's need for security commodities by using security politics to influence their position on the question of Palestine. Consequently, as governments such as Canada increase

their trade and security ties with Israel, they simultaneously curtail their condemnation of its war crimes against Palestinians. In the 21st century, the continual occupation of Palestine, the periodic return to armed violence, and the impotency of the UN to address this humanitarian crisis, may suggest that Israel has asserted its hegemony in regards to the global attitudes toward Palestine. Material relations between Israel and the global core has influenced Israel's allies, like Canada, to take a more hardline stance on the disciplinary militarism imposed on Palestine.

By employing a Marxist lens and drawing analytical connections between the pacification of Palestine and the growth of Israel as a global hegemon of security, the occupation and conflict with Palestine looks more like a resource than a burden (Halper, 2015). Despite the analytical difficulties of pinpointing the individual labourer who is or is not creating value, we can see how Palestinians are implicated in the production process. But what is the nature of this implication? While it is true that Israeli manufacturers, labourers, scientists, police, and bureaucrats all contribute to the objectification of value that security commodities harness, can the same be said of Palestinian "labour"? As Halper (2015) has noted, Palestinians are not the end-users of Israeli security commodities. Rather, they comprise a crucial component to the production process and the labour objectified in security commodities. Israel implicates Palestine in this process by testing its security commodities on its people as an advertisement to potential consumers such as Canada. These demonstrations have a securitizing function embedded in them as end-users around the globe will have the security of knowing how these commodities work, what their potential is, how they adapt to urban settings, how well they pacify resistance, etc. Israel is one of the only liberal-democratic states in the world to face perpetual resistance from hostile neighbors. As such, it has capitalized on its opportunity to exert a massive amount of destruction on Palestine as a real-life example of how its security commodities function.

Regardless of whether or not one can pinpoint the quantity of labour-time Palestinians engage with to valorize Israeli security commodities, one may confidently assert that Palestinians are an important part of the structure that allows for the production of surplus-value and capital accumulation on a global scale (Halper, 2015). Israel finds itself in a favourable position within the world system because it has been able to adjust its economy to function in conjunction with its military to form a high-tech military-industrial complex. It has rendered its national security apparatus from a state cost into a private productive enterprise. A key feature of this shift is the ability for industry to generate value to be extracted from those engaged in armed conflict in this region. Capital has managed Palestinians as involuntary and unpaid, yet constitutive labourers of Israel's defence industry, thus playing a major role in providing Israel with the opportunity to test its policing techniques and technologies in preparation for export into the global market. This analysis remains consistent with Marx's labour theory value, in that it recognizes that Palestinian labour in the conflict is part of what constitutes the labour embodied in Israeli security commodities. As the need for policing technologies becomes more essential to the regulation of the international working class and poor, states across the global core and semi-periphery adjust their position on the question of Palestine in favour of Israel.

Given the assumption that Israel is exploiting Palestinian resistance to sell security products across the globe, what does this mean for Palestinian resistance? If the Israeli defence industry requires Palestinian resistance to constitute a portion of the labour objectified in security commodities, how can Palestinians effectively resist Israeli violence? On the one hand, Palestinians are an occupied nation who are justified in their struggle against unwelcome foreign occupants. On the other hand, these are precisely the conditions that have allowed Israel to grow its defence industry and situate itself as global vendor of security commodities across the globe

(Halper, 2015). The purpose of elucidating this point is not to advise Palestinian militants on the proper or justified course of resistance, but rather, to raise the question: what is being resisted? Are Palestinians resisting the 1948 colonization of Israel? The 1967 occupation? Or the conditions that prevent a just and lasting peace solution between Israel and Palestine? If it is indeed, the latter, then resistance ought to take a form that is in opposition to the global capitalist system. If Israel is providing an essential service to the world economy (i.e. production of high-tech security commodities), then the conditions that make this possible need to be abolished and reconfigured. As mentioned prior, capitalism is an inherently insecure system that requires practices of pacification in order to sustain. Therefore, effective resistance to the conflict must account for the political economic conditions that have led the world to abandon the cause of the Palestinians. Efforts have been made by many groups to obstruct Israel's military-industrial complex, but in the 21st century, Boycott Divestment and Sanction (BDS) has gained the most traction.

