

# Canadian Media Commentary on Resurgent Anti-Semitism and Israel in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

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In recent months, starting with the beginning of the second Palestinian Intifada in the fall of 2000, there has been a wide variety of reporting in the media internationally about the worldwide resurgence of anti-Semitism. Some journalists (and non-journalists too) have labeled this the *new* anti-Semitism<sup>1</sup> (i.e. attacking Israel vociferously and using code words like anti-Zionism as a *politically correct* protective cover for those in *left-wing* circles in order to avoid being accused of what is considered to be *classical* anti-Semitism, a cardinal sin reserved historically for the more conservative, upper classes and *right-wing* extremists). Many Jews and non-Jews alike have blamed this resurgent anti-Semitism on an increasing anti-Israel bias in not only the European media but also even the American one.

My paper, however, intends to highlight the Canadian media reaction to the Middle East conflict by examining the commentary on both the rise of anti-Semitism and Israel in Canadian newspapers and magazines. While a comparative study with American and European commentary would prove interesting, limitations on the size of this manuscript prevents such an analysis. Instead, I have decided to focus on something more uniquely Canadian and that is the political and cultural duality of Canada—predominantly French-speaking Quebec and English-speaking Canada, including Anglophone and allophone Quebecers—as an explanation for diverging commentary on anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli attitudes within Canada.<sup>2</sup> This approach is necessary in my opinion since one cannot understand Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard's resignation in January 2001 and former Ontario Premier Bob Rae's public parting with the New Democratic Party (NDP) in April 2002, the former over perceived anti-Semitic remarks by a prominent Parti Québécois activist and the latter over the anti-Israel posture of an influential member of the NDP, unless one understands the differences between Québécois and English Canadian anti-Semitism (In fact, the actions of these two former premiers, both proud and ambitious men in their heyday, are uniquely Canadian in the sense that I cannot imagine an equally prominent politician in the United States or the European Union resigning or officially parting with his/her political party over the issue of anti-Semitism or lack of support for Israel).

While only a cursory examination of the historical roots of anti-Semitism in Quebec and English Canada is possible here, it is still necessary to look back at the 20<sup>th</sup> century in order to understand the recent debate on this issue. In Quebec, the main roots of anti-Semitism there are religious, economic and linguistic, with the additional factor of political party affiliation coming later. In short, Québécois history and nationalism was greatly influenced by the Roman Catholic Church in the province between 1837 and 1960. Many Quebec intellectuals, including future Quebec nationalists, were greatly influenced by prominent members of the clergy, some of whom were anti-Semitic, including l'Abbé Lionel Groulx (1878-1967). Though a cleric, Groulx also founded a newspaper in Quebec called *L'Action Nationale* in 1933 which, among other things, argued for denying Jews their full

civil and political rights, preventing German Jews from coming to Canada and promoting the Achat Chez Nous movement, which basically meant that people should not buy from stores owned by Jews (Richler, *The New Yorker*, 1991: 71-72). In Mordecai Richler's view Groulx was 'the patron saint of the *indépendantistes*' and, in Groulx's obituary written by the prominent former editor of *Le Devoir*, Claude Ryan, was 'the spiritual father of modern Quebec. Everything noteworthy, everything novel on the Quebec scene has carried the imprint of Groulx's thought' (Richler 1991: 71-72). In addition, Jews in Quebec were not welcome in the French Catholic school system and therefore integrated into the province's Anglophone minority.<sup>3</sup>

The Jewish community's identification with the Anglophone minority in Quebec leads to another historical root of Quebec anti-Semitism and that is that most Jews speak English, not French. In August 1988, after the Canadian Jewish Congress and the B'nai B'rith League of Human Rights complained about the treatment a Jewish sect called Chassidim was being given in the Montreal area,<sup>4</sup> the Montreal daily, *La Presse*, responded on Yom Kippur with 'a two-page spread on the *problème juif*, including a column by Gérald LeBlanc that suggested that Anglophone Jews could do penance on their holy day by reading him in French. LeBlanc protested that he had nothing against Jews in general, only against those who were Anglophone' (Richler 1991: 70).<sup>5</sup> The Chassidim controversy was followed up by other revelations of anti-Semitism in Quebec: Toronto's York University study on anti-Semitic attitudes in Canada, undertaken in 1987, which revealed French-speaking Canadians had much higher anti-Semitic responses than English-speaking Canadians;<sup>6</sup> and the strong negative reaction in Quebec to *The New Yorker* article written by the famous Canadian writer, Mordecai Richler, in September 1991.<sup>7</sup> Such incidents led one speaker before the Canadian Jewish Congress in 1989 to state that '(Anti-Semitism) is most concentrated here. In this sense Quebec is truly a "distinct society"' a comment aimed at Quebecers wanting their province recognized as a distinct society within Canada (Richler, *The Montreal Gazette*, 28 September 1991: A10).

