

# Introduction

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**F**ifty years after his death in 1967, Adrien Arcand appears to be alive and well—his writings, rather, which have never been more accessible, thanks to the Internet.

How is this phenomenon to be explained? For some years now, we have been witnessing a global resurgence of the far right. In the United States, fundamentalist, nativist, and anti-Semitic movements are on the rise. This was evident in the reaction to Barack Obama's election as president, and to his social measures, which challenged a deeply rooted ultraconservative tradition, especially in the southern states. In 2009, the founding of the Tea Party protest movement, which came as the debate on US healthcare reform intensified, drew attention to the growing number of right-wing protest movements in the United States. And what are we to think of David Duke, former state congressman for Louisiana and former leader of the Ku Klux Klan; the Australian, Frederik Toeben, who was detained in Germany for inciting racial hatred; Georges Thiel, convicted in France for Holocaust-denial offences, and his colleague Robert Faurisson, who in 2007 joined an anti-Semitic group in Tehran to take part in a Holocaust conference organized by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's Iranian government, widely considered to be the largest assemblage of historical negationists ever organized?

In 2010, the extreme right made disturbing breakthroughs in Europe. In Italy, the Northern League's victory in the regional elections raised the spectre of Mussolini. In France, Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front, believed to be dead after the 2007 presidential election, bounced back past the 10 percent mark in the recent regional elections. On January 15, 2011, Le Pen passed the torch to his daughter, Marine. Marine Le Pen had won the party's leadership election, beating rival Bruno Gollnisch at the National Front's fourteenth congress, held in Tours. Between 23,000 and 24,000 party members, according to the party, were called upon to cast a ballot. It was the first time the party leader was chosen democratically, since re-election had thus far been by acclamation. With her seemingly calmer tone, Marine Le Pen

inspired fears outside the party that France could see a resurgence of the extreme right. Her views come across as more level-headed and less inflammatory than her father's (indeed, as this book goes to press, she is a leading candidate in the 2017 presidential election). She does not make references to the Holocaust or the crematoriums. She has disassociated herself from anti-Semites, even though the National Front counted many among its membership. Under her watch, the National Front went with the flavour of the day: it became an anti-Muslim party. But this reorientation did not mean anti-Semitism in France had suddenly disappeared. Quite the contrary.

Almost a century after the death of Édouard Drumont (1844–1917), he, like Arcand, continues to cast a pall. On April 20, 2005, the Amis d'Édouard Drumont re-established their association to preserve the memory of the anti-Semitic French writer and journalist and to encourage the publication of his works. The association had originally been founded in 1963 under the leadership of Maurice Bardèche in collaboration with other writers, including Henry Coston, Xavier Vallat, and Jacques Ploncard d'Assac. This organization was committed to publishing Drumont's writings as well as various publications defending anti-Semitic theories, including the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Every year they awarded a prize to the author of the best publication on Drumont and his work. In the 1990s, the association suspended its activities as most of its members were then deceased. The association was revived in 2005, with the same objectives, their headquarters located at the Licorne bleue bookstore in Paris. The executive of the Amis d'Édouard Drumont consisted of Yves Bruno (president), Olivier Mathieu (secretary), and Thierry Dreschmann (treasurer). In 2006, the association had reacted strongly to the removal of the epitaph "to the immortal author of *La France juive*" from the inscription on Drumont's tombstone in the cemetery of Père-Lachaise. In 2010, the association found itself at the centre of a controversy surrounding the Édouard-Drumont literary award. Its recipient, Frédéric Vitoux, a member of the Académie française, turned down the prize two weeks after graciously accepting it.

