

A farshlepte krenk:
Antisemitism in Canada

Rich Lafferty
(9416113)
for Prof. Weinfeld
166-540B

July 10, 2000

A farshlepte krenk:
Antisemitism in Canada
Rich Lafferty

Antisemitism has been a problem of varying magnitude in Canada for over a century. While Canadians tend to think of their country as generally good and open, that hasn't always been the case; nor have their fellow Canadians been the tolerant and accepting people that common sense and myth would have one believe. Rather, Canada has an antisemitic legacy which continues in varying forms to this day, and recent efforts to put a halt to it have proven less than effective. Below, I examine Canada's antisemitic legacy and the recent state of Canadian antisemitism, and Canada's reaction to it, and make recommendations as to how to proceed from here. Before examining the patterns of Jew-hatred in Canada, it is worthwhile to look at the patterns of Canadian Jewry.

Jews in Canada Canada's Jewish community is small, especially compared to that of our Southern neighbors; but it is a particularly concentrated, established community. As of the 1991 census, 356 315 ethnic or religious Jews called Canada home (Smith 1997, 16); but of those, the majority are concentrated in the Jewish communities of large cities—Toronto, with 120 605, and Montreal, with 101 210, especially (B'nai Brith 1995, 4). The case of Montreal is particularly interesting; as I explain below, Quebec is a particularly important area of Canada regarding antisemitism, yet to speak of 'Quebec Jews' is to speak of 'Montreal Jews,' as Montreal is home to 90% of the Quebec Jewish population (Smith 1997, 24), and until the separatist threat of the 1970s, Montreal had a larger Jewish population than Toronto (Waller 1998, 3). A similar situation exists in much of the rest of Canada, however; even including minor Jewish centres such as Winnipeg and Vancouver, no Canadian city other than Toronto or Montreal has more than 20 000 Jews (B'nai Brith 1995, 4). Canada's Jewish population, then, is a significant minority not only in sheer number but in the nature of their settlement patterns in the hubs of the Canadian economy.

Antisemitism Before beginning our examination of antisemitism in Canada, it may be worthwhile to set down what is meant by antisemitism. Antisemitism, or anti-Judaism, is an all-encompassing term for the dislike for, hatred of, or prejudice against Jews; the particular acts or sentiments to which it refers are fluid, and especially change over time. In researching this article, an acquaintance jokingly commented to me (and credited to Arthur Naiman, who in turn reportedly credited it to ‘an unnamed antisemite’) that antisemitism meant disliking Jews more than one ought to (Harvey Aisenberg, personal communication, March 29, 2000); such an observation is unfortunately accurate. As with any form of discrimination or hatred, levels of acceptability change over time, so it is difficult to pin down a precise list of what is encompassed by ‘antisemitism’ and what is not.

Arnold Ages (1981, 384) differentiates between mild prejudice, resulting for example from encounters with an unsympathetic Jewish merchant or from a Christian upbringing, and what he terms ‘diabolical antisemitism,’ featuring Jews as agents of an international conspiracy, ‘conspiring at both ends of the political spectrum to gain control of the international markets and simultaneously to destroy existing governments’. The distinction and implied hierarchy may be somewhat artificial—violent expression of the former, for instance, may warrant more concern than unexpressed belief in the latter—yet Arnold’s categorization bears keeping in mind. He also correctly notes that Canada has tended towards the former; regrettably, his 1981 observation that Canada is mostly free of the latter has proved incorrect since.

One particular form of antisemitism which Arnold did not consider in his classification is that of what has been referred to as the ‘new antisemitism’: anti-Jewish sentiment cloaked in ostensibly nonpartisan anti-Zionist positions and opinions (Weinfeld 1980, 6; Mertl and Ward 1985, 48). In cloaking antisemitic thought in Zionist or Israeli politics, the antisemite finds venues of dissemination in which traditional antisemitic opinion would be unwelcome. The issue is complicated further in that anti-Zionism is not antisemitism *per se*; rather, anti-Zionism, which denies Jewish rights to Israel, makes for a convenient

legitimization of antisemitic opinion.

(As an aside, it is worthwhile to momentarily consider the origins of the term ‘anti-semitism’ itself. It was coined by Wilhelm Marr, himself an antisemite, and adopted by those who wished a more scientific term for what was otherwise referred to as ‘Jew-hatred’ (Ages 1981: 383). As there is no group of ‘Semites’ to which antisemites are opposed, I have in this paper followed the recommendation of Rabbi Emil Fackenheim and of the B’nai Brith in dropping the hyphen and capital-S from ‘anti-Semitism’, to dispel the notion ‘that there is such a thing as Semitism which it is against, or that it is equally applied to all Semites, neither of which is the case’ (B’nai Brith 1999: title).)

Historical Antisemitism in Canada Before 1900, Canada’s Jewish population was unremarkable. From 1905 to 1916, however, a surge of Jewish immigration of around 9000 per year, tapering off to around 4500 per year between 1917 and 1930, made Canadian Jews a visible presence in Canada (Smith 1997, 17), and sparked resentment from the previous generations of immigrants already settled. Until 1930, antisemitism was expressed in a similar manner to the rest of the anti-immigrant sentiment at the time—exclusion and a general ‘dislike of the unlike’ (Ages 1981: 383). It was not until some time after World War I that antisemitism would emerge as worthy of consideration on its own.

That emergence coincided, not coincidentally, with the emergence of a substantial Fascist movement in Canada—which managed to sustain itself until Hitler took Austria, and Canada’s side in World War II took priority over Fascist thought (Speisman 1997, 125)—and with what at the time was feared to be the fall of capitalism, the Great Depression. In the 1930s, linked through a curious mix of history and conspiracy theory to both blood-thirsty capitalism *and* Communism (Brym 1993a, 74), they were an easy scapegoat. The signs reading ‘No Jews or Dogs Allowed’ of the era have now obtained legendary status (Levitt and Shaffir 1989, 8; Smith 1997, 138), while others suggested a Gentile patronage in a more elegant manner. Quotas were enacted implicitly or explicitly in employment, education, and housing; Levitt and Shaffir (1989, 8) note that the hospital in Regina had

an informal policy which prioritized hiring of people with obviously Anglo-Saxon names, instituted after complaints of hiring Jews. Such outright discrimination was often done in the name of patriotism in English Canada or *nationalisme* in Quebec (Levitt and Shaffir 1989, 8).

