

Research Note: Contemporary Radical Right-Wing Violence in Canada: A Quantitative Analysis

JEFFREY IAN ROSS

Despite the presence of radical right-wing movements, groups, and individuals in Canada, a paucity of academic research on this topic exists. Concurrently, the majority of material on this particular area has employed either journalistic or ethnographic methodologies. What remains is several theses and dissertations and a couple of excellent case studies describing not only membership, but also the most salient activities of radical right-wing groups and parties. These studies, however, have been short on examining these actors' proclivity to engage in violence. In contrast, this article, uses an events data methodology to show the dynamics of radical right-wing violence in Canada over the last three decades. The author then maps out the attributes of this particular type of violence and where possible specifies its correlates. This work is a part of a larger project on violence in Canada.

Various types of violence have been identified. Some of the more popular ones include criminal, political, ethnic, and racist violence. While none of these types are exclusive, academics have generally ignored the study of radical right-wing violence. Regardless of the type of violence, the investigation of the dynamics and control of this type of behaviour is seriously hampered by the lack of adequate data, and the limitations (e.g., financial, skills, etc.) of researchers. Granted, statistics on criminal violence are an exception and have been maintained in one shape or another by various institutions since the early 1800s. More recently, during the 1960s and 1970s efforts were made to collect data on political violence occurring in most of the countries in the world using cross-national data collection methods. The resultant data sets, however, tend to include the more salient acts and consequently under-report the lesser incidents of political violence in most countries as the sources for chronology construction and/or coding come mainly from globally-oriented publications rather than from indigenous sources. While useful for cross-national statistical tests, these data sets are problematic for separate country analyses.

When one turns to Canada, the problems of data availability and collection are in fact magnified. In a partial attempt to remedy this state

of affairs, one author created Attributes of Terrorism in Canada (ATIC), the first data base on political terrorism in Canada.¹ Terrorism, however, is only one subset of the larger category of political violence, and violence in general. A master data base on all types of violence or additional data bases on different types of violent events is Canada needs to be created, analyzed, and maintained better to contextualize the previous findings. Clearly all types of violence need to be examined, but resources are limited and researchers must make difficult choices.

Lack of data notwithstanding, the perceived rise of right-wing extremism in Canada has prompted public, academic² and governmental reactions.³ Yet according to Barrett:

[a] great deal of . . . [Canadian radical right-wing group's] activity has been directed internally, to holding regular meetings and preaching to the already converted; when its attention has turned to the wider society, it has usually (though not always) taken the form of dispersing racist propaganda, rather than physically attacking minorities.⁴

Thus a debate exists about the seriousness and incidence of radical right-wing activity and it would benefit from some statistics, namely a data set on right-wing violence. Consequently, the researcher provides definitional, typological, conceptual clarifications in the study of right-wing violence, thereby strengthening the focus, conciseness, and internal validity, and foundations following events data base on right-wing violence in Canada.

I. Definitions and Dimensions

In general, the author distinguishes among several different terms to improve the coherence of this study. Differences among perpetrators, activities, and targets are the most important in adding precision to data collection.

A. Perpetrators

1. Groups: There is a disjuncture among the terms right, right-wing, radical right, fringe right, fundamentalist right-wing, lunatic right, racism, anti-Semitism, fascism, neo-fascism, Nazism, and neo-Nazism. Often these labels overlap and describe both the perpetrators and their actions. The terms right and right-wing are generally associated with the activities of conventional conservative ideologues, groups, movements, and political parties that follow legal methods for political change. For

purposes of this study, however, radical right-wing subsumes activities of groups generally labelled: radical-right, fringe right, fundamentalist right-wing, lunatic right, racist, anti-Semitic, fascist, neo-fascist, Nazi and neo-Nazi. Members of such groups are generally associated with organizations that engage in extra-legal activities in the pursuit of an ideology, belief, or attitude which is considered conservative, traditional, authoritarian, or preservationist, particularly with regards to a time when power was held by this group or like members with the same ideology.⁵

Radical right-wing is also the broad label applied to the actions of groups which physically attempt to prevent real or perceived left-wing, socialist, communist, immigrant, feminist, minority, and homosexual, policies, actions, individuals and groups from gaining or maintaining power. The groups that espouse radical right-wing beliefs or ideology may be distinguished between those that are self-admittedly conscious of their ideological bias, and those that are not but have been labelled such by the media, opponents, or analysts. In other words, consciousness of political ideology is not a necessary criterion to consider an actor to be radical right-wing. Additionally, this type of violence can be politically, religiously, racially and ethnically inspired and manifested.