The history of anti-Semitic rhetoric in Quebec finally took its political toll when Lucien Bouchard, one of the most politically successful Quebec nationalists who came within 54,288 votes of winning the sovereignty referendum in the province in the fall of 1995, resigned as Quebec premier over the Michaud Affair ('l'affaire Michaud') in January 2001. As Lysiane Gagnon, a long-time political columnist for *La Presse* and outspoken critic of anti-Semitism in Quebec and the rest of Canada, wrote in describing the political crisis

For the Parti Québécois [...] the anti-Jewish diatribes of Yves Michaud, one of its most prominent activists, triggered a political crisis [...] His sudden attacks against the Jewish community came out of the blue. Over several days, he lashed out against the anti-sovereignty 'ethnic vote', referring to Jewish voters as 'immigrants' even though the Jewish community has lived in Montreal for more than a century. He accused Jews of being insensitive to the plight of Quebecers, saying he was 'fed up' hearing them talk as if 'they had been the only ones to suffer'. (Gagnon, *The Globe and Mail*, 8 January 2001)

If cooler heads had prevailed, the whole situation could have blown over since Lucien Bouchard was initially successful in getting the cooperation of all members of the National Assembly in Quebec to pass a resolution denouncing Yves Michaud and his comments.<sup>8</sup> However, a vocal minority within the PQ, dissatisfied with what they regarded as Bouchard's "moderate" stand on language and sovereignty and led by the former premier, Jacques Parizeau, sided with Michaud and apparently convinced some influential PQ members, including Deputy Premier (now Premier) Bernard Landry to arrange a sort of compromise

where Michaud would accept not running in the Mercier by-election if Premier Bouchard would “restore” his reputation. This was enough for Bouchard who resigned on January 11<sup>th</sup> declaring, ‘I don’t feel like pursuing this strange and dangerous debate about the Holocaust and the voting pattern of the cultural communities. Some want me to negotiate. There is no negotiation when it comes to principles’ (Gagnon, *The Globe and Mail*, 12 January 2001). Privately to Norman Spector, a former colleague of his who worked in the PMO during the Mulroney years, Bouchard stated his ‘admiration pour le peuple juif et ses réussites’ and, in the view of Michel Vastel of *Le Soleil*, ‘Lucien Bouchard n’était pas plus capables de présider un parti qui, par les déclarations de certains de ses membres, ou leurs maladroites, confirmait les pires préjugés du Canada anglais contre ses soi-disant penchants *fascistes* et *antisémites*’ (Vastel, *Le Soleil*, 12 January 2001). Bouchard’s premonitions about English Canada’s reaction were correct as an article by Haroon Siddiqui, the editorial page editor of *The Toronto Star*, entitled ‘Why Jews and “ethnics” irritate the Péquistes’, stated that the ‘Periodic complaints by some Péquistes against Jews or immigrants are in a way akin to the occasional racist outbursts of some Canadian Alliance MPs [...] there is still, sadly, a *tolerance in Quebec for views now unacceptable in English Canada* (my italics)’ (Siddiqui, *The Toronto Star*, 11 March 2001).

While some members of the political and cultural elites in English-speaking Canada might take a holier-than-thou attitude on the issue of anti-Semitism vis-à-vis their compatriots in Quebec, the historical evidence both in the *past* and *present* does not give English Canada anything to be smug about. In his autobiography, the famous Canadian historian and journalist, Pierre Berton described the anti-Semitism prevalent in Toronto when he moved there to work at *Maclean’s* in 1948.