Hostility to Jews grew through the early 1930s. Ontario, especially Toronto, saw the formation of Swastika Clubs in 1933 (Brym 1993a, 74). These groups were formed as a reaction to what was seen as the Jewish intrusion upon Gentile domains, especially Toronto's Beaches area (Levitt and Shaffir 1989, 12). These groups urged their members to wear a (provided) swastika when in the Beaches, and organized parades and anti-Jewish demonstrations; members encountering each other wearing their swastika badge would salute and shout 'Heil Hitler!' (*op. cit.*, 9). In eleven days—from August 1 to August 11, 1933—the Beaches swastika club was able to drum up support from over 400 members (*op. cit.*, 16) until the mayor was able to convince them to display their discontent with less ideology, and they formed instead the 'Beaches Protective Association,' which while still aimed at ridding the mostly-Gentile Beaches area of visiting Jews, dispensed with the Fascist symbolism (*op. cit.*, 16). The effort did not dispense with Fascist ideology, however; three days later, a mostly-Jewish team was playing the 'home' team, mostly Catholic, in the Christie Pits baseball fields of Willowvale Park, when in the final innings, ostensibly to break the Jewish team's confidence, fans in the bleachers unrolled a giant swastika on a blanket (*op. cit.*, 17). This proved too much for the otherwise-peaceful Toronto Jewish community. A riot followed two days later, with clashes between gangs of young Jews and young Catholics; by the time the dust settled dozens were injured, and an estimated ten thousand had participated, one of the largest non-labour riots in Canada's history (*op. cit.*, 18).

Fascist antisemitism was not limited to Ontario, either. Quebec, with its nearly exclusively-Catholic population and culture and nationalist ideologies was a breeding-ground for antisemitic thought, much originating from Adrien Arcand and his *Parti National Social Chrétien*, the 'Blueshirts' (cf. Hitler's 'Brownshirts') (Brym 1993a: 74).

Arcand was also a diligent writer and publisher of antisemitic propaganda who, although having faded from public view after World War II, would become significant again after his death, as the mentor of Ernst Zundel, introduced below (Weinmann and Winn 1986: 13). Western Canada had its own institutionalized antisemitism in the form of the Social Credit party, which despite extremist positions managed to maintain a voice primarily in Alberta for much of the 1930s and 1940s (Brym 1993a: 74).

Canada's role in World War II brought with it intolerance for the public expression of Fascism, and the Canadian fascist movement all but vanished (Brym 1993a: 74). The Jews were far from clear of antisemitism, though; instead, the decline of Fascism only revealed the next domestic enemy of the Jews, and a formidable one at that: the Canadian government. Immediately prior to and during the second World War, Canada would close its doors tightly on Jewish refugees. The Immigration Department, formally in the portfolio of Thomas Crerar under the Department of Mines and Resources, was under the *de facto* control of Frederick Charles Blair, a 'narrow-minded anti-Semite' who effectively single-handedly made and implemented Canada's immigration policy under the King government (Abella and Troper 1982, 7). Unless 'safeguards' were adopted, warned Blair, Canada would be 'flooded with Jewish people' (*op. cit.*, 8); the only way to resist was to admit no Jews at all. Refugee claimants would be met with the message, 'Unfortunately, though we greatly sympathize with your circumstance, at present Canada is not admitting Jews. Please try some other country.' (*op. cit.*, xi); non-refugee applicants were stopped by a ban of all non-British and non-American agricultural immigrants and by difficult-to-reach capital requirements (*op. cit.*, 12).

At the time, Canada's Jewish community was politically weak, being divided over Zionism, orthodoxy, and elite factions; even the Canadian Jewish Congress was mostly powerless, dedicating its efforts to *preventing* Jewish protest in fear of retaliation, instead of protesting alongside (Abella and Troper 1982, 9–10). English Canada at the time ranged from mild opposition to allowing Jewish refugees to strong acceptance, but Quebec took the opposite position (*op. cit.*, 59), and Prime Minister Mackenzie King was concerned of

Quebec violence should Jewish refugees be admitted (*op. cit.*, 17). The apogee (perigee?) of Canada's stance towards immigration may have been in 1933, when the *St. Louis*, a luxury liner with nine hundred and seven desperate German Jews with Cuban passports, was refused entry into Cuba. The 'Voyage of the Damned' was further refused entry into the rest of Latin America, and Canada became their last hope; the United States would have nothing of it, even sending a gunboat to monitor the ship as it travelled north along the American shore. Upon its arrival in Canada, King noted that it was not a Canadian problem, but referred the matter onto Blair; Blair in turn claimed that Canada had already done too much for the Jews, and that no country could 'open its doors wide enough to take in the hundreds of thousands of Jewish people who want to leave Europe: the line must be drawn somewhere'. The *St. Louis* was forced to return to Europe where many of its occupants would meet their death at the hands of Nazi Germany (*op. cit.*, 64). By the end of the war, the numbers told the story; the United States had admitted 200 000 refugees, Palestine 125 000, the United Kingdom 70 000, and Canada only 5000. Even China had admitted 25 000 refugees; the only Allied country to fare worse than Canada was Newfoundland, still a British colony at the time, who admitted none (Abella and Troper 1982, *x*; Waller 1998, 3).

As the horrors of the Third Reich became known around the world, the Canadian situation for Jews improved dramatically. Nazi Germany had put a damper on Fascism and antisemitism; the Holocaust brought the Jews the sympathy of the free world. The 1950s found John Diefenbaker in the House of Commons, whose sympathy to Israel and human-rights orientation advocated fair-employment and -accommodation acts (Speisman 1997, 128) and eventually culminated in 1958 in the Bill of Rights. By 1960, Fair Employment Acts prevented employment discrimination against Jews and others in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and Fair Accommodation Acts had been enacted in Ontario, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, and Manitoba (Shiff 1960, 177).