But, is an attack against a minority individual or group, radical right-wing violence or racist violence? Sometimes it is neither, sometimes it is both, and many times it is only one or the other. Knowing the intent of the group or individual committing the action is necessary but not always possible in making this determination. In other words, not all right-wing groups are racist and not all attacks against minority groups are done by radical right groups. For instance, attacks on Jewish businessmen by members of Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (a Marxist-Leninist group) are politically motivated and do not emanate from a radical right-wing organization. And while many radical right groups have nationalist aspirations, not all nationalist groups are right-wing. Thus simply knowing the type of target is a limited indicator for inferring the ideological bent of the attacker/s. It is often difficult to determine who initiated these attacks.

2. Individuals: Organization membership is permeable. That is, a member of one radical right organization may simultaneously belong to several different radical right-wing groups. Other individuals may at times adhere to the agenda of the group to which they belong, and at other times they may act independently of such organizations. In fact, many people on the radical right are unaffiliated preferring to work alone. Additionally, one must be cautious about attributing commission of an act of violence if there is some sort of public claim of culpability by a

group. This may be mere posturing, deception, or the result of radical right-wing members collaborating for a specific and limited purpose (e.g., a series of arsons) only to disband afterwards.

B. Activities

The activities of the radical right can be rank-ordered on a scale from nonviolent to violent. Within this continuum the differences among conflict, violence, crime, and extremism, are often blurred and hence difficult to discern. For purposes of this study, hate literature or propaganda, postering, threats, hoaxes, marches, cross burnings, and graffiti, constitute the nonviolent side of the continuum.⁶ Whereas, arson, bombings, assaults, and assassinations make up the violent side. At the same time, radical right violence includes both politically and non-politically motivated violence in that those engaging in the violence may not be consciously aware of the political (struggle over power) ramifications of their actions, but such motives can be nevertheless inferred. Whether political or non-political, radical right-wing violence can also be identified either by the target attacked, or individual, group, movement, or party responsible for the attack.

C. Targets

Radical right violence is directed at actual and symbolic targets. The former includes physical attacks directed at individuals such as minorities, (generally referred to as racism), communists, leftists, homosexuals, immigrants, and feminists that can be reliably attributed to groups and individuals belonging to or espousing a radical right-wing ideology. Thus attacks by socialist or leftist groups against hard-line communist or Trotskyist sympathizers are excluded but attacks by members of the Ku Klux Klan against leftists are not. Symbolic attacks are directed at property and symbols of the above mentioned targets. In the final analysis, right-wing violence can be determined by the context which is the nature of the perpetrators, their activities, and targets of violence.

II. Literature Review

The history of the radical right can be divided into two basic periods: the 'old fascism' and the rise of the radical right since World War II; sometimes referred to as neo-fascism. One could add to these two periods the concept/period of friendly fascism also known as 'fascism with a smile'.⁷ Coterminously, there is a differentiation between early right-wing violence in Canada (from the eighteenth century to World War II) and the later variety (from the start of the Cold War to the present). Little

attempt has been made to theorize or test either the causes or the effects of right-wing activities in Canada.

A. Radical Right-Wing Violence in General

Research on the radical right has focused on the history of prominent countries, movements, parties, and personalities. Among this array, the advanced industrialized countries have received particular research interest. There tends to be a preoccupation with historically rooted movements (e.g., Nazis and Fascists in particular). Most notably the Ku Klux Klan in the United States and modern day versions of the Aryan Nations, Posse Comitatus, and The Order have received an extraordinary amount of popular and media attention. By the same token, some of the most violent regimes on record have been right-wing dominated and have engaged and employed liberal amounts of violence against their citizens through politicides and genocides. The National Socialists alone were responsible for the deaths of approximately six million Jews and six million others considered deviant, threats to the state during World War II.

B. Literature on the Radical Right-Wing in Canada

Little has been written on the radical right in Canada. This is due to two major reasons: they are not prominent in Canada, and Canadians believe racism is not prevalent nor ever has been. The study of radical right-wing activity in Canada has been covered under the umbrella terms of anti-Semitism, discrimination, racism, prejudice, nativism, nationalism, refugees and immigration. Additionally, it has focused on particular expressions mainly by four groups or parties: the Social Creditists of Québec; the Social Credit Party of Alberta;⁸ the Western Guard;⁹ and the Ku Klux Klan.^{10, 11}

In recent years, several publications have addressed either incidents of anti-semitism¹² or the presence of Nazism and Fascism in Canada.¹³ Broad treatments are indeed rare. Barrett's approach to right-wing extremism in both his book *Is God a Racist?* (1987) and chapter 'The Far Right in Canada' (1989) comes close. He interviewed members of the radical right-wing, and primarily describes the membership, actions and ideology of the members and these groups. The author examines the radical and fringe right in separate sections of the book. The first half of the book focuses on his definitions, methodology and case histories of particular groups: the Canadian Nazi Party, Edmund Burke Society, Western Guard, Ku Klux Klan, and other groups on the radical right. The second part focuses on three prominent fringe right figures: Fromm, Gostick and Keegstra.