5.3 Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions

One of the most active groups struggling for the liberation of Palestine are part of a global boycott of Israeli companies involved in the occupation of Palestine. BDS has advocated for the boycott of sporting events, cultural and academic institutions; divestment from Israeli companies involved in the occupation; and sanctions to hold Israel to account by ending military trade, free-trade agreements, and expelling Israel from international forums (BDS, 2017). Israel needs to adapt its economy to peaceful conditions with its foreign neighbors. Israel must be able to defend itself, but as a nation that holds nuclear weapons against neighbors who throw stones at tanks, it is more than proper for Israel to initiate an honest, voluntary and just disarmament platform.

Under the Harper government, efforts were made to condemn and even criminalize the

Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement against Israeli occupation. Internal briefing notes within GAC noted that:

Canada (is) deeply concerned by efforts to single out Israel for criticism and isolate Israel internationally including calls for a boycott of Israel, for the divestment of investments, and for sanctions to be imposed on Israel, an initiative known as the BDS movement. Israel is the only country targeted by this movement. Prime Minister Stephen Harper spoke out against the boycott of Israel during his speech to the Knesset in January 2014. In the Canada-Israel joint declaration of Solidarity and Friendship that you will sign with Minister Lieberman (TBC), Canada has pledged to work with Israel to counter the narrative of the BDS movement. You will also sign an MOU on Public Diplomacy with Israel (TBC), in which we pledge to develop a coordinated public diplomacy initiative both lateral and in international and multilateral for a to oppose boycotts of Israel, its institutions, and its people; to share information on BDS, and to develop strategies for countering the BDS narrative both bilaterally and the like-minded.³¹

Israel has already taken substantial measures to condemn BDS as “new anti-Semitism” and Canada has attempted to follow suit (Macdonald, 2016). Canada says it wants to counter the narrative of the BDS movement, but what is the narrative? According to the organization’s website:

Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) is a Palestinian-led movement for freedom, justice and equality. BDS upholds the simple principle that Palestinians are entitled to the same rights as the rest of humanity...Israel is occupying and colonising Palestinian land,

³¹ A-2013-00239

discriminating against Palestinian citizens of Israel and denying Palestinian refugees the right to return to their homes. Inspired by the South African anti-apartheid movement³², the BDS call urges action to pressure Israel to comply with international law (BDS, 2017, p.1)

Canada says that BDS is the face of new anti-Semitism, through its unfair targeting of Israel, but ignores its message for justice, anti-apartheid, and decolonization. This overly dramatic reaction to a consumer-based political movement reveals the degree to which the Canadian government is concerned with such a movement. If the material basis of the Israel-Palestine conflict was a minor concern for the Canadian government, BDS wouldn't have much impact on the policies of Canada or Israel. However, the reactionary attempts to criminalize BDS shows that this movement is hitting Israel's colonial capacity significantly.

Interestingly, some Marxists have argued that BDS against Israel is a problematic strategy because it conflates the Israeli working class with the Israeli capitalist (colonial) class. This perspective, which is not inhibited by the Israeli anomaly, suggests that a blanket boycott, divestment and sanction of Israel is a faulty strategy that will only push the Israeli working class into the hands of the capitalist Zionists (Al-Jaza'iri & Grant, 2010). This perspective draws an important point but is somewhat ahistorical and unsupported by evidence. BDS has not affected the Israeli working class nearly as much as it has impacted the Israeli colonialists in the state and IDF. Furthermore, the historical evidence for BDS being harmful to the working class is not apparent. Under South African apartheid, the wealthy white settlers often made similar arguments against BDS by claiming that BDS would hurt their black South African employees.

³² While Mandela was a strong critic of South African as well as Israeli apartheid, Stephen Harper was a member of the Northern foundation in 1989, an explicitly pro-apartheid group that supported the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela.