In the Netherlands, the Party for Freedom made conspicuous inroads in the national and European Union elections of 2009. In Hungary, following a campaign built on anti-Semitism, stigmatization of the Roma people, and opposition to the EU, the Jobbik Party won forty-seven seats in the legislature in 2010. In Austria, the far right has climbed the polls in every national election since 2008; in the 2010

presidential elections, the candidate for the Freedom Party, Barbara Rosenkranz, successor to FPÖ leader Jorg Haider, who died in 2008, obtained 15.6 percent of the vote. In Germany, the shame and guilt occasioned by the Second World War no longer seems to have a hold on younger generations. Increasingly, young Germans are attracted to extreme right-wing movements, which expand via the Internet. In 2009, nearly 1,800 sites presenting extreme-right content were identified in a report prepared by a German youth-protection organization tasked with monitoring media risks for youth.

In the Middle East and Asia, Hitler has become a symbol for radical Islamists.<sup>1</sup> For example, in Pakistan it is not unusual to see cars with bumper stickers that read, "I like Nazi" or "I like Hitler." Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was no stranger to this infatuation with the German Führer. Bhutto frequently used extracts from Hitler's speeches in his own. In Turkey, *Mein Kampf* saw record sales, with 100,000 copies of Hitler's manifesto being sold in just two months in 2005. Even in India, home of Mahatma Gandhi, an increasing number of young people can be seen sporting the Nazi-style swastika instead of the traditional Hindu swastika. Such attraction to Hitler is more focused on the present than the past. Historian Ilhas Niaz, a professor at Quaid-i-azam University in Islamabad, explains this phenomenon as a search for a charismatic leader in Middle Eastern countries. With the never-ending conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, and the Arab world's resentment toward Israel, Hitler has become a symbol in anti-Semitic, geopolitical hostilities, he believes.

On the other hand, we have been witnessing a reversal of roles for some years now in Europe and in the Middle East: Muslims have become the new scapegoats for far-right extremists, found even in Israel. A growing number of fundamentalist movements are targeting Muslims. In January 2012, New York police reported a case where Molotov cocktails were used in an attack against a mosque and two residences. The police considered these attacks to be motivated by Islamophobia, xenophobia, and hatred. A report on incidences of mosques being attacked in the Netherlands, broadcast on Dutch radio on December 31, 2011, cited 117 attacks between 2005 and 2010. In January 2011, vandals painted racist graffiti on the walls of a West Jerusalem mosque that was no longer in use. The messages suggested right-wing Jewish extremist groups as the perpetrators. According to a survey commissioned by the French newspaper *Le Monde* in December of 2010, 42 percent of the French population and 40 percent

of Germans consider the presence of a Muslim community to be “a threat” to the identity of their countries, while 68 percent of the former and 75 percent of the latter believe that Muslims are “not very well integrated into society.”<sup>2</sup> Of course, Quebec and Canada as a whole are not immune to these expressions of extremism, which have occurred, moreover, in every era of our history.

In Canada, there are far-right groups, like the Heritage Front and the Aryan Nations, but the number of their members is negligible. It is on the Internet that expressions of anti-Semitism are the most prevalent, in particular on the US-based Stormfront Internet portal, which features white-nationalist and neo-Nazi discussion. Discussion topics among members of this site range from white supremacy to views condemning homosexuality, and feature hate speech, racism, and anti-Semitism. The portal’s self-described mission is to promote “white pride.” Stormfront users describe themselves as national socialists, patriots, traditionalists, members of the far right, “true” conservatives, or “true” Americans. Since it began in 1995, it has attracted over 83,000 members and more than a million visitors. Its creator, Don Black, a former Klansman, recruits new members via the Internet. The site uses as its symbol a Celtic cross surrounded by the inscription *White Pride World Wide*, and it contains several references to Arcand and his writings. This is also true of the site for the Association des anciens amateurs de récits de guerre et d’holocauste, or l’AAARGH (Association of Former Fans of War and Holocaust Stories). This group, which created a francophone historical-negationism Internet site in 1996, hosts texts and works with anti-Semitic and denialism content. Most of Arcand’s writings are listed on the site. Even with these hateful ideas circulating on the Internet, the opinions of the far right do not seem to have a hold in Quebec or Canada. In Quebec, the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences showed clearly that while there were pockets of resistance to immigration, especially to religious accommodation, in all regions of the province, such attitudes were not typical. Overall, Quebec and the rest of Canada constitute models of tolerance toward migrants who arrive in the country, with their language, their cultural practices, and their religion, in search of a better life.