In his chapter, in particular, Barrett tries to explain why the radical

right has managed to survive in Canada given the country's reputation for racial tolerance. He outlines two 'models' to explain the state's treatment of racism. He opposes the radical right's political agenda and tactics, yet he does not specify pragmatic methods to keep the radical right in check. Instead, he recommends that we should 'hope for a criminal-justice system that will sustain the nation's ethical integrity in the field of race relations'. His treatments and analyses of these groups are however somewhat incomplete in that they ignore the violent nature of these groups.

C. Overview of Radical Right-Wing Violence in Canada

Traditionally, radical right-wing violence in Canada has been racist, anti-Catholic, anti-Communist, and anti-Semitic. Right-wing violence in Canada can be traced back as far as 1784 when Canada's first race riot took place in the Nova Scotian towns of Shelburne and Birchtown.¹⁴ Here:

[h]undreds of recently disbanded white soldiers, many still in possession of their arms, rioted when they found that the rich of Shelburne preferred to hire blacks at wages lower than the white man's wages. They went rampaging through Birchtown, pulling down some twenty houses belonging to blacks.¹⁵

This pattern of right-wing violence connected with labour issues would be repeated throughout the history of Canada.

Moving to central Canada, and almost a century later, Kealey¹⁶ documents 22 riots that took place in Toronto from 1867 to 1892, between Protestant Orangemen and Irish Catholics. He traces the 'culture that generated these collective actions', and classifies the riots into three types: those following celebrations and picnics, those 'caused by Irish Catholics attacking Orange fife and drum bands marching through the heart of the Green Ghetto . . .' and 'Green (Catholic) aggression'.

The next prominent cases of right-wing violence were in the context of anti-orientalism in British Columbia manifested as attacks against both Chinese and Japanese.¹⁷ Some of the more noticeable were in May 1883 near Lytton, British Columbia when an interracial brawl between whites and Chinese left nine Chinese beaten unconscious, two of whom later died. On 24 February 1887 Chinese shanties and possessions were destroyed in Vancouver as targets of anti-oriental sentiment. The most notable incident, however, was a race riot on 7 September 1907 in Vancouver during which whites attacked both Japanese and Chinese people.¹⁸

But the bulk of the violence directed against people and property during the next decade, was committed by the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).¹⁹

The Canadian Klan engaged in diverse violence in 1922 when a rash of arsons damaged or destroyed several Catholic institutions in the Montréal area. For example, during December 1922 the KKK committed arson against the Rest House of the Gentlemen of St Sulpice at Oka, Québec.²⁰ In 1924 a fire set by the Klan at St Boniface College in Manitoba killed ten Catholic students. Juvenaut College was also damaged in a fire which also led to the abasement of the village of Terrebonne. Also that year in Sarnia, Ontario, two Klansmen robbed a Catholic church and destroyed religious symbols in the process. And in February 1930 Klansmen at Oakville forcibly removed a white girl from a house where a black was living. The Klan bombing of a Catholic church at Barrie in June 1926 brought fear into a generally peaceful town.²¹ In May 1930, at Lacombe, Alberta, the Klan abducted, tarred and feathered a blacksmith by the name of Fred Doberstein. In February 1933 Klansmen fired upon union leaders in Blairmore. Also that month, Coleman, a KKK member, helped provoke a riot.

During the 1930s the rise of Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Phalangism in Spain, and other similar movements in other European countries had spill-over effects in Canada.²² Adrien Arcand, and his followers and imitators, created several different and successive Nazi and Fascist parties that gained many adherents in Canada. In summer 1933 members of Swastika clubs clashed with young Jews in the Balmy Beach section of Toronto. The most notable act of violence was the Christie Pits riot at Toronto 14 August 1933 between members of the Swastika clubs and Jewish youths.²³ There was also a violent confrontation between members of the brown-shirted Canadian Nationalist Party and anti-fascists on 5 June 1934 in Winnipeg. Several violent incidents followed at Canadian Nationalist Party meetings. In October 1936 a violent student protest against a scheduled public meeting of a visiting delegation of Spanish Republicans in Montréal led to its cancellation. A year later, in October 1937 students, aligned with the National Social Christian Party, smashed windows of Jewish-owned shops in Montréal. In July 1939 there were several attacks on Jews and Jewish-owned property in Ste Agathe, Québec, a resort town where many Jews flocked during their summer vacation. These attacks were inspired by Arcand's anti-Semitic summer canvassing in that area.