In retrospect, BDS played a substantive role in the legal dismantling of apartheid in South Africa, and may generate a major influence in dismantling Israeli apartheid as well (Al-Jaza'iri & Grant, 2010).

6 Chapter: Conclusion

This thesis has presented the findings of ATIP requests from the Government of Canada regarding its diplomatic, and industrial/trade relations with Israel. Data was interpreted through a critical realist lens inspired by Marxian theory, with central emphasis on the role of policing. This anti-security approach suggested that policing be understood in dialectical relationship to political economy by locating the influence of policing activities in valorizing, prudentializing, and fetishizing security commodities, but also locating the influences of capitalism in turning policing activity into productive labour. In calling attention to the Israel-Palestine conflict, this thesis suggests that the occupation of Palestine, and the periodic eruption of armed conflict, has been enacted upon by Israel in such a way as to maximize differential accumulation. The specialization of Israel's economy in developing high-tech security commodities has allowed it to carve itself a comparative advantage niche in the global market. Israel has elevated itself as a leading vendor of security commodities by exporting them to end-users among the global core and semi-periphery.

6.1 Capitalism, War, and Barriers to Peace

During the 2014 Gaza War, Canada was particularly interested in importing and exporting products to and from Israel, to aid in the pacification of Palestine. As mentioned earlier, this was done through the export of submarine surveillance systems, purchase of the Iron Dome component, and a collaborative effort in destroying Gaza's terror tunnels. Canada's industry seems to carry the same impersonal and amoral attitude of the Canadian government towards Palestine. The discourse around the 2014 Gaza War as an "opportunity to expand" was explicit throughout correspondence between Canadian government and industry. But this is the attitude the Canadian corporate class has become accustomed to since the beginning of the war on terror.

Canada can no longer pretend to march its soldiers into foreign territory under the false banner of “peacekeeping.” Relations between Canada’s capitalist class and interest in foreign policy have developed far beyond any moralist concern for humanitarian crisis or human rights violations. In the eyes of transnational corporate capital, the world is a market and armed conflict is just another opportunity to extract value.

These material relations pose a significant barrier to the achievement of peace between Israel and Palestine. Foreign, as well as Canadian industry have come to rely on the Israel-Palestine conflict as a source of surplus-value. More importantly, a large portion of the Israeli economy (indeed, the portion that has advanced its position in the world-system) has come to rely on the perpetuation of conflict to maintain its productive capacities. A peace agreement between Israel and Palestine would pose a major threat to the strength of Israel’s defence industry. If this were the case, there would be hardly anything exceptional about Israeli policing, and Israel would lose any competitive advantage it holds in the global market as a security hegemon (Halper, 2015).

The practices and conduct of warfare are becoming increasingly technologically advanced and are rapidly changing the means by which war is waged. The overall trend within the technological advancements being made in the defence industry is toward a removal of operatives from physical battlespace. These trends have been apparent in recent technological developments taking place with robotics and unmanned vehicles, and for assignments that may require a physical body, the defence industry as developed mechanisms of security and protection that enhance their combat capabilities such as the ISSP. Stephen Graham observes that

The new military doctrine engenders a notion of war as a permanent boundless exercise, pitting high-tech militaries and security operations – along with private-sector

outsourcers and military corporations – against a wide array of non-state adversaries. All of this occurs within an environment marked by intense mediatizing, a high degree of mobility, and the rapid exploitation of new military technologies (Graham, 2010).

The logic of the capitalist system has channelled human and material resources into developing technologies that, rather than liberating humanity from toil, have subjected humanity to the violence of policing. Resistance to such a system becomes more difficult and more dangerous as these technological changes mature. There is a startling growth of nuclear capabilities, robotic armies, and nano weapons that corporate and state powers are developing in order to secure themselves from resistance. Capitalism has coopted the realm of Palestinian resistance into the realm of productive activity. As Palestinian resistance persists, it feeds into the growth of Israel's military-industrial complex. If Palestinians cease to resist, they will become pacified colonial subjects and Israel will proceed to establish its hegemony over Palestine.