The peace was short-lived. By the 1960s, the world's shock at the horrors of the Holo-

caust had dimmed enough that organized antisemitism began to appear; a Nazi movement in Ontario led by John Beattie and David Stanley was able to gather steam, and held large rallies and open meetings flaunting Nazi regalia (Ages 1981, 390), while by 1963, Canada witnessed the ‘steady dissemination of hate propaganda, mainly anti-Jewish and neo-Nazi in nature’ (Suriya 1998, 28). The rebirth of antisemitism after the war came as a shock to the Jewish community, but by now it was prepared; the internal divisions which rendered it powerless in the face of the refugee problem of the 1930s and 1940s was less of an issue, and the Canadian Jewish Congress had finally adopted an activist role. As such, the outburst of antisemitic activity in the early 1960s motivated the Congress to lobby for legal support in combatting hate (Suriya 1998, 28); it was moderately successful in this, and the Canadian legal response to hate will be evaluated below. The 1970s continued the trend of the 1960s, with a rise in anti-Zionist and anti-Israel rhetoric, and with it a rise in ‘new antisemitism’ (Ages 1981, 391); a rise in organized hate from the Edmund Burke Society, the Parti National, and the Western Guard (Suriya 1998: 41); and a Jewish exodus from Montreal to Toronto leading to the latter being Canada’s Jewish center, prompted by uncertainty regarding the separatist threat (Weinfeld 1980, 17).

The Present Situation The trend towards organized hate waxed and waned through the 1980s and 1990s, but on the whole, antisemitism has been increasing steadily. Measuring antisemitism is difficult; the two approaches most utilized have been counting incidents and opinion polls. The former is done on a national scale by the League for Human Rights of B’nai Brith Canada; their annual Audit of Antisemitic Incidents has been published since 1982. Unfortunately, since it is only possible to measure reported incidents, the B’nai Brith reports only reflect a portion of what actually occurs. Hate crimes tend to be vastly underreported; victims and witnesses may fear further victimization, or property damage will be repaired rather than reported, or investigating officials may not turn up the hat aspect of the crime they are investigating (Roberts 1995, 14–16). Estimates of the ‘dark figure’ (Roberts 1995, 14) of unreported incidents vary, with the B’nai Brith

suggesting in their initial 1982 report that only one in five incidents is reported (B’Nai Brith 1983, 9), while the conventional ‘dark figure’ is that one in ten is reported (M. Weinfeld, personal communication, 3 Apr 2000; H. Waller, personal communication, 30 Mar 2000). Nonetheless, while the B’nai Brith figures are unreliable for absolute figures, the consistency of their techniques over the past seventeen years gives us reliable relative data for which to compare. Figure 1 shows the B’nai Brith data for antisemitic vandalism and harassment incidents from 1982 to 1998, the last year for which I was able to obtain statistics. The first thing to note is the overall trend; antisemitic incidents have been

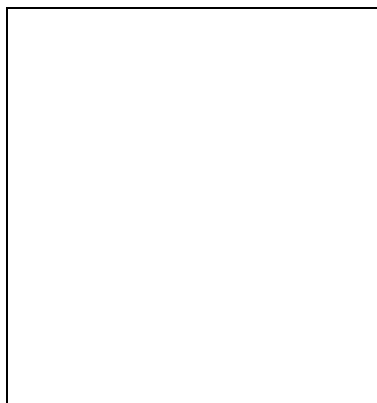


Figure 1: Antisemitic Incidents in Canada, 1982–1998.

unequivocally on the rise in the last two decades. Also of importance is the balance of the incidents; the majority of antisemitic incidents are of harassment ¹ while vandalism ² makes up a minority of the incidents. Further, harassment makes up the majority of the *trend*, while vandalism accounts for a minority of the incidents and exhibits considerably less of an increasing trend. The two peaks in 1991 and 1995 are a result of waves of antisemitic incidents immediately following the outbreak of the Gulf War (1991) and an

¹B’nai Brith harassment figures include antisemitic hate propaganda distribution, hate mail and verbal slurs against individuals, death threats and bomb threats, physical assault, and systemic discrimination in the workplace and school (B’nai Brith 1999, 7).

²Vandalism is defined by the B’nai Brith as an act involving physical damage to property. It includes graffiti, swastikas, desecrations of cemeteries and synagogues, arson and other criminal acts such as thefts and break-ins where an antisemitic motive can be determined.

outbreak of organized hate (1995) (B'nai Brith 1992, 5; B'nai Brith 1996, 15). The Gulf War incident is particularly interesting; 61 of the 251 incidents reported to the B'nai Brith in 1991 occurred in the two weeks following the declaration of war on Iraq (B'nai Brith 1992, 5), which suggests that the capacity for antisemitism in years without crises such as the Gulf War remains considerably higher than that which is actually expressed.

The B'nai Brith also records the location of the incidents reported, as shown in Figure 2. The concentration of antisemitic activity in Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa is also

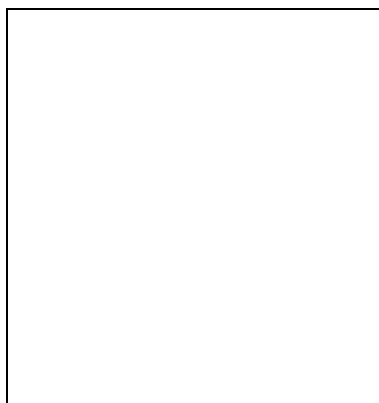


Figure 2: Distribution of antisemitic incidents in Canada, 1988 and 1998.

confirmed by Roberts (1995, 30); predictably, antisemitic incidents occur in urban centres with large Jewish populations, but of particular interest are the cases of Montreal and Ottawa. In 1988, Ottawa had so few incidents of antisemitism that it wasn't even accounted for; by 1998, it had edged out Montreal, a result of hate-group proliferation that began around 1993 (B'nai Brith 1994, 9; Waller 1994, 233). Unmistakably, Toronto remains the centre of antisemitism activity in Canada. Roberts' 1995 study of Canadian hate crime provides us with a measure of the importance of antisemitism in the context of hate crime in general, at least for urban areas. In Toronto, one half of hate crime is racially motivated, while 35% is religiously motivated—but 81% of that is directed at Jews (Roberts 1995, 66). In Montreal, only 4% of hate crime are religious, but 94% of those are against Jews (Roberts 1995, 67), while in Ottawa, 29% of hate crime is religious, and

87% of that against Jews (Roberts 1995, 68). While antisemitism is not the primary hate problem in Canada—racism edges it out—it is unquestionably the primary religious hate problem, and the Jews may be the primary single target of hate in the country; this is magnified by the century or more which this hate has endured.