Only two incidents of right-wing violence, not of the Nazi or Fascist variety, could be located during the 1930s. The first surrounded what is generally referred to as the Holmes Foundry Strike at Sarnia, Ontario, of March 1937. During the first sit-down strike in Canadian labour history the plant was occupied by central European (pro-union) men, while the Anglo-Saxon (anti-union) strike breakers engaged in violence that had all

the trappings of right-wing discontent on the premises of the business.²⁴ The second event involved the stoning of a black and the destruction of his home in October 1937, at Trenton, Nova Scotia. The group of whites also attacked other black homes nearby.²⁵ And in April 1940 approximately 300 Canadian soldiers stormed the home of a black band leader in Calgary attacking whites who were found there.²⁶

During World War II and post-war there was an almost complete absence of right-wing activity and connected violence in Canada. The exception was before, during and following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor (7 December 1941) when some Japanese-Canadians and their property were victimized by scattered acts of vandalism.²⁷ But during the early 1960s Canada experienced the resurgence and fomentation of radical right-wing extremism. Various groups loosely connected to racist, anti-Semitic, and anti-Communist activities spawned; some, out of the ashes of others. These groups included the Canadian Nazi Party, John Birch Society, Canadian National Socialist Party, Celts of Québec, Social Credit Party of Ontario, Western Guard, and Nationalist Party of Canada. Attracting considerable media attention were the anti-black violent incidents in August 1965 at Amherstburg, Ontario, popularly attributed to the KKK.²⁸ In general, these attacks were a reaction to the development of the new left and increased immigration of non-white groups to Canada. Many of these right-wing groups attempted to enter mainstream politics by running candidates in elections at different levels of government. They were, however, crippled by arrests of their members.

During the 1970s the remaining and committed members of these groups continued their activities but were often stung by hate crime charges. For example, the Western Guard was crippled by arrests during the mid-1970s on bombs, conspiracy, and other charges connected to the promotion of hate literature and the operation of recorded telephone hate messages. It was quickly replaced by the resurgence of the KKK in 1972 and its threatening letters and defacement of public property. In 1982 the Klan had major set-backs due to the imprisonment of many top leaders for a variety of offences (e.g., weapons charges, etc.). Individual violent incidents took place between incoming visible minorities in Canada and the dominant white majority. This led in one instance to the 1977 Walter Pitman task force on minority relations in Toronto.

In the 1980s several other right-wing issues, individuals and groups, fomented violence. Most salient were trials of hatemongers, abortion and war criminal debates, and the introduction of skinheads and Aryan Nations into Canada. The relatively recent trials of James Keegstra on teaching Holocaust denial theory, and Ernest Zundel on distributing hate

literature provided extra publicity for radical right-wing extremists who operate in Canada.²⁹ The unresolved abortion debate, like the one occurring in the United States, led to large scale protests surrounding the right of women to have abortion on demand.³⁰ In June 1983 a man attacked Dr Henry Morgentaler, head of Toronto's only abortion clinic, with garden shears.³¹ Morgentaler, a Jew, was compared to a Nazi concentration camp doctor by some of the right-wing groups. Next month, arson was committed against the Women's Bookstore in Toronto, ostensibly an attempt to burn down the next door abortion clinic.³²

Meanwhile some of the public, government, and police were concerned with the detection, loss of citizenship trials, and deportation of former Nazi war criminals living in Canada. In fact, Canada was accused of being a major refuge for these individuals.³³ This accusation and the general world political climate (i.e., discoveries, capture and/or deaths of ex-Nazis) led to the 'Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals' held in 1985.³⁴ These issues were interpreted as national rallying calls for right-wingers of all dimensions.

In the late 1980s skinheads became increasingly prominent in Canadian cities. Estimates, however, concerning their numbers vary with each city. While resembling their British counterparts, they were originally motivated more by style than ideology. Only in 1989 did their violent activities begin to make headlines. This culminated in a considerable public furor and a protest by concerned communities surrounding a meeting of 70 skinheads and a cross-burning incident in 1989 at Minden, Ontario. This was followed by a similar meeting and public response in Sherbrooke, Québec. Canadian right-wingers attended the Aryan Nations meeting at Hayden Lake, Idaho. And a proposed training camp for neo-Nazis established by Terry Long, the Canadian leader of the Aryan Nations in Caroline, Alberta, was met with considerable opposition by the Canadian Jewish and left-democratic communities.