In Quebec, one would need to go back to the 1930s to encounter widespread resistant attitudes to immigration: During the interwar period, anti-Semitism was a part of daily life in Quebec, as everywhere in Canada, the United States, and Europe. It seems at first glance that

following the Second World War, the phenomenon became disreputable and marginalized. Canadian universities abandoned such policies of exclusion.<sup>3</sup> Businesses no longer limited access or participation by members of the Jewish community. With the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II), in the early 1960s, the Catholic Church stopped feeding this xenophobic sentiment which defied any rational thought. Generally speaking, Quebec became, for its Jewish citizens, a welcoming and egalitarian society, within which every person could find fulfillment. Is this to say that expressions of anti-Semitism have vanished? Certainly not. Anti-Semitism continues to be voiced. Hatred toward Jews is still expressed in both the spoken and written word, not only in Montreal but in Winnipeg, Toronto, and other cities in Canada where there is a concentration of members of the Jewish community—and where there is not, too, as is so often the case with prejudice. Often these are random incidents, but violent acts are still perpetrated against individuals, synagogues, and other institutions. In 2009, B'nai Brith Canada's Human Rights League recorded 1,264 anti-Semitic incidents nationwide, representing an 11.4 percent increase over the previous year and nearly five times as many as in 1999. Of this number, 373 occurred in Quebec and 672 in Ontario. Like in 2008, there were fifty incidents targeting synagogues in 2009. They took place across the country, in Montreal, Sainte-Agathe, Toronto, Barrie, Oshawa, Regina, Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver, among others. Of the 1,264 cases noted, 209 (16 percent of the total for the year) happened in the month of January alone, coinciding with hostilities between Palestinians and the Israeli army in the Gaza war. In 2009, a group of Canadian members of Parliament, with representation from each of the four federal parties at the time in Ottawa, judged the problem sufficiently worrying to convene the Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Anti-Semitism (CPCCA). Between November 2009 and January 2010, it held ten hearings, listened to witnesses, and received dozens of reports on the issue.<sup>4</sup>

But what is meant by an "anti-Semitic incident"? B'nai Brith lists three types: harassment, vandalism, and violence. Examples of harassment include public calls for genocide, targeting of Jewish classmates at schools, denial of service to Jewish customers in shops and businesses. In 2009, the organization identified 884 such cases. Vandalism essentially involves the desecration of Jewish cemeteries or the defacement of synagogues. The report listed 348 cases of vandalism in 2009. And there were thirty-two cases of such physical violence reported in Canada that same year.

These statistics provide an overview of anti-Semitism in Canada in 2010, but they do not explain the origins of the phenomenon. In order to study anti-Semitism in Quebec and thoroughly understand the issue, it would appear necessary—in fact, essential—to trace the life of its principal proponent within the context of the history of Quebec and Canada. But as a prerequisite to recounting the life of Arcand, anti-Semitism needs to be defined. Of the many possible definitions, French Tunisian writer Albert Memmi's seems appropriate: he defines anti-Semitism as a racism directed against Jews, and he gives this form of racism a religious dimension by adding that relations between Jews and their accusers (Christians and Muslims) resemble relations between enemy brothers more than between perfect strangers.<sup>5</sup> French philosopher and political scientist Pierre-André Taguieff uses the neologism "judeophobia" rather than anti-Semitism. He holds that the latter term emphasizes the distinction between the Semitic and the Aryan or Indo-European races, thereby distorting the deep significance of the expressions of anti-Jewish hatred evident in the world today.<sup>6</sup> Whether we call it anti-Semitism or judeophobia, this manifestation of hatred against Jews has been persistent throughout history, dating back to antiquity. As for the original term, *Antisemitismus*, it was introduced in Germany by the socialist journalist Wilhelm Marr (1819–1904) in 1879 to designate the "non-confessional" rejection of Jews and Judaism.<sup>7</sup> France experienced a resurgence of anti-Semitism following the campaigns led by Drumont, starting in 1886, reaching its peak with the Dreyfus affair.<sup>8</sup> But it was in Germany that anti-Semitism notoriously manifested itself, between 1933 and 1945, under the Nazi regime of Adolf Hitler. As Pierre Anctil and Gary Caldwell have shown, Quebec did not escape the anti-Semitic upsurge of the 1930s:

Influenced by the conservatism of the Catholic Church, 1920s and 1930s Quebec maintained an anti-Semitic tone right into the [Premier] Duplessis era. It could be detected in official and semi-official statements, in the various daily newspapers and in the social movements. Nationalist movements like the Bloc populaire [canadien] were tainted with anti-Semitism in deed and in spirit. Just prior to the Second World War and after, Adrien Arcand and his little pro-Nazi clique mounted a campaign of protest against the Jews.<sup>9</sup>

The phenomenon of anti-Semitism can be observed on at least three levels, identified by Anctil and Caldwell in the following way. The first or top level is *violent anti-Semitism*. This can range from an attack against individual Jews or their property to organized murder. The authors refer to the second level as *civic anti-Semitism*. It applies to situations where Jews are deprived of the civic rights that other citizens enjoy. Finally, the third level, *social anti-Semitism*, seeks to deprive Jews of any social relations with non-Jews.<sup>10</sup> All three forms of anti-Semitism—violent, civic, and social—have indeed appeared in Quebec, but rarely have there been acts of physical violence.

A distinction should also be made between active and ideological anti-Semitism. In this regard, anti-Semitism in Quebec has been more ideological. The expression of anti-Semitism relied essentially on newspapers such as *L'Action catholique* and *Le Devoir*,<sup>11</sup> both being papers to which Arcand contributed. Were the opinions expressed in these papers representative of the French Canadian social consciousness? Pierre Anctil, who has studied the views expressed in *Le Devoir* under its founder, Henri Bourassa, and under editors Omer Héroux, Georges Pelletier, and André Laurendeau, concluded that Jews had nothing to fear from the large-circulation newspapers like *La Presse* and other liberal papers published in Montreal, even during the darkest hour of anti-Semitic hysteria.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, historians do acknowledge the existence of an anti-Semitic ideology and propaganda during the three-quarters of a century from 1870 to the end of the Second World War. As we shall see in the following chapters, this anti-Semitic wave would crest in the writings of Arcand, published over a period of almost forty years, from 1929 to 1967.

The anti-Semitic writings of Arcand lay for a long time gathering dust on archive shelves, hidden from view. It was not until recently that historians decided to dust off the dark work of this French Canadian, known as the most virulent anti-Semitic propagandist Canada had ever seen.<sup>13</sup> How are we to explain this long silence regarding Arcand? Was he too disgusting for historians? Were his party and his writings too insignificant for historiography? Or were Canadians and Quebecers too ashamed of this painful episode to dare look at the subject? From 1929 through to the end of his life in 1967, Arcand held to a hate-filled attitude toward Jews, communists, Freemasons, and governments, in Ottawa as well as in Quebec. A journalist, writer, and orator feared by many, Arcand had his disciples and his detractors. The Communist MP Fred Rose, journalist Jean-Charles



Harvey, and publisher and future senator Jacques Hébert were certainly his greatest detractors. The German Canadian neo-Nazi Ernst Zündel, released in 2010 after serving a five-year prison sentence in Germany for inciting hatred and denial of the Holocaust, has been among his greatest admirers. During such a trial in Toronto in 1985, Zündel acknowledged that Arcand had greatly inspired him by allowing him access to his vast library. In his autobiography, Zündel paid tribute to Arcand, presenting him as his mentor.<sup>14</sup>