Of course, these incidents probably do not reflect the behavior of the average Canadian; rather, they are an indication of the extent to which the extreme of antisemitism has permeated Canadian life. In order to develop a picture of the state of Canadian antisemitism, we must also look for the latent antisemitism which Canadians hold but do not act on in such a way as to be registered by the B'nai Brith. Unfortunately, very little work has been done in this area; the canonical Canadian study was done immediately following the Zundel trial (see below) by Weinmann and Winn. In polling to determine the effect of media coverage of hate publisher Ernst Zundel's trial on Canadian attitudes toward Jews, they also painted a general picture of what those attitudes are. First and foremost, antisemitic beliefs are common in Canada; only 63% are free of antisemitic prejudice, but only 10% are very prejudiced, as measured by agreeing with two of four antisemitic statements (Weinmann and Winn 1986, 125). Weinmann and Winn also measured respondents' ignorance of the Holocaust as a measure of their ignorance of Jewish affairs, as illustrated in Figure 3; while they found a slight correlation between ignorance and extreme preju-

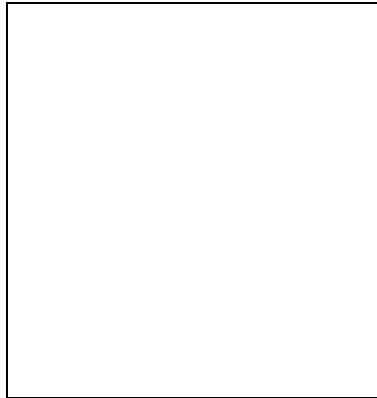


Figure 3: Ignorance and Prejudice among the provinces.

dice in Newfoundland and New Brunswick, it is more important to note that Quebec, the only other province in which antisemitic prejudice is extreme, demonstrated a low level of ignorance (*op. cit.*, 129). Relevant to this observation are their observations, illustrated in Figure 4, that Canadians tend to have less contact with Jews than with other ethnic

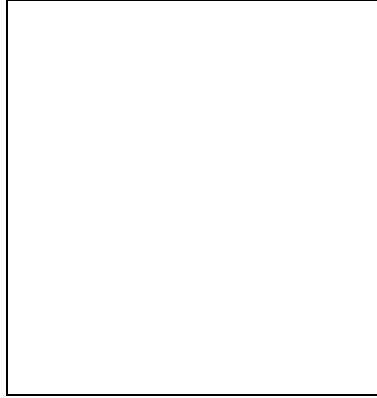


Figure 4: Anglophone and Francophone ethnic contact.

groups, and that Quebecers have less ethnic contact in general than English Canadians, both of which risk increasing both ignorance and prejudice (*op. cit.*, 152–153).

The Quebec situation deserves further attention before we proceed. Paul Sniderman *et al.* (1993) addressed the common-sense notion that Quebecers' isolation from Jewish contact was the cause of that province's higher antisemitic sentiment (Sniderman *et al.* 1993, 246). They found that antisemitism in Quebec has a systemic nature and reflects the general ethnocentric nature of Quebec culture as a whole, rather than being particularly directed at Jews (*op. cit.*, 254). In other words, Quebecers place more value on conformity, and will be prejudiced against groups which are nonconformant (such as the non-Catholic, mostly-Anglophone Quebec Jews). On the other hand, Berry and Kalin (1995) reached similar results regarding conformity in Quebec, but observed prejudice against Jews disproportionate to that which could be explained away by the conformity hypothesis (Berry and Kalin 1995, 304.) Both agree that Quebec antisemitism is not related to the separatist cause with the exception of extremists (Sniderman *et al.* 1993, 265; Berry and Kalin 1995,

305).

Disproportionate prejudice against Jews is not a Quebec phenomenon. Little work in has been done comparing antisemitic attitudes to antiblack or other 'color' hatred. An older American study showed a slight correlation between antiblack and antisemitic sentiment, with 34% of prejudiced Americans only antiblack, 23% only antisemitic, and 42% both antiblack and antisemitic (Quinley and Glock 1979, 146). More recent Canadian work does not directly address the topic, but provides some data: Kalin and Berry (1996) measured intergroup attitudes based on a 1991 Department of Multiculturalism survey, and their results show that of European groups, Ashkenazic Jews regularly receive the lowest comfort rating, and that a particular ethnic group's low rating of Jews is not always accompanied by a low rating of other typically low-rated ethnic groups, suggesting that antisemitic sentiment is somewhat independent from general anti-ethnic bias (Kalin and Berry 1996, 256), a suggestion which is echoed by Weinmann and Winn, who observed a general correlation between antisemitic and general anti-ethnic bias, but noted that antisemitism has 'a bit of a life of its own' (Weinmann and Winn 1986: 120).

While antisemitism expresses itself in uncountable ways in Canada, there are some areas which might be termed 'problems'. Since the re-emergence of antisemitism in Canada in the 1960s, organized hate groups have had a presence in Canada. Roberts (1995, 1) notes that Canada's hate-crime problem, while being less extreme than elsewhere, is just as insidious here; the manner in which Canadian organized-hate activity goes in waves also presents a risk of underestimation.² Organized hate graduated from a presence to a problem around 1989, when Canadian Skinheads, who had prior to that not adopted much of British Skinhead politics, began to organize around neo-Nazi lines, holding meetings and retreats and participating in synagogue desecrations using slogans indicating 'advanced Nazi ideology' (B'nai Brith 1990, 9). By 1990, the white supremacist group Aryan Nations had begun to organize in Canada, burning crosses and assaulting media and counter-demonstrators at their rallies (B'nai Brith 1991, 10); that year also featured an incident in which a group of nine Hasidim in Montreal were assaulted by a vanful of Skinheads who

were driving around Montreal's Jewish neighbourhoods looking for Jews to attack (B'nai Brith 1991, 11). By 1991, the Ku Klux Klan was starting to mobilize in Canada, and the Heritage Front, led by Wolfgang Droege, was formed, initially claiming to be a legitimate political group before dispelling that notion with a rally on Hitler's birthday. (B'nai Brith 1992, 9–10). By 1993, the established nature of Canadian organized hate was apparent, as recruiting became common amongst disaffected high school youth, groups began to branch out to smaller towns, and racist rock groups such as RaHoWa (= Racist Holy War) began to play advertised, open concerts; the B'nai Brith conceded that year that the 'message of hatred is out of the closet' (B'nai Brith 1994, 5–14). By 1995, coordinated efforts between the police and the League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada started having some effect; the previously-solid Heritage Front fell into chaos as antiracist, police, and Canadian Security Intelligence Service plants in its midst became known (B'nai Brith 1995, 14) and leaders of various groups began to appear in court, including Heritage Front leader Wolfgang Droege (Waller 1995, 212; Waller 1996, 198). By 1997, though, organized hate was again on the rise, with Hamilton, Ontario becoming one of the three most active Iron Guard centres in the world, and with Wolfgang Droege's release from prison, the Heritage Front began operating again. (Waller 1997, 244; Waller 1998, 5). As of 1998—the last year for which an audit was available—the American black-militant, anti-Jew group Nation of Islam had just opened their first mosque in Toronto (B'nai Brith 1998, 36), and antihate groups were warning that far-right groups had learned to take their time and 'prepare the soil' before trying to organize on a large scale (Waller 1998, 5).