E. Summary

This review, highlighting the right-wing activity of Canada, has developed the context with which a suitable methodology can try to gather statistical data that are precise, accurate, systematic, and comprehensive. The predominant mode of studying the right-wing is the case method which has predominantly relied upon extensive documentary material, participant observation, and interviews. While quantitative methods are rarely employed, it appears, then, that the claims and arguments of all these studies could be substantiated or refuted with rigorously collected data.³⁵ In particular, statistical analysis of data on the violent activities of these groups, would be fundamental to

testing causal theories on the rise of radical right-wing violence. While a data set covering the entire history of the country might be preferable, the past three decades were chosen because this time period is coterminous with other data sets on violence in Canada.

III. Methodology

There are various methodologies for studying violence, one of which is the events data approach. Although chronologies of conflict behaviour in general, and conflict data in particular, suffer from several problems, they also have many advantages. Most important, a well-constructed data base can provide a comprehensive understanding of the scope, intensity, and range of violence occurring in a particular geographic area, during a specified time range. Aggregate data on political violence, groups, and state actions are probably the most useful in testing macro-theories about violence or conflict behaviour. These data allow us to focus on the violent behaviour itself, using the discrete incident as its unit of analysis, rather than primarily relying on statements by observers and practitioners.

The creation of a data set on violent events in Canada that is reliable, detailed, rigorous and comprehensive involves overcoming conceptual and methodological problems. While these problems have been chronicled elsewhere, for purposes of this article the difficulties associated with studying radical right-wing violence in general, and in Canada in particular, regardless of the level and units of analysis, is examined.³⁶

A. Sources of Information

Statistical information on most types of violence affecting Canada is either publicly unavailable, inaccurate, dated, or too general to permit finer detailed analysis.³⁷ Short of abandoning the statistical study of right-wing violence, there are five principle fall back strategies in collecting data: using the files of independent researchers, nongovernmental organizations, intelligence agencies of police departments, already existing chronologies or data that track one type of violence in Canada, and examining newspaper coverage of right-wing violence.³⁸

The researcher assembled a detailed chronology of events of right-wing violence based upon the following material: the vertical files collection at the Toronto Reference Library;³⁹ archival newspaper clippings from files of the intelligence branch of a police agency; files of three private organizations (e.g., newspaper articles, private complaints and right-wing publications); published chronologies of events of violent political behaviour in Canada;⁴⁰ newspaper clippings from the 'morgues'/

files of major newspapers in Canada;⁴¹ and, articles listed through manual and computer accessible news indexes of Canadian newspapers and magazines.⁴² All articles mentioning a violent incident and appearing to be of a right-wing nature were located on microfilm, photocopied, examined, and assembled into a master chronology.

B. Verification Procedures

All incidents acquired from diverse sources had to be verified by consulting one of a number of publicly available sources (e.g., the newspaper, and case studies). In other words, materials that other researchers could also get with enough digging. The comprehensiveness of the resultant chronology may still be questionable but it is the only existing source we have.

C. Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

Due to access contingencies only violent activities taking place between 1960 and 1990 were included in the final chronology. Thus, only groups or individuals who had instigated violence and/or were in direct confrontational activities satisfied the criteria for inclusion (e.g., Allen Gardens incidents). But if their activities only promoted violence they were not included. For example, conspiracies (e.g., the KKK's aborted attempt to overthrow the government of Dominica) and the planning of murders (e.g., the plotting of the death of a Jewish businessman in Calgary) were omitted. Likewise threats, hoaxes, harassment, including threats of hostile acts of a verbal nature (e.g., shouting matches), for purposes of this chronology, do not constitute acts of violence for inclusion. Defacement of public property with stickers, graffiti, and graffiti raids, swastika outbreaks, cemetery desecrations, and cross burnings, while symbolically violent in nature are so numerous and underreported that they were not included.⁴³ However if a fire was lit on someone's lawn in the shape of a cross, a rare event, for example, then it was considered a violent act. Additionally, an explosive unconnected to a detonator was not considered a bomb, it is considered a threat or a hoax, thus excluded. Finally, activities by the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors were excluded. While this organization is generally conservative and fundamentalist in nature, the group does not contain other salient ideological dimensions of the more well-known groups (i.e., anti-communism, racism, homophobia, etc.) and is not considered a right-wing group.