In a 2010 biography of Arcand, published in English in 2011 as *The Canadian Führer: The Life of Adrien Arcand*, journalist and historian Jean-François Nadeau exploits the connection between Arcand and Hitler to the full. Reading it, you would swear Arcand received his orders directly from Berlin! Yet, there is no archival document available that would prove Arcand had any direct links with the German Führer. Nadeau dubs him the “Canadian Führer,” but a reading of the extant sources quickly shows that Arcand had faced and dismissed this nickname out of hand. His detractors (led by the writer Jacques Hébert) used it with irony and scorn. It is true that the leader of the blueshirts—as his followers, known for their blue paramilitary uniforms, were called—took Hitler as his model as of 1933. He adopted the Nazi swastika as the symbol for his party, the National Social Christian Party (Parti national social chrétien), which he founded in the winter of 1934, and for his newspaper, *Le Fasciste canadien*, which he launched in 1935. But his infatuation with Nazi Germany would be of short duration. Indeed, when Pope Pius XI condemned Nazism, in 1937, Arcand immediately abandoned the swastika symbol and the fascist identification. Until the end of his life, Arcand distanced himself from Hitler, without, however, condemning his anti-Semitism. Ardent and militant in his Catholicism, his anti-communism, and his *antisémitisme de plume*,<sup>15</sup> Arcand would come across, rather, as the defender of Canadian corporatism.

To properly understand Arcand, it is important not to analyze his thought and writing through a Hitlerian prism. Arcand was above all an anti-Semite blinded by religious conviction. This was far from true for Hitler, who was anti-Catholic and whose religious beliefs were amorphous at best, if not cynically professed. Arcand believed in conspiracy theories and suffered from paranoid delusions. He imagined that the Jews had not only killed Christ but were plotting to destroy Christianity and dominate the world through revolution, war, finance (banking and gold), propaganda (film, theatre, radio, and television),



Freemasonry, and, especially, communism. Arcand didn't need Hitler to feed his anti-Semitic imagination. Half a century before the Nazi party came to power in Germany, Drumont had developed his theories on the Jewish conspiracy in France in his essay *La France juive* (1886) and in his daily *La Libre Parole*, founded in 1892 in the wake of the Dreyfus affair. Arcand took his inspiration from Drumont's anti-Semitic theories. Like Arcand, Drumont held the unshakeable belief that it was the Jews who were responsible for every scandal, plot, and crisis that had plagued the West since the French Revolution. The two men used their writings to nourish the myth of the Jew-spy, the Jew-traitor, and the Jew-conspirator, a myth that has been perpetuated throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—and to this day in some quarters. In their twisted minds, certain news-making incidents (theft, fire, kidnapping, etc.), could inevitably be traced to a plotting, persecuting Jew. "France for the French," proclaimed Drumont. "Canada for Canadians," cried Arcand. Although they lived in different eras, the two journalists and writers drew inspiration from the same anti-Semitic and anti-Masonic sources. This was true also of Auguste Barruel, for whom 1789 and the onset of the French Revolution represented the culmination of the conspiracy of nefarious secret societies (including Freemasons), and of Roger Gougenot des Mousseaux, whose essay *Le Juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens* was published in 1869.

Like Drumont, Arcand was not one to let facts stop him. He accused the Jews of inciting the Russian Revolution of 1917 and of using communism as a weapon against Christianity. At the same time, he was convinced that the Jews—the Rothschild family heading the list—controlled the banks and the price of gold. He had the highest regard for the English monarchy, but simultaneously argued in favour of Canada's independence from the British Empire. In 1938–1939, he voiced strong opposition to Canada's participation in the Second World War. But once Canada did enter the war, in September of 1939, he volunteered to form a regiment made up of members of his party.

Why, then, would we need another biography of Arcand? Shouldn't we let him rest in peace in the cemetery at Lanoraie, in central Quebec? There is an entire side of Arcand's life and writing that has yet to be analyzed, namely the anti-Semitic character of his work. As noted, anti-Semitism is an ageless social phenomenon. The sentiment, fed by a kind of xenophobia, persecution mania, and belief in the existence of conspiracies and invisible forces, is ever present.