The people who suffered most were the Jews. The anti-Semitism was palpable [...] I brought up the subject at a staff meeting (at *Maclean’s*) and was assigned to write about it. The results were far more devastating than I had suspected. All the major professions—engineering, the judiciary, higher education, brokerage, banking—were virtually closed to Jews. The banks, for instance, employed 27,193 men and women, but only 27 were Jewish. In all of Canada there were only 18 Jewish high-school principals and university professors. Of the 578 Jews in the legal profession, only one had been raised to the bench. (Berton, 1996: 27)

The journalist Michelle Landsberg, wife of former Ontario NDP leader and Canadian ambassador to the UN, Stephen Lewis, supports this view of Toronto at that time. Born in 1939, she wrote in *The Toronto Star* that ‘The shock of learning about the Holocaust [...] and the bitterness of enduring the polite, ubiquitous Anglo anti-Semitism of Toronto in the war years and after—an anti-Semitism still hotly denied by those most susceptible to it—made me a passionate Zionist by age 14’ (Landsberg, *The Toronto Star*, 7 April 2002).<sup>9</sup>

Fortunately for Canadian Jews (and non-Jews too), anti-Semitism began to dissipate rapidly beginning in the 1950s. Discrimination against Jews in employment disappeared due to greater public awareness and direct provincial government action abolishing such practices; and at all levels of government many Jews gained prominence in the political arena, whether by elected office or in the backrooms of one of the political parties. As a result, Jews were appointed to hold positions that had been denied to them earlier in the century.<sup>10</sup> In addition, Canada was a strong supporter of the Jewish state of Israel and its right to exist, a support that was very important emotionally to most Jews in Canada. Naturally, anti-Semitism did not totally disappear in English Canada, but it has to be said that this prejudice was so moribund

by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that most Canadians probably honestly felt that it was obsolescent outside of Quebec.<sup>11</sup>

Unfortunately, this consensus on anti-Semitism in English-speaking Canada has been shattered in the last two years—as it has in much of the Western world. The reason for this breakdown is basically twofold: first, the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians in the Middle East has turned so bitter and violent since the fall of 2000, especially with the number of suicide bombings there, that it has had a ripple effect which has spilt into the international arena; and second, the shocking events of September 11<sup>th</sup> in the United States and the beginning of its “War on Terrorism” has reverberated worldwide, including Canada.<sup>12</sup> For this paper, though, it is important to focus on how these events have affected media commentary on anti-Semitism and Israel in Canada.

In relation to Israel, media reporting has never been risk-free since many Canadian Jews have an emotional attachment to the Jewish state, with some reacting suspiciously, even angrily, in earlier years at the mildest criticism of Israeli policy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Moreover, support for Israel is strong even among non-Jewish Canadians. Former Ontario premier, Bob Rae, in his blistering criticism of his former NDP colleagues in Ottawa, spoke for many Canadians when he wrote that ‘Israel’s right to exist within defined and secure borders has been a foundation of both Canadian foreign policy and the democratic tradition for nearly 60 years [...] Canada’s support for the idea of Israel and its affirmation of human values has found deep resonance across religious faiths and party lines’ (Rae, *The National Post*, 16 April 2002). However, this support for Israel has led others to question the Canadian media’s objectivity in reporting on the Middle East. Rick Salutin, a long-time left-wing commentator on a number of Canadian issues, complained that ‘For half a century, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been the most distorted area of our (Canadian) foreign news coverage’ (Salutin, *The Globe and Mail*, 20 October 2000).

Many Canadians, especially on the left of the political spectrum, have criticized Israel since the fall of 2000. A number of events and factors in 2001 coalesced together in such a way that by April 2002, when Palestinian suicide bombings against Israeli civilians were a frequent occurrence and the Israeli Army was launching a counterstrike in the West Bank town of Jenin and besieging Yasser Arafat in his compound in Ramallah, many left-wing Canadians were venting their spleen against Israel. First, the election of George W. Bush in the disputed 2000 presidential election confirmed the anti-American views of many in the Canadian left, especially since the new president was seen as a friend of big business and against Kyoto. The fact that Bush spoke out often about his support for Israel certainly did not help create sympathy for the Jewish state. Second, even if Al Gore had won the Florida recount and the American presidency, the Canadian left, including most members of the federal NDP in Canada, had already embraced the anti-American, anti-capitalist, anti-globalization movement. However, by 2001, the anti-globalization movement began to advocate the cause of the Palestinians too. This meant that many NDP members, environmental activists and labor members who were against free trade, added criticism of Israel to its litany of complaints. An activist and columnist, Naomi Klein, pointed out that