The proliferation of organized hate in Canada is in part fueled by Canada's status as a world leader in antisemitic publications, mostly thanks to the efforts of Ernst Zundel and his Samisdat Publishing in Toronto. Zundel was the prodigy of the infamous Quebec Fascist, Adrien Arcand; Zundel inherited Arcand's library of propaganda upon his death (Weinmann and Winn 1986, 13) and proved formidable in carrying on the legacy. Zundel appeared in the spotlight throughout the 1980s and to a lesser extent the 1990s as court case after court case tried to convict him; he walked away a free man after the case was

dropped after multiple appeals in 1997 (Waller 1997, 245). Further efforts to have him deported to Germany had also failed as of 1998 after the Security Intelligence Review Committee's conclusion that he presented a security risk to Canada was thrown out because of bias (Waller 1998a, 195). British Holocaust-denier David Irving tries to make annual Canadian appearances as well, being officially denied entry each time but managing to get in and speak part of his tour before being caught and deported (B'nai Brith 1990, 6; B'nai Brith 1992, 10). Attempts at regulating the airwaves failed as miserably as attempts to regulate private presses, as antisemitic broadcasters just moved across the border to broadcast legally into Canada from the United States (B'nai Brith 1995, 23). Many smaller publishers appear and disappear regularly, part of a 'widespread network of propagandists' (Mertl and Ward 1985, 46); prominent Canadian Jewish professor and now politician Irwin Cotler notes that 'Canada has become a world centre for Holocaust deniers' (in Waller 1995, 214).

Canada has also had repeated occurrences of antisemitic teaching and antisemitic teachers in its schools. The major incident here was that involving Alberta high school teacher James Keegstra, who had for years been teaching his social-studies classes of an ancient, worldwide cabal of Jews that have manipulated history for hundreds of years (Mertl and Ward 1985, 34), and marked highly student papers alleging that Jews were the root of Communism, and that 'we must get rid of every Jew in existence so we can live in peace and freedom' (*op. cit.*, 58–60). But outright revisionists and conspiracy theorists are only the tip of the iceberg; there have been several cases in which public school teachers have been removed from the classroom after it became known that they were involved in white-supremacist or antisemitic groups outside of the school, such as Paul Fromm in Ontario (Waller 1998, 7) or Malcolm Ross in New Brunswick (Waller 1997, 245), and several cases of antisemitic materials making their way into university undergraduate curriculums, such as when Wolfgang Droege and Resistance Records founder George Burdi gave talks to University of Toronto and Brock University classes in 1993 (B'nai Brith 1994, 14), or when University of Toronto professor Robert Driscoll was reprimanded for antisemitic

writings and teaching (Waller 1995, 212; Waller 1996, 198). University campuses have also become chilly climates, with outbreaks of antisemitic and anti-Zionist activism (B'nai Brith 1999, 1).

Lastly, the proliferation of high-profile explicit antisemitism in Canada often lets everyday systematic antisemitism go unchecked. The Quebec press is particularly prone to this sort of antisemitism, such as a 1997 *La Presse* feature on a 'Jewish criminal organization', in which four of the thirty-one participants were Jewish, and whose operations had nothing to do with Judaism (B'nai Brith 1997, 25). The article ran beside a column on Jewish crime which suggested that Jews were prominent in the criminal world because of their financial power and global diaspora (Waller 1998, 8). *Le Soleil* published a series of attacks on the anglophone-rights organization Alliance Quebec in 1998, one of which suggested without any justifying context that Alliance Quebec had too many Jews (Waller 1998, 8). Jewish stereotypes occasionally occur in broadcasting, too, such as using 'jew' as a verb to describe being cheated, especially in sports (Waller 1998, 9). Systemic discrimination against Jews often occurs in schools and the workplace, as well, where workers have trouble taking off Jewish holidays (B'nai Brith 1997, 31) or having to work Friday nights although Sabbath-observant (Waller 1994, 242), and where schools insist on using Christian prayer (Waller 1990, 313) and on scheduling exams without regard to Jewish holidays (Waller 1995, 220). The government often encounters problems of systemic discrimination as well. The 1980s saw problems in Quebec where Jews were initially not permitted to close on Saturday, the Sabbath, and open Sunday; the Quebec government then asked the Canadian Jewish Congress to authenticate the 'Jewishness' of individual applicants who wished to be exempted from having to close Sunday (Waller 1986, 237), and in Ottawa where a Statistics Canada report executive summary highlighted a correlation between Jewish ethnicity and high income, without mentioning the intervening variables in the full report (B'nai Brith 1989, 6). More recently was 'Matzohgate', where in 1996 Quebec French-language-law inspectors demanded the removal of Kosher food from Quebec stores which was labeled only in English, despite it being Passover and despite there being an

explicit exception in the law for the import of specialty goods for special occasions (Waller 1997, 252).

Current Approaches Canada’s traditional approach to the problem of antisemitism has been that of legislation—an approach characteristic of our “peace, order, and good government” approach to liberal democracy (Mertl and Ward 1985, 36) but not without its liabilities. Anti-hate legislation in Canada is relatively recent. During the mid-1960s, as antisemitism was beginning to re-establish itself following the fall of Nazi Germany, the Canadian Jewish Congress began lobbying the federal government for tools with which to combat them (Suriya 1998, 28), emphasizing the need to outlaw hatemongering presented as free speech; this led to the formation of the Cohen Committee which presented a Report on Hate Propaganda in Canada in 1965 recognizing the “corrosive effect of propaganda” (in Mertl and Ward 1985, 35), and recommending the creation of hate-crime offenses. Such an effort did not go unopposed; a 1965 poll showed that 26% of Canadians were opposed to anti-hate legislation (Rosenberg 1965, 325). At that time, hatemongers were prosecuted as seditious libel (Suriya 1998, 27) or under laws prohibiting the spreading of false news—that is, if they were prosecuted at all (Mertl and Wood 1985, 35).