The debates triggered by issues like the integration of immigrants, the right to wear the niqab in public institutions, and the right to religious accommodation are not unique in our time. In Montreal, for example, the issue of Jewish schools was at the heart of many debates in the early 1930s. It served as a catalyst for Arcand's first anti-Semitic campaign, which gained him thousands of followers, recruited from every social class: the unemployed, workers, merchants, nuns and priests, and members of the liberal professions.

Although certain similarities can be found, we cannot compare our current economic context to that of 1930. The latter was a murky chapter marked at once by the economic crisis of 1929, the ideological ferment created by the Russian Revolution and the rise of fascism in Europe. And there was a whole segment of the Canadian population that placed most of the blame for the misfortunes besetting society, and the West in general, on the Jews. In Quebec, these expressions of anti-Semitism took on a particular dimension, owing to several factors: Catholicism as the dominant influence on society, the socio-economic profile of French Canadians, and the sizeable Jewish immigrant population that had come to Montreal in the early decades of the twentieth century. If violent acts prompted by this anti-Semitic movement were a rare occurrence in Quebec, it was partially thanks to the influence of the Catholic Church. While the Church's attitude was tainted to some degree by anti-Jewish rhetoric during the pre-Vatican II era, it always condemned resorting to violence. This *anti-sémitisme de plume*, it could be said, was translated over the course of the 1930s into hateful propaganda directed against Jews. The key figures in French Canadian nationalism between 1930 and 1940, such as Groulx, Laurendeau, and Pelletier, all of the newspaper *Le Devoir*, would sporadically feed this anti-Jewish sentiment without, however, making it an integral part of their doctrine. On the other hand, that sentiment was a fundamental tenet for Arcand, leader of the Ordre patriotique des Goglus from 1929 to 1933, of the National Social Christian Party from 1934 to 1938, and of the National Unity Party of Canada from 1938 to 1967. In publications he disseminated between 1929 and 1939 (*Le Goglu*, *Le Miroir*, *Le Chameau*, *Le Patriote*, *Le Fasciste canadien*, and *Le Combat national*), Arcand drew on the main work of twentieth-century anti-Semitic literature, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, for his vilification of the Jewish people. Although he made a lot of noise, Arcand did not attract the great crowds he boasted of. According to the RCMP and the Canadian Jewish

Congress, both of which infiltrated Arcand's movement, the National Unity Party of Canada had by the end of the 1930s attracted no more than 6,000 members across Canada, of which 5,000 were in Quebec.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, even this figure seems inflated. Attendance at meetings of Arcand's party rarely exceeded 300 or 400 people. Arcand and his printer-publisher Joseph Ménard always had difficulty financing the printing of their newspapers. We will likely never know the exact number of supporters Arcand's party had, since the RCMP destroyed the membership lists in 1940.

Arrested in 1940 and imprisoned for the duration of the Second World War, he regained his freedom in 1945 and was able to resume his campaign of hateful propaganda against the Jews with the full knowledge of the Canadian authorities. Settled in his home in Lanoraie, Arcand pulled out his old typewriter and began pounding its keys with renewed vigour. He denied that the massive extermination of Jews in death camps in Europe had taken place. He accused the Jews of having provoked a "holocaust" of the Palestinians when the State of Israel was created in 1948. Arcand protested vehemently when Vatican II declared that the Jewish people should in no way be held responsible for Christ's death. Succumbing to cancer, Arcand died in 1967. His name sank into oblivion and for decades remained forgotten. Historic duty calls us to awaken these memories, painful certainly, but so revealing for a majority of our contemporaries who did not live through the rise of fascism between the two wars and who still believe, wrongly, that Quebec and the whole of Canada remained unaffected by these ideologies which indelibly imprinted the twentieth century. Perhaps this book will help to lift the veil from a dark chapter in our history and prompt us to reflect on the possible consequences arising from the dissemination of hateful literature like that penned by Arcand, circulating freely on the Internet today.