The globalization movement isn’t anti-Semitic; it just hasn’t fully confronted the implications of diving into the Middle East conflict. Most people on the left are simply choosing sides and in the Middle East, where one side is under occupation and the other has the U.S. military behind it, the choice seems clear. (Klein, *The Globe and Mail*, 24 April 2002)

Finally, the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, especially the suicide bombings of the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, created such widespread sympathy for the United

States in the immediate aftermath worldwide that for many months afterwards it was regarded as unseemly, particularly in Canada, to be anti-American. However, criticism of Israel was another matter. As another columnist, Rex Murphy, wrote

The Israeli side of the current agony in the Middle East is [...] being forced to carry the burden of a considerable store of anti-Americanism. It hasn't been easy to be full-throttle anti-American since September 11 [...] But Israel is a wonderful proxy for the anti-American crowd. (Murphy, *The Globe and Mail*, 27 April 2002)

As a result of the above, the debate in English-speaking Canada has often become bitter in 2002. Critics of Israel have been at times uncompromisingly harsh, sometimes in the written and spoken word, and occasionally even violent.<sup>13</sup> Criticism of Israel has been expressed on university campuses (where the issue of “divestment” is being hotly debated), in the churches of certain Protestant denominations and at labor union meetings.<sup>14</sup> While their rhetoric has been cleverly crafted to avoid being charged with *classical* anti-Semitism, the use of words and symbols of the Nazi era and the Holocaust has often been twisted around to be used against the Israelis—which many Jews and non-Jews consider to be symbolic of the *new* anti-Semitism. If anyone takes them to task on their methods and calls them anti-Semitic, countercharges against members of the Jewish community and their supporters are leveled.<sup>15</sup>

In my view this is one of the most contemptible aspects that has appeared in recent months: Jews have lost the legitimacy to label anyone an “anti-Semite”, even if they have valid reasons to make such a charge! It is true that some Jews may have misused this label in order to gain an unfair upper hand against an opponent in the past, but so have some blacks, feminists, gays and lesbians—and no one, particularly at any university or in the media, would deny these groups the legitimate right to call someone a racist, chauvinist or homophobe, respectively. Karl Lueger (1844-1910), the anti-Semitic mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910, used to defend himself against charges from fellow anti-Semites that Lueger himself had *Jewish* friends with the famous phrase ‘Wer a Jud is, bestimm’i’ (‘It is I who decide who is a Jew’). However, opponents of Israel, especially at universities and in the media, have twisted Lueger’s phrase around and have all but said ‘Who is an anti-Semite, it is for us to decide’ (with Lueger at least having had the virtue of recognizing that *some* Jews were good, in contrast with today where the words of *real* anti-Semites are given credence by academics and journalists)!<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to English-speaking Canada, the *new* anti-Semitism and criticism of Israel has not really affected French-speaking Quebecers. First, anti-Americanism is not an issue among Quebec’s political and economic elites, let alone the average voter. As the results of the 1988 Canadian Federal General Election showed, Quebec is *pro*-free trade and supports globalization too.<sup>17</sup> Many Quebec nationalists see any process that loosens Quebec’s economic ties with the rest of Canada as good for the province. Second, the political spectrum in Quebec has never been dichotomized on a “left/right” basis but as indicated earlier, on a “French/English”, “Catholic/non-Catholic” and “nationalist/federalist” bases; therefore, there is no real necessity to justify continually one’s left-wing credentials. Third, many Quebec nationalists do not really care if a Jew is a Zionist or not: the fact that many of them speak English and vote for the federalist cause is their concern. Finally, since hardly any Jews attend *French*-speaking universities in Quebec, university campuses are rather quiet there in comparison to their *English*-speaking counterparts, especially Concordia University where the situation has gotten so heated and violent that the Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal sent a letter recently to the rector of the university expressing his concern about the situation there.<sup>18</sup>