A final determination was made to distinguish between those incidents that met all the requirements for inclusion and those that did not. The latter were placed in an omissions file.⁴⁴ When the chronology was completed it was coded on a series of variables identified as important by

other researchers who study violence, using conventional coding procedures. The resultant data base is called 'Right-Wing Violence in Canada' (RWVIC). The attributes of this particular type of violence in Canada were analyzed using frequency distributions of the separate variables.

IV. Results

Twelve attributes, including singular and/or combinations of variables, from the data set are explored in this article. The first five, collectively called incident characteristics, refer to the timing, type, location, and targets of events. The next five refer to group responsibility, types of violence, casualties from violence, victims, and fate to initiators. While all of the variables have measurement difficulties these will not be discussed here.⁴⁵

FIGURE 1
FREQUENCY OF EVENTS PER YEAR

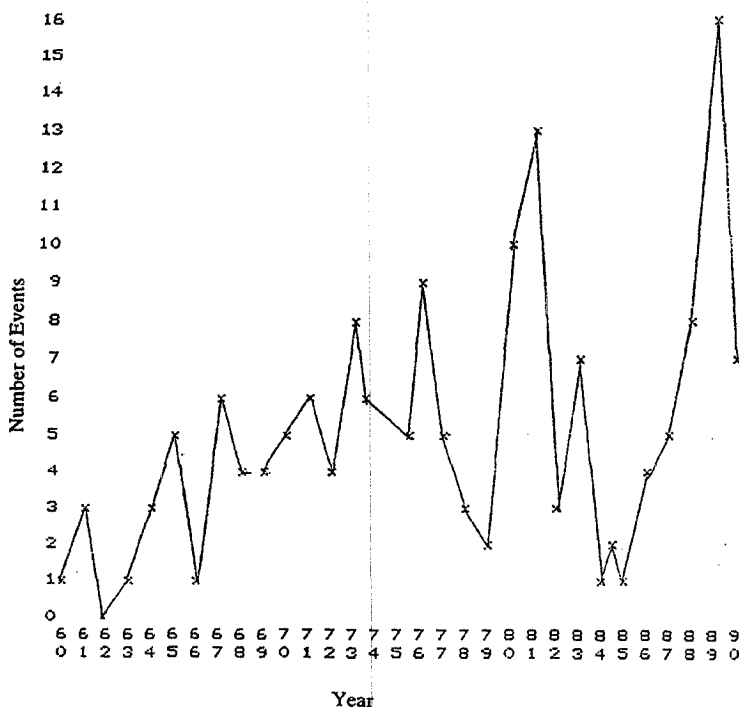


TABLE 1
FREQUENCY OF EVENTS PER YEAR

Year	Total ¹	Percentage
1960	1	.6
1961	3	1.9
1963	1	.6
1964	3	1.9
1965	5	3.1
1966	1	.6
1967	6	3.8
1968	4	2.5
1969	4	2.5
1970	5	3.1
1971	6	3.8
1972	4	2.5
1973	8	5.0
1974	6	3.8
1975	5	3.1
1976	9	5.7
1977	5	3.1
1978	3	1.9
1979	2	1.3
1980	10	6.3
1981	13	8.2
1982	3	1.9
1983	7	4.4
1984	1	.6
1985	1	.6
1986	4	2.5
1987	5	3.1
1988	11	6.9
1989	16	10.1
1990	7	4.4
Total	159	100.0

¹Based on claimed, reliably attributed, and inferred actions

A. Annual Incidence of Events

Canada has consistently experienced a relatively low annual level of radical right-wing violence with two exceptions (see Figure 1). During 1980–81 there were 23 incidents (accounting for almost 15 per cent) and again in 1988–89 there were 27 events, (contributing to 17 per cent) of the total number of events (159) in the 1960–90 period. Otherwise, the number of attacks hovered around 5.3 incidents per year (see Table 1). The table also depicts half of the incidents happening after 1980.

Some general observations, however, can be made from these data. The incidents occurred in four waves. The first period, during the mid-1960s, consisted of attacks by the Edmund Burke Society, mainly against

protesters and members of an audience and by Cuban Nationalists against targets closely associated with the Cuban government. The late 1960s saw early manifestations of Western Guard attacks against perceived communist targets. The third wave consisted of mainly Ku Klux Klan attacks during the mid-1970s and into the early 1980s against minorities; and by Croatian Nationalists against supporters of the Yugoslavian regime. The final movement has been attacks by skinheads against Blacks, Jews, and homosexuals.