## Notes

- \* Unless otherwise noted, all translations into English of newspaper excerpts etc. are by Van Gennip and Scott.
- 1. On this topic, see the excellent report published in *Maclean's* magazine, April 26, 2010.
- 2. "Islam et intégration: le constat d'échec franco-allemand," *Le Monde*, January 24, 2011.
- 3. During the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, McGill University accepted Jews according to a quota system, while the Université de Montréal law faculty accepted Jews based on merit.

4. In April 2010, a book was published by Michael Keefer, a professor at the University of Guelph, entitled *Anti-Semitism, Real and Imagined: Responses to the Canadian Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Anti-Semitism*, which questioned the objectivity of the coalition, as led by MPs Jason Kenney and Irwin Cotler, and their use of the concept of the “new anti-Semitism” to justify the stigmatization, or even the criminalization, of criticizing Israel.
5. Albert Memmi, *Le racisme: description, définitions, traitement*, 82–83.
6. In *Prêcheurs de haine : Traversée de la judéophobie planétaire*, published by Mille et une nuits in Paris in 2004, Taguieff explains the distinction (25–26). His proposal to abandon the term “anti-Semitism” is a response to the notion that Arabs cannot be anti-Semitic because they too are Semites.
7. Wilhelm Marr authored an anti-Jewish pamphlet, published in Berne in 1879, as *De Sieg des Judenthums über das Germanenthum. Vom nicht confessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet* (The victory of Judaism over Germanism considered from a non-confessional point of view), which had considerable success (twelve editions in its first year of publication). A few years later, the author founded the League of Anti-Semites. See Léon Poliakov, *Histoire de l’antisémitisme: 1945–1993*, 28–30.
8. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Dreyfus affair roused public opinion in France regarding the alleged guilt of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, who was a Jewish French military officer wrongly convicted and imprisoned for treason. The many legal proceedings, which in the end proved Dreyfus innocent, fuelled the anti-Semitic campaign of journalist Édouard Drumont, who wrote for the daily *Libre Parole*. This event, which lasted more than ten years, from September 1894 to July 1906, revealed the intensity of French anti-Semitism at the dawn of the twentieth century.
9. Pierre Ancil and Gary Caldwell, *Juifs et réalités juives au Québec*, 73.
10. *Ibid.*, 295.
11. These extracts were compiled during the 1970s by David Rome of the Canadian Jewish Congress (now the Alex Dworkin Canadian Jewish Archives / Archives juives canadiennes Alex Dworkin); see Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties*.
12. Pierre Ancil, *Le Devoir, les Juifs et l’immigration*, 102.
13. For an enlightening article on the role of religion in Arcand’s thought, see historian Pierre Trépanier’s “La religion dans la pensée d’Adrien Arcand.” For more on Arcand’s life and times, see Jean Côté’s short biography, *Adrien Arcand, une grande figure de notre temps* (Montréal: Éditions Pan-Am, 1994); English Canadian historian Martin Robin’s *Shades of Right*; Jean-François Nadeau’s biography, *The Canadian Führer: The life of Adrien Arcand*; and two more recent works, both master’s theses: Stéphane Morisset, “Adrien Arcand: sa vision, son modèle et la perception inspirée par son programme,” and Hugues Théorêt, “La campagne antisémite d’Adrien Arcand: 1945–1967.”
14. This passage is excerpted from a memo sent by B. G. Kayfetz to Rabbi Jordan Pearlson in connection with Zündel’s autobiography, which Kayfetz received for study purposes in 1982.
15. The expression *antisémite de plume* was used in the book by Pierre-André Taguieff (ed.) entitled *L’antisémitisme de plume, 1940–1944: Études et documents* (Berg international publishers, 1999). This work offers an analysis of anti-Semitic propaganda under the Vichy regime in France between 1940 and 1944. The expression could easily be applied to Arcand and his writings.
16. The source of this estimate is John Manley, who wrote the introduction to the book by Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker on the RCMP security service; See Kealey and Whitaker, *RCMP Security Bulletins*, 234.