In the Canadian press, many supporters of Israel were initially put on the defensive. By April 2002, though, many who were pro-Israeli or abhorred anti-Semitism went on the offensive and did not mince their words doing so. These commentators fell into two categories: those mainly on the center-left who were appalled by what they felt was pandering to either anti-Semitism or terrorism; and those, mostly neo-conservative in philosophy, who felt criticism of Israel, and indirectly the United States, was hypocritical and represented everything they hate about present-day Canada. In relation to the former group, there were some commentators on the political left who took umbrage at how easily some critics of Israel were ignorant of the effects of anti-Semitism in society. Michelle Landsberg, a severe critic of the Sharon government and herself a Jew, complained

Not long ago I attended a church-sponsored meeting about the Middle East conflict. It was an orgy of righteousness. One by one, members of the audience bemoaned and lamented the horrible oppression they suffered. If they dared to criticize Israel, they said, they would be accused of anti-Semitism. What a terrible burden. I sat there in grim silence. Anti-Semitism is real; it has created hardship, hurt and loss beyond the imaginings of any of those smug, self-congratulatory burghers. (Landsberg, *The Toronto Star*, 7 April 2002)

Former Ontario premier, Bob Rae, was even more pointed in criticizing his former NDP colleagues, especially their foreign affairs critic, Svend Robinson, for embracing the Palestinian cause and criticizing Israel when he asked ‘Where is his (Robinson’s) solidarity with the families of the victims of the massacre on Passover? Where is his humanitarian outrage over the children killed while dancing in a discotheque or eating in a pizzeria?’ Rae continued his diatribe against the present NDP leadership on other issues too and ended by stating that NDP policy, including their views on Israel, is ‘not a vision of social democracy worthy of support’ (Rae, *National Post Online*, 16 April 2002).

Other columnists were angered at the *hypocrisy* of many Canadians in their comments on Israel’s counter terrorist actions. Reminding readers that the War Measures Act was invoked ‘against a handful of terrorizing separatists’ in the October Crisis of 1970, Rosie DiManno declared that ‘Canada [...] has not a whit of moral imperative in [...] condemning Israel’s “disproportionate use” of military force against the Palestinians. How would we respond to suicide attacks on a Yorkville bistro, a Montreal hotel, a Vancouver mall, especially if we knew the terrorist groups responsible’ (DiManno, *The Toronto Star*, 3 April 2002). Lysiane Gagnon saved her salvos for hypocrisy in Canadian academia where some were advocating an academic boycott against Israel. In a blunt article, Gagnon wrote that

Academic boycotts are extremely rare. No one on Western campuses penalized Serbian academics for what happened in Bosnia and Kosovo, or Russian academics for what’s happening in Chechnya or Chinese academics for what’s happening in Tibet [...] So guess which country has been singled out for an academic boycott? Israel, of course. But what’s new? This is only one part of the growing current of anti-Semitism that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has reactivated [...] The Canadian Association of University Professors is still pondering the issue—as if one needed reflection to realize that excluding academics on the basis of nationality is something that borders on racism or, in this case, pure and simple anti-Semitism. (Gagnon, *The Globe and Mail*, 5 August 2002)

Other columnists, however, especially those in *The National Post*, were critical of Canada from a pro-American, neo-conservative standpoint. They basically feel that Canada has headed in the wrong direction for years on issues in the areas of social and economic policy, immigration, multiculturalism, etc. While many expressed their anger at the growing criticism of Israel for the simple reason of opposing any form of anti-Semitism; others, in my view, see Israel as a kind of Avalon where they can imprint their ideals of what they would like Canada to be. Christie Blatchford falls into this category when she compared Canada and Israel in two consecutive articles recently. In the first one, she pulled no punches when she wrote that ‘Israel is in some ways the mirror opposite of Canada [...] They are a nation of plain-talkers; we are a country of bullshit-speakers’ (Blatchford, *The National Post*, 27 August 2002). In a longer assessment a week later, she compared Canada to both Israel and the United States. Even more pointed than her previous article, Blatchford stated that

These are two of my favorite countries (Israel and the United States) in the world. What they have in common, and what I most admire in them, is the robust self-confidence that both Israelis and Americans have in spades, and a certain in-your-face, up-your-arse toughness. The absence of that is what I most mourn about Canada and my fellow-Canadians, but saying so is one of the few things [...] that apparently can rouse my countrymen from their self-imposed stupor of tolerance: If you don’t like Canada, several readers shrieked after my paean to the Jewish nation, then get the hell out (Blatchford, *The National Post*, 4 September 2002).