B. Periodicity of Events

Annual trends are but rough consolidations of more intricate processes. Are there periods during which we might expect a higher probability of attack? Table 2 shows a clustering of events between March and August. Possible explanations for this phenomenon might be a combination of spring thaw/easter vacation, or long hot summer 'opportunity' hypotheses. Moreover these are the warm months that are amenable to street protests and demonstrations. It is also known that some radical right-wing events are commemorations of, or reactions to, specific events (e.g., Mussolini's and Lenin's birthdays, etc.) which took place during this time. Otherwise, there was an average of 13.25 events per month when events took place.

TABLE 2
MONTH EVENT STARTED

Month	Frequency	Percentage
January	21	13.2
February	8	5.0
March	12	7.5
April	15	9.4
May	17	10.7
June	15	9.4
July	14	8.8
August	19	11.9
September	6	3.8
October	13	8.2
November	11	6.9
December	8	5.0
Total	159	100.0

On the other hand, there is little, if any, clustering of radical right-wing events throughout each month (see Table 2). In other words, radical right-wing events are just as likely to happen any day of the month. If the 159 events were randomly distributed, over four events should have happened

on any given day. However, slightly more events (60) take place in the last third half of the month than in the beginning (43 and 49 respectively).

TABLE 3
DAY EVENT STARTED

Day of Month	Frequency	Percentage
1st	1	.6
2nd	7	4.4
3rd	5	3.1
4th	4	2.5
5th	1	.6
6th	4	2.5
7th	9	5.7
8th	3	1.9
9th	6	3.8
10th	3	1.9
11th	9	5.7
12th	4	2.5
13th	9	5.7
14th	5	3.1
15th	6	3.8
16th	5	3.1
17th	2	1.3
18th	4	2.5
19th	3	1.9
20th	2	1.3
21st	2	1.3
22nd	6	3.8
23rd	9	5.7
24th	6	3.8
25th	4	2.5
26th	6	3.8
27th	6	3.8
28th	8	5.0
29th	5	3.1
30th	6	3.8
31st	2	1.3
Missing date	7	4.4
Total	159	100.0

C. Type of Event

Different patterns also emerge for each type of radical right-wing incident (see Table 4). More than half of the attacks (89) are directed specifically at people. These are mainly assaults, many of which occurred during protest situations. The balance is divided between bombings and other types of actions. The majority of events require little sophistication to carry out. Two incidents, however, bear mentioning: the skyjacking of a Boeing 727 by Croatian nationalists involved Canadian authorities

when the plane landed in Montréal and later in Gander (11–12 September 1976); and the incident where more than 100 people attending a meeting on 'Homosexuals – myth and reality' were forced out of Toronto's St. Lawrence Centre's Town Hall by a member of the Western Guard and his female companion who sprayed the hall with anti-personnel gas causing ear, nose, and throat irritation (4 May 1972).

TABLE 4
TYPE OF EVENT

Type of Event	Frequency	Percentage
Attacks on human targets		
Assault/slashing	89	56.0
Shooting	7	4.4
Bombings ¹		
Unknown type	14	8.8
Molotov	9	5.7
Dynamite	5	3.1
Smoke	2	1.3
Other attacks		
Destruction – misc.	18	11.3
Arson – unknown cause	12	7.5
Armed attack – misc.	1	.6
Skyjacking	1	.6
Chemical spray attack	1	.6
Total	159	100.0

¹Does not include direct attacks on human targets

D. Locale: Province

In descending order of frequency the provinces of Ontario, Québec, and British Columbia have experienced the overwhelming majority of radical right-wing incidents (96.9 per cent, see Table 5). Unsurprisingly, these events have occurred in provinces where the majority of Canadians, particularly large *émigré*, minority, and immigrant populations, live. Additionally, these provinces are well served by the news media and often house prominent targets such as foreign embassies, consulates and trade offices of socialist and communist countries. The rank-order of provinces where right-wing attacks took place, corresponds to the one produced by both domestic and international terrorism in Canada. The presumed reason why Ontario holds the number one position in radical right-wing violence is the higher amount of targets, particularly in Ottawa and Toronto as compared with other provinces in Canada. It follows then that a number of provinces such as those in the maritimes, and the northern territories, which are not part of the mainstream (i.e., fewer embassies, consulates or international airports), experience a paucity of radical right-wing violence.