There is very large and complicated network of relations that need to be reconfigured in order to achieve peace. Many activists and scholars argue that there needs to be more discussion about peace, but this is not the solution to the problem – this constitutes a major part of the problem. Activists and scholars want to jump to a solution before they have understood the nature of the issue they attempt to resolve. This research suggests that the relationship between Israel and Palestine does not exist in a vacuum. It is situated within a global network that prioritizes productivity and security over peace and decolonization. The conditions for peace in the Middle East need to exist before the possibility arises. This, like any other structurally reinforced relationship under the capitalist system, will be incredibly difficult to break within the current paradigm. Emancipatory political theory ought to cease treating security as a legitimate monopoly of violence, or common good, and start viewing it as an impediment to the

development of a truly open, free, and democratic society. A new paradigm is needed – one that does not thrive off of war and the suffering of others.

6.2 A Return to Political Economy

This thesis suggests that return to political economy is necessary step for interpreting Israel in a holistic way that allows us to see the dialectical relationship between Israel's economy and its political management (i.e. policing). The political economy of Israel had become divided into two separate disciplines during its transition into neoliberalism: economics and political science (Nitzan et al., 2002). However, the “science” of economic thinking pushed economic matters from the purview of democratic consensus into the purview of the emergent transnational capitalist class. Economic concerns were withdrawn from political discussion and placed into the control of responsible economic experts that treated the economy as a set of natural laws that allow it to flourish on its own accord and independent from political perspectives (Nitzan et al., 2002).

The separation between politics and economics has allowed the private sector to capitalise on armed conflict by advancing security commodities into domestic as well as foreign markets. Israeli industry has responded rationally to the needs of its nation by developing highly sophisticated defence apparatuses which subsume a large portion of its private industry. The relationship between Israel's military and its industry has perpetuated a type of institutional inertia that has turned armed conflict into a productive endeavour. This has effectively removed incentive for these industries to support peace by subjecting the defence industry to the pressures and tendencies of the capitalist system where war is good for profit. This is not corruption, but rather a demonstration of private sector industries advancing their own interests according to the social environment in which they are embedded. The tendencies of capitalism tend to recreate

the social relations of any particular activity as productive, i.e. generating surplus-value; Israel is no exception.

The discipline of economics deliberately cuts off analytic connections between the economy and the institutions in which they are embedded. This has led economists to develop an impoverished understanding of the economic aspects of policing and the security aspects of economics. Thinking in terms of political economy brings a more comprehensive and holistic approach to questions of how social relations manifest through the dialectical relationship between power and capital. The dialectic between the economic base of civil society influences, but is also influenced by, the political superstructure. The moderation of these forces is maintained through institutions of policing that develop, implement, and uphold social regulation and the formation of political economic relations. Security is in fact an all-encompassing material social relation that follows the flows of capital into every corner it tries to make productive. The police are the enforcers of capitalism and the last line of defence against rebellion from counterhegemonic blocs of resistance. As the traditional, invisible forces of hegemony fail to maintain their legitimacy, the top echelons of the global capitalist system will come to rely more consistently on the coercive techniques and technologies of pacification.

Considering that the UN has been urging Israel to relinquish control of the occupied territories to Palestine since 1967, it appears that the current institutional framework for addressing the issue is inadequate. Under the capitalist system – a system that has historically fostered inequality and racial/ethnic division – prospects for peace in Israel-Palestine look dismal. But the capitalist system is not contained within Israel and Palestine; it is global. As capitalism casts more of the global population into the “reserve army of labour,” the need for policing idle populations intensifies. In the long run, capitalism is a system that legitimizes class

privilege through the implement violent measures. The privileged class pacify the “rabble” class as an accepted condition of the global economic system in which policing violence is a necessary instrument. Policing is thus an instrument of legitimizing systemic inequalities, not by consent or a social contract, but through pacification.