Blatchford is not the only representative of those who are critical of the liberal-left establishment (and even the Liberal one too!) in Canada; but she is just one of many women from all over the Canadian political and linguistic spectrum in recent months who have often been *franker* than their male colleagues in criticizing anti-Semitism and/or the double-standard applied internationally against Israel in its war on terrorism.<sup>19</sup>

To sum up, I have tried to highlight in this paper the differences in the attitude of English-speaking Canadians towards the topic of anti-Semitism with that of French-speaking Quebecers. A number of factors, particularly in relation to the political, linguistic and religious ones have influenced differences in feelings on this issue. However, in relation to Canadian attitudes towards Israel, other factors, especially ones related to differing attitudes towards the United States, globalization and even political correctness, come into play. The difficulty here is that at present attitudes towards Israel and anti-Semitism have become so intertwined in the last two years (unlike the previous fifty years) that many in the media in Canada have had difficulty separating the two in their minds when reporting on one or the other. This is a problem that is not unique to Canada, but in concluding it does not excuse any media commentary or political activism by any group in Canadian society who try to find neat and tidy explanations for everything, even if the premises are fallacious and exacerbate tensions among Canadians. One only has to look at France during the Dreyfus Affair when notions of honor and truth (along with *obvious* lies and prejudice!) were twisted by the political, religious and journalistic elites of that time for their own ends to the detriment of French society for years to come. This is something all Western democracies, including Canada, should ponder in the future.

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Comparing *classical* anti-Semitism and the *new* anti-Semitism is a topic for a PhD thesis in itself. The B’Nai Brith Canada Institute for International Affairs, admittedly an advocate on protecting ‘worldwide Jewish communities in distress’ and being “pro-Israeli“, describes the “New Anti-Semitism” as being ‘merely a variant of the age-old phenomenon using the same metaphors [...] that were popular in a bygone age’. Moreover, ‘it actively seeks to diminish the collective rights of the Jews as a people rather than the entitlements of the Jews as individuals. It is thus the principle of national self-determination of the Jewish people that is now under attack’. See this explained in greater detail in this organization’s ‘A Critique of Canadian Foreign Policy in the Middle East’ which was submitted to Canada’s Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade earlier this year and now appears on the website of the B’Nai Brith Canada at <http://www.bnaibrith.ca/institute/docs/DFAIT2002b.html>.
- <sup>2</sup> I must admit that due to my difficulties in reading French, hardly any of the sources related to French-speaking Quebec were quoted directly from the original French.
- <sup>3</sup> Jews used to be placed into the Protestant school boards prior to the changes of the 1990s.
- <sup>4</sup> To be precise, the name of the municipality in question was Outremont.
- <sup>5</sup> In another *La Presse* article Chassidim was described as a ‘bizarre minority, where the men in black looked like bogeymen and the woman dressed like onions’. See Richler, ‘Inside/Outside’ in *The New Yorker*: 70-71, for more details on this incident.
- <sup>6</sup> The results of York’s Institute for Social Research that measured anti-Semitic attitudes in Canada in the late 1980s found that ‘40% of 2,000 Canadians who responded to the survey, but 84% of the Francophones who responded, believed that most Jews were pushy. Twenty-eight per cent of the total, but 42% of the Francophones, also thought that Jews were more willing than others to use shady practices to get ahead’. See Richler, 1991: 71.
- <sup>7</sup> See Mordecai Richler’s reply to Canadian critics of *The New Yorker* article in Richler, ‘Mordecai Richler pens his reply’ in *The Montreal Gazette*, 28 September 1991: A10.
- <sup>8</sup> While it was easy to get unanimous approval in the Quebec National Assembly for condemning Yves Michaud’s statements, Lucien Bouchard needed a *two-third majority* of the PQ party executive to prevent Michaud from being the PQ candidate in the Mercier by-election. That is why there was so much discussion for a compromise since it was quite possible that Bouchard would not have been able to muster the necessary votes to force Michaud to stand down, especially with former premier Parizeau backing Michaud.
- <sup>9</sup> My apologies to Torontonians who might think I am unfairly using their city as the “scapegoat” for English Canadian anti-Semitism in the immediate postwar years but there is further evidence for this in Berton’s book, *My Times* on page 27. Berton, in an ironical and *black humorous* way, compared Vancouver with Toronto and wrote, ‘Certainly Vancouver was not immune to anti-Semitism, but in the newspaper business it was muted. Besides, British Columbians were so busy hating the Orientals they hadn’t much bile left over for the others.’
- <sup>10</sup> According to Stephen Clarkson and Christina McCall in their biography of Pierre Trudeau, Trudeau when he came to power in 1968 ‘was intent on breaking up the encrusted Canadian vertical mosaic where the WASPs were in command. Along with the French Canadians, the first beneficiaries [...] were Jews who were sworn into cabinet, named to the bench, appointed to head departments and regulatory agencies, and hired for ministerial staffs in unprecedented numbers’. See Clarkson and McCall, *Trudeau and Our Times, Volume 1: The Magnificent Obsession*, 118, 415-16 for the names of Jews appointed to prominent positions by Trudeau.