1970 saw the passing of Bill C-3, the first specific anti-hate legislation in Canadian history. What was then Bill C-3 is still in the Criminal Code of Canada, sections 318 and 319, and they read in part:

318.1 Every one who advocates or promotes genocide is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years.

319.1 Every one who, by communicating statements in any public place, incites hatred against any identifiable group where such incitement is liable to lead to a breach of the peace is guilty of (a) an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years; or (b) an offence punishable on summary conviction. (Criminal Code of Canada)

Although Bill C-3 became law in 1970, it remained unused until 1978, and even then it was used against French Quebecers distributing anti-French pamphlets (Ages 1981, 390). Both of these sections are qualified such that “[n]o proceeding for an offence under this section shall be instituted without the consent of the Attorney General.” Between the stringent requirements of s. 319.1—that the statements actually incite hatred and that the incitement is likely to lead to a breach of the peace—and the requirement of the approval of the Attorney General, this first round of hate laws proved difficult to apply. While one must agree in part with Neil Crawford, Alberta Attorney General during the Keegstra trial described below, that ‘[y]ou don’t want. . . to have warring factions among small, perhaps racial groups, seeing that charges are laid against other groups all the time’ (in Mertl and Wood 1985, 36), the result was that the law was hardly applied at all, and when it was applied, it was weak.

In 1995, after seeing the disappointing results brought by Bill C-3, another anti-hate bill was brought before the Senate and later the House of Commons. Bill C-41, the ‘Sentencing Reform Bill,’ affected sentencing procedures in a variety of ways, but relevant to us is that it defined particular considerations for sentencing in hate-motivated crimes. It defines a hate crime as one which ‘was motivated by bias, prejudice or hate based on the race, nationality, colour, religion, sex, age, mental or physical disability, or sexual orientation of the victim’ (in Roberts 1995, 13). Since Bill C-41 affects sentencing, two hurdles of the previous legislation were passed: first, it no longer requires the approval of the Attorney General; and more importantly, it is not taken into account when determining guilt. This means that the onus is no longer on the Crown to prove beyond reasonable doubt that the intent of the accused was to provoke hatred; instead, now, the accused can be charged with a mundane offence, and the motivation for that offence taken into account as an aggravating factor *after* he has been found guilty, enabling the judge to assess longer sentences (Suriya 1998, 72). The changes enacted by this Bill kickstarted the nation’s police as well; almost immediately after it passed, provincial and metropolitan police agencies began to form hate-crime units (Waller 1998, 9).

But laws on the books, by themselves, don't address the problem of antisemitism; for that, the laws have to be applied, and Canada's experience in that respect is spotty. The mid-1980s and early 1990s saw trials and appeals from three high-profile cases involving antisemitism: James Keegstra, Ernst Zundel, and Malcolm Ross.

Keegstra was the only one of the three to be tried for inciting hatred. For years, he taught his Eckville, Alberta social studies class of the horrors of the Jews—but rather than learn of the Holocaust and the Reich, these students were learning of a vast Jewish conspiracy to gain world political and financial control (Mertl and Wood 1985, 34). The investigation against Keegstra started in 1983; he was indicted in January 1984 on a charge of wilfully promoting hatred against an identifiable group, that group being Jews (*R. v. Keegstra* [1984], 19 C.C.C. [3d] 254-283 [Alta. Q.B.]). A trial that dragged out two years found him guilty but passed a sentence of a \$5000 fine and no prison time (Mertl and Wood 1985, 53). An appeal not only cleared him, but also overturned the Bill C-3 hate legislation on grounds of freedom of expression; luckily, the same legislation was being used in Ontario at the same time to prosecute two members of the Nationalist Party of Canada, a white-supremacist group which engaged in Holocaust denial and anti-Zionism. The Party's leader, Don Andrews, was sentenced to three months in prison for inciting hatred (*R. v. Andrews* [1990], 61 C.C.C. [3d] 490-505 [S.C.C.]); the interpretation of the law by the Supreme Court of Canada in the Andrews case ensured that there would still be hate laws on the books. With the constitutionality of the laws affirmed, the Crown appealed the Keegstra ruling in 1992, and Keegstra received a \$3000 fine (Suriya 1998, 56) but that was overturned because of a procedural irregularity. Finally, thirteen years later, in a final appeal, Keegstra was found guilty by the Alberta Court of Appeals and sentenced to one year probation with one year suspended sentence, and two hundred hours of community service (Suriya 1998, 57).

While the Keegstra case was proceeding, the infamous hate-propaganda publisher and Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel also found himself in court. Charges were laid against Zundel on a complaint by a private citizen, Sabina Citron, after Zundel published two pam-

phlets: *Did Six Million Really Die?*, which denied the Holocaust, and the anti-Zionist *The West, War, and Islam* (Weinmann and Winn 1986, 19). The Canadian Jewish Congress objected to his being charged at first, but later along with the B'nai Brith wanted him charged with inciting hatred, but the Attorney General refused to give consent, concerned that the law was too stringent in its requirements to convict (*op. cit.*, 19). Instead, Zundel was charged with spreading false news, under a century-old but seldom-used law (*op. cit.*, 17). The Jewish community was aghast—this meant that it would be required of the Crown to prove that the Holocaust had indeed happened! The Holocaust was effectively brought on trial, with Zundel calling expert witnesses who denied it, and the Crown calling on expert witnesses who affirmed it. Newspapers carried headlines, ‘No gas chambers in Nazi Germany, expert witness testifies’ and ‘Women happy at Auschwitz, trial told’ (*op. cit.*, 24), and Zundel counsel (and noted defender of antisemites including Keegstra) Doug Christie took it upon himself to insist that Zundel’s opinion of the Holocaust was fact (*op. cit.*, 27). Zundel’s initial conviction was overturned, and the Crown was able to avoid the media attention granted Holocaust denial by making a motion to take judicial notice of the Holocaust as fact, which succeeded (Waller 1990, 306). Unfortunately, that conviction was also overturned in 1994 (Waller 1994, 232). A new trial commenced, but in 1997, charges against Zundel were dropped by the Crown, to the outrage of the Jewish community (Waller 1997, 245).