6.3 Suggestions for Further Research

Over the course of this research a number of unexplored areas were excluded from this paper in order to limit the scope of analysis. Some suggestions for further research include:

1. A more thorough analysis of Canada’s relationship to Egypt and the historic context that has rationalized its relationship. ATIP documents found that Canada held what appeared to be a more favourable position with the el-Sisi regime. This regime was led by a military dictator and was being used to quash grass-roots democratic uprisings in Egypt during the Arab Spring. A closer look into this relationship may reveal further evidence of Canada’s disregard for human rights, freedom and democracy in the Middle East.
2. ATIP requests mistakenly garnered letters from concerned Canadian citizens who wrote to public officials during the 2014 Gaza War. Some of the letters expressed praise for Canada’s stanch position on this particular conflict, while many condemned the Canadian government’s position. These letters may be a starting point for future research on Canadian sentiments held towards the Israel-Palestine conflict. Content of the letters revealed some recurring themes that, unfortunately, needed to be excluded from this thesis due to scope.
3. Further research may also be needed in determining the level of U.S. influence on Canadian foreign policy. Scholars are conflicted in locating US influence versus Canadian autonomy in the characterization of Canadian foreign policy. While some

scholars argue that Canada is simply following the US, others argue that the history of Canadian imperialism is substantial enough to be interpreted on its own terms without recourse to US influence.

4. Another area of research that may be pursued is in regards to the integration of intelligence sharing among domestic policing departments as well as foreign entities. Documents gathered through ATIP requests have shown a desire for Canadian policing agencies to share and collect intelligence within a wider network. The RCMP, CSIS, and CBSA have recently forged closer ties with foreign entities such as Israel and the US, but have also integrated their intelligence sharing networks within government departments. There is great potential for further research in this area as this new policing network is implemented during mega events.
5. Due to time constraints of this project, data was not collected by human sources such as diplomats at the Israeli embassy in Ottawa. Further research may render a new perspective on the Canada-Israel relationship and garner new evidence that may be interpreted with a theory of pacification.
6. Finally, longitudinal research will need to be done to see if the Canada-Israel connection continues to coincide with its position in relation to Palestine. Perhaps this trend is short lived and the Liberal government will rekindle ties with Palestinian governments in Gaza? Maybe Hamas will be overthrown? Maybe the Canadian government will begin to represent Canadian voices on the issue? Maybe things will change.

6.4 New Critique, Old Solution

This thesis has argued that the Israel-Palestine occupation and conflict has been acted upon

in such a way as to turn it into a circumstance conducive to the accumulation of capital.

Based on findings of ATIP requests, this thesis has shown that Canada does not only forge ties within Israel's military-industrial complex, but directly participates in the colonization of Palestine. It is important that in order to move past the impasse in the Israel-Palestine issue we take stock of the importance of the material conditions that underlie this relationship, starting with an understanding of how the conflict is situated within the global political economy and its (ever-present) pacification projects. While BDS is no panacea, the movement has at least correctly identified the material basis for the longevity of perpetuation of the conflict. But in order for lasting peace to be achieved, the economic conditions that have thrived from influencing, fostering, and shaping the conflict need to be critiqued and reformed. This necessitates a persistent and relentless push toward a socialist economic system whose life-blood does not include the economic gains reaped from endless war.

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Appendix

ATIP requests used in this thesis included:

A-2015-00555

Organization: Privy Council Office

Number of Pages: 3

Contents: A summary of the various bilateral instruments signed between Canada and Israel in 2015.

A-2013-00239

Organization: Global Affairs Canada

Number of Pages: 578

Contents: Briefing notes, email correspondence, speeches, and newspaper clippings regarding John Baird's Trip to East Jerusalem in 2013.

A-2014-02129

Organization: Foreign Affairs Trade and Development Canada

Number of Pages: 195

Contents: Email correspondence regarding trade relations with Israel and arranging industrial collaborations. Includes newspaper clippings regarding 2014 Gaza war, meetings between Canadian and Israeli industry and government officials.

A-2014-02444

Organization: Foreign Affairs Trade and Development Canada

Number of Pages: 36

Contents: Briefing notes, position statements, and other matters related to the signing of the Canada-Israel Strategic Partnership in 2014. This included a summary of Canada's position on Palestinian statehood recognition in the ICC and UN