- <sup>11</sup> There were examples of anti-Semitism by those like the German-born Holocaust-denier, Ernst Zundl in the 70s and 80s and members of the short-lived Western Canada Concept (WCC) party in the 1980s; but Holocaust deniers and rural Western Canadian separatists were (and hopefully, still are) outside the political mainstream of Canadian society.
- <sup>12</sup> Maybe a more appropriate term for the *suicide bomber* would be *homicide bomber*.
- <sup>13</sup> The most violent example occurred on 9 September 2002 at Concordia University in Montreal when pro-Palestinian demonstrators disrupted and prevented former Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, from speaking by resorting to bullying and violence.
- <sup>14</sup> In two letters to *The National Post* on 5 April 2002, both entitled ‘Churches identify root causes of uprising’, Michael G. Peers, Archbishop and Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada and Right Reverend Dr. Marion Parry, Moderator of the United Church of Canada, took a pro-Palestinian position on the conflict in the Middle East. As for the unions, when Local 2063, a Jewish social services agency in Toronto, asked the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) to complain on their behalf about a CUPE (Canadian Union of Public Employees) resolution which condemned Israel, CUPE president Sid Ryan accused both of ‘trying to foment antiunion sentiment’ and ‘splitting hairs and trying to silence debate’—even as Ryan himself was trying to pass the resolution without any chance of debate! See Margaret Wentz, ‘Canada’s big unions dump on Israel’ in *The Globe and Mail*, 8 June 2002:A19.
- <sup>15</sup> Sometimes countercharges are even “twisted” as the recent reaction to Harvard president Lawrence Summers comments on anti-Semitism revealed. In his article, ‘Hate, recognition and the mighty U.S. war machine,’ Rick Salutin wrote that Summers ‘has charged U.S. profs and students with being ‘anti-Semitic in their effect if not their intent’, for criticizing and asking universities to withdraw investments there. For those whom he was referring to, many of them Jews, I imagine being called anti-Semitic is far more hurtful—and intimidating—than being called kikes’. I am quite sure my late father would have thought otherwise! For more of Salutin’s *imaginary* thinking, see Salutin, *The Globe and Mail*, 18 October 2002: A19.
- <sup>16</sup> The Lueger quote is taken from William M. Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*, 1972: 66.
- <sup>17</sup> The pro-free trade Progressive Conservatives won 63 out of 75 seats in Quebec.
- <sup>18</sup> Wiesenthal criticized Concordia because ‘To allow their violence and intimidation to succeed in silencing an important voice should be unacceptable to a university which promotes the values of freedom of speech and open exchange of ideas’. See more in Graeme Hamilton, ‘Nazi-hunter criticizes actions of Concordia’ in *The National Post*, 16 October 2002.
- <sup>19</sup> As seen in this paper, journalists like Christine Blatchford, Rosie DiManno, Lysiane Gagnon, Michelle Landsberg and Margaret Wentz, who come from all over the ethnic, linguistic, political and religious spectra, have been blunt and to the point in their articles.

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