The case of New Brunswick schoolteacher Malcolm Ross is less grandiose than the others; rather than be tried for inciting hatred after participating in antisemitic groups and publishing antisemitic materials in 1980 (Baskin 1981, 177), for which the Attorney General refused permission, he was simply banned in 1985 from the classroom (B'nai Brith 1986, 9). Ross filed a civil action against his school board, which made it to the Supreme Court of Canada before a decision was made (in the Board’s favour) in 1997—seventeen years after the initial incident—which still left Ross a free man (Waller 1997, 245).

The cases detailed above leave an impression that, while Canadian law confronts hate, the Canadian courts do not; cases run for nearly twenty years and end in token sentences.

Further, the complexity of the law with regards to hate makes it difficult to bring a hater to trial in the first place (Waller 1998, 1). There are other factors playing a part in preventing hate crimes from seeing their day in court; a prominent but unnamed rabbi said in reference to Zundel, 'Taking on antisemites and Holocaust deniers in the sanctified courtroom environment is like responding to someone who calls your mother a prostitute. By defending you raise the question that maybe she really was' (in Weinmann and Winn 1986, 14). Many felt that Zundel did not deserve the respect of the law, such as University of Western Ontario law professor Robert Martin, who believed that Zundel, not a Canadian citizen, should have been deported immediately (*op. cit.*, 28). However, while the law is demonstrably ineffective, the oft-expressed fears of increased anti-Jewish sentiment resulting from the trial were unfounded. A quarter of Canadians found themselves more sympathetic to Jews after the Zundel trial, and one half were unchanged (*op. cit.*, 98); in fact, half of Canada was unaware of the trial in the first place (*op. cit.*, 97). However, the Zundel trial *did* have an unexpected effect on opinion; while individual Canadians did not doubt the Holocaust or judge Jews based on Zundel's experts, they did come to believe that *other* Canadians did so; those aware of the trial were twice as likely to ascribe Holocaust doubts to others than those ignorant of the trial (*op. cit.*, 78). Putting fact on trial, then, does have its risks, albeit indirectly; by creating a 'climate of doubt', it makes it easier for antisemitic and anti-Holocaust sentiments to find their way into the Canadian psyche. As Canadians believe more people doubt the Holocaust, they might find it reasonable to doubt it themselves, although not immediately. And although unaffected by the Zundel trial, Holocaust doubt does find a home in Canadians, only 60% of whom hold Jews blameless for the Holocaust and 15% of whom consider the established death toll of six million too high (*op. cit.*, 73, 105).

Addressing Antisemitism The problem, suggests journalist Robert Fulford, is that liberal democracies have difficulty dealing with genuine evil. Either they ignore it and thus legitimize it, or they deal with it through trial, where a respectful hearing implies high

principles (in Weinmann and Winn 1985, 30). Fulford is slightly off the mark, but the sentiment rings true; instead, I would suggest that liberal democracies have difficulty *reacting* to genuine evil. In other words, there is far less that can be done after the fact. Addressing the problem of antisemitism requires proactive efforts: working towards a situation where antisemitic sentiments and acts will be explicitly unwelcome.

The most straightforward, but possibly most unattended area in which antisemitism can be fought is that of exposure and education. The Jewish community in Canada tends, for a number of legitimate reasons, to keep to itself. There are many factors at play. Canada's Jewish communities have developed in large urban centers (B'nai Brith 1995, 4). Within these urban centers, the Jewish communities tend to be highly segregated—in Montreal, for instance, 75% of the Cote-St.-Luc area is Jewish (Weinfeld 1980, 11). Antisemitic legacy has led Canadian Jewry to be particularly institutionally complete, relying on its own institutions which duplicate 'mainstream' ones (Weinfeld 1980, 7; Smith 1997, 121), and various Mitzvot tend to segregate Jews as well, for example, observing Shabbat and Kashrut (Weinfeld 1980, 7). To use Montreal as a further example, 87% of Montreal Jews report that most or all of their friends are Jewish, and 53% report that most or all of their neighbours are Jewish (Weinfeld 1980, 11). The other side of this coin is that it becomes very easy for a Gentile—especially one outside of Toronto, Ottawa, Vancouver, Winnipeg, or Montreal—to not encounter Jews on a regular basis, or even to not encounter Jews at all.

The 'exposure hypothesis' of prejudice suggests that repeated exposure to a minority leads to familiarity, which in turn leads to positive attitudes toward that minority (Kalin 1996, 172). The hypothesis is supported by the limited data available; a 1991 Angus Reid survey sponsored by the Department of Multiculturalism found positive linear relationships between exposure to Jews and comfort ratings, both in English Canada and in Quebec (Kalin 1996, 175). The stark interpretation of this is remarkable in its simplicity: antisemitism can, to an extent, be fought by ensuring that people actually meet a Jew. Of course, actual implementation is not quite so straightforward, and just *meeting* a Jew

will probably not suffice; instead, efforts should be directed at a more general goal of assisting Gentile Canadians to become familiar with Judaism and Jewry. Jews tend to be a forgotten minority when not being singled out for being Jewish; Ashkenazic Jews being mistaken for Gentiles or for generic Eastern European immigrants, and Sephardic Jews being identified first as French in Quebec, or as their racial ethnicity in English Canada. This is especially true in the media, where Jewishness can become invisible. The B'nai Brith has outreach programs which explicitly combat antisemitism (B'nai Brith 1999, 53) or even generic racism or hate (B'nai Brith 1999, 30), but while well-intentioned, and possibly filling a different role, neither of these serve to make non-Jews more familiar with Jews and Judaism. Canadian Jews and Canadian Jewish organizations need to implement programs directed at familiarizing the average Gentile Canadian with Judaism, and to facilitate outreach to communities other than those with substantial Jewish populations. The Canadian mass media has an obvious cooperative role in such an endeavour.

There are other, more specific areas which require attention; one which deserves a high priority are schools, especially non-collegiate schools (i.e., schools for children, as opposed to colleges and universities). Keegstra is the obvious example of why schools deserve attention and anti-hate efforts directed at them—he taught his Jewish conspiracy theories for at least five years (R. v. Keegstra [1984] 19 C.C.C. [3d] 254 [Alta. Q.B.])—but he's also exceptional; the hate that threatens to invade Canadian schools is considerably more subtle. In contrast with Keegstra, there was nothing explicitly antisemitic about the classroom behavior of Malcolm Ross, Paul Fromm or Marc Lemire, all of whom were relieved of teaching duties upon discovery of antisemitic and white-separatist group involvement; nothing for attentive students to report as unusual to their parents as in Keegstra's case, and assessing and counteracting the antisemitic components of such antisemitism would prove very difficult. Instead, antisemitic (and, for that matter, generally hateful) teachers need to be identified prior to being placed in a classroom; screening processes, ideally at both the certification and hiring stages of a teacher's career, need to be implemented or made more stringent in order to free schools from insidious antisemitism.

Lastly, while the law is demonstrably insufficient alone in combatting antisemitism, it still serves a role in dampening already-extant antisemitic behavior. Combatting Canada's status as a world center for hate propaganda and for organized hate groups *will* require the efforts of the police and the courts, but the historical fifteen-year turnaround on cases needs to be addressed. Law enforcement hate-crime units and the judicial system require tools which enable them to act fast; the difficult part will be balancing this with freedom-of-expression and similar human-rights issues (a task which falls far out of my area of knowledge!). The situation is exacerbated by the nature of Canadian antisemitic publications and organizations, which often take on the appearance of legitimate political organizations and academic movements, such as free-speech efforts, European Pride, and historical revisionism (B'nai Brith 1995, 13). The importance of reining organized hate is demonstrated by the results of an American study which found that the four primary factors lead an individual to an antisemitic orientation: exposure to antisemitic authority figures; associating with predominantly antisemitic friends; reading, hearing of, or seeing negative portrayals of Jews, especially if portrayed as truth; and confrontational or hostile personal relations with Jews (Quinley and Glock 1979, 191). These four factors describe the experience of organized hate.

Most of all, efforts against antisemitism in Canada must be sustained even when antisemitic incidents or sentiments appear to be receding. As demonstrated above, antisemitism will *not* go away on its own, nor with only periodic efforts, nor by counting on the judiciary. We cannot assume that Canada's generally tolerant society will have inherent strength to overcome antisemitism; Jewish history is ripe with occasions in which a mildly-intolerant society plunged into intense antisemitism (Ages 1981, 395). Antisemitism may appear to be a *farshlepte krenk*—a never-ending annoyance—in Canada; left unchecked, it could become considerably more, but with concerted, directed, proactive efforts, we can bring ourselves closer to its end.

Bibliography

- Abella, Irving and Harold Troper (1982). *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948*. Toronto: Lester and Oppen Denny's Ltd.
- Ages, Arnold (1981). "Antisemitism: The Uneasy Calm" in Weinfeld, Shaffir and Cotler (eds.) *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic*. Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, pp. 383-395.
- Baskin, Bernard (1980). "Canada" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 80. New York: American Jewish Committee.
- Berry, J.W. and Rudolf Kalin (1995). "Multicultural and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada: An Overview of the 1991 National Survey" in *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science* 27(3), pp. 301-320.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1983). *The Review of Antisemitism in Canada, 1982*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1986). *1985 The Review of Antisemitism in Canada, 1985*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1989). *1988 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1990). *1989 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1991). *1990 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1992). *1991 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1994). *1993 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1995). *1994 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1996). *1995 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1998). *1997 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- B'nai Brith, League for Human Rights of (1999). *1998 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents*. Montreal: League for Human Rights of B'nai Brith Canada.
- Brym, Robert J. (1993a). "Introduction (Antisemitism)" in Brym, Shaffir, Weinfeld (eds.) *The Jews in Canada*. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, pp. 74-76.
- Kalin, Rudolf (1996). "Ethnic Attitudes as a Function of Ethnic Presence" in *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science* 28(3), pp. 171-179.

- Kalin, Rudolf and J.W. Berry (1996). "Interethnic Attitudes in Canada: Ethnocentrism, Consensual Hierarchy and Reciprocity" in *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science* 28(4), pp. 253-261.
- Levitt, Cyril and William Shaffir (1989). "The Swastika as Dramatic Symbol: A Case-Study of Ethnic Violence in Canada" in *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 31(1), pp. 3-24.
- Mertl, Steve and John Ward (1985). *Keegstra: The Issues, The Trial, The Consequences*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books.
- Quinley, Harold and Charles Y. Glock (1979). *Anti-Semitism in America*. New York: Free Press.
- Roberts, Julian V. (1995). *Disproportionate Harm: Hate Crime in Canada*. Ottawa: Canada Department of Justice.
- Rosenberg, Louis (1965). "Canada" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 66. New York: American Jewish Committee.
- Shiff, Murray (1960). "Canada" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 71. New York: American Jewish Committee.
- Smith, Mackay (1997). *Jews of Montreal and their Judaisms*. Montreal: Aaron Communications.
- Sniderman, Paul, David Northrup, Joseph Fletcher, Peter Russell, Philip Fetlock (1993). "Psychological and Cultural Foundations of Prejudice: The Case of Anti-Semitism in Quebec" in *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 30(2), pp. 242-270.
- Speisman, Stephen (1997). "Antisemitism in Ontario: The Twentieth Century" in Davies, Alan (ed.) *Antisemitism in Canada*. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University, pp. 113-128.
- Suriya, Senakak (1998). *Combatting hate: A Socio-Legal Discussion on the Criminalization of Hate in Canada*. Ottawa: Carleton University, unpublished dissertation.
- Waller, Harold M. (1986). "Canada" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 90. New York: American Jewish Committee.
- Waller, Harold M. (1990). "Canada" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 90. New York: American Jewish Committee.
- Waller, Harold M. (1994). "Canada" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 94. New York: American Jewish Committee.
- Waller, Harold M. (1995). "Canada" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 95. New York: American Jewish Committee.
- Waller, Harold M. (1996). "Canada" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 96. New York: American Jewish Committee.
- Waller, Harold M. (1997). "Canada" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 97. New York: American Jewish Committee.

- Waller, Harold M. (1998a). "Canada" in *American Jewish Yearbook* 98. New York: American Jewish Committee.
- Waller, Harold M. (1998). *Antisemitism in Canada*. Institute for Jewish Policy Research, <<http://www.jpr.org.uk/antidem/countries/canada/>> .
- Weinfeld, Morton (1980). "The Jews of Quebec: Perceived Antisemitism, Segregation and Emigration." in *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 22(1), pp. 5–20.
- Weinmann, Gabriel and Conrad Winn (1986). *Hate on Trial: The Zundel Affair, The Media, and Public Opinion in Canada*. Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press.