TABLE 5
PROVINCE WHERE ACTION TOOK PLACE

Province	Frequency	Percentage
Ontario	79	49.7
Québec	41	25.8
British Columbia	34	21.4
Alberta	2	1.3
Manitoba	2	1.3
Nova Scotia	1	.6
Total	159	100.0

E. Locale: City

Coding the locations where the events took place is more revealing (see Table 6). It shows that urban areas are the preferred location for radical right-wing attack events to take place. Again this accords with the fact that most immigrants in Canada live in large cities. This variable also showed a preference for one city in particular, namely Toronto the city with the largest population, mainly immigrant, in Canada. This urban centre experienced 39.6 per cent of the events in the chronology, twice as many as the third-rank city of Vancouver.

TABLE 6
CITY WHERE ACTION TOOK PLACE

City	Frequency	Percentage
Toronto	63	39.6
Montréal ¹	40	25.2
Vancouver ²	31	19.6
Ottawa	7	4.4
Hamilton	3	1.9
Winnipeg	2	1.3
Miscellaneous	13	8.5
Total	159	100.0

¹Includes Laval

²Includes Delta, Matsqui and Richmond

F. Responsibility for Action

Responsibility⁴⁶ for radical right-wing violence can be analyzed by distinguishing among events which an organization claimed responsibility, events which an organization did not claim responsibility, but by the nature of the action were popularly attributed to a particular group (i.e., target, type of event, location etc.), and events which were reliably determined to have been committed by a group (e.g., through media coverage of trials, etc.). With all three variables, the largest number of

events fell under the category of None or Not Relevant. That is, most acts of right-wing violence were acts committed either by individuals unaffiliated or not claiming membership with a particular group,⁴⁷ or by groups not wishing to be publicly identified by their actions. Various reasons explain this anonymity; claiming responsibility would make these organizations liable for criminal charges; the act was not one of these groups' operating strategies; or the action did not necessitate actually claiming responsibility. The bulk of actions for which a culprit could be found have been executed in recent years by skinheads (26) while the remainder are equally divided between the neo-fascist variety (e.g., Edmund Burke, Western Guard, etc.), and anti-communist/nationalists (e.g., Hungarian, Cuban, etc.).⁴⁸ Curiously many right-wing groups in Canada during this period did not engage in violence (e.g., John Birch Society).

TABLE 7
GROUP RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTION

Group	Claimed by group ¹	Popularly believed responsible ²	Actually responsible ³ Totals	
	Freq.	Freq.	Freq.	Percent
Skinheads	1	26	26	16.4
Croatian Nationalists	1	10	10	6.3
Western Guard	1	10	9	5.7
Edmund Burke Society	1	9	9	5.7
Cuban Nationalists	5	7	7	4.4
Ku Klux Klan	2	10	5	3.1
Canadian Nazi Party	3	3	3	1.9
Yugoslavian Nationalists		3	3	1.9
Coalition of Anti-Soviet Group	1	3	2	1.3
Auid Organization	2	2	2	1.3
Pro-lifers			2	1.3
Hungarian Nationalists			1	.6
JDL Splinter Group		1	1	.6
Hungarian Freedom Fighters Assoc.	1	1	1	.6
Anti-Soviet Action Committee		1	1	.6
East Indian People's Assn.		1	1	.6
None/Not relevant	126	61	60	37.7
Missing data	15	11	16	10.1
Total	159	159	159	100.0

¹Includes a note or call received to the police or a newspaper

²Includes statements by witnesses, those targeted and police inferences

³Includes only the opinions of those that are most reliable investigating the incident

G. Primary and Secondary Targets

As mentioned earlier, the majority of primary targets are people (99), followed by private property (34), and public property (26). Specific non-

human targets that are most likely hit are embassies/consulates and residences, accounting for 16.4 per cent of the total number of actions (see Table 8). Unlike domestic terrorism, targets such as government buildings, military installations, postal facilities, and public utilities were not hit by acts of radical right-wing violence. And for the majority of events, the information about secondary or incidental targets was missing or there were no secondary targets. In the events for which information was obtained or relevant, people were the most frequently targeted. Many of these individuals were part of a group of protesters, passers-by, or an audience.

TABLE 8
PRIMARY AND SECONDARY TARGETS

Target	Primary Target		Secondary Target	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
People ¹	99	62.3	58	36.5
Private property				
Residences ²	13	8.2	8	5.0
Commercial ³	9	5.7	7	4.4
Means of transportation	5	3.1	4	2.5
Abortion clinic	4	2.5		
Political organizations	3	1.9		
Public property				
Embassies/consulates	13	8.2		
Religious buildings	7	4.4		
Community buildings ⁴	3	1.9		
Theatre	2	1.3		
Monuments	1	.6		
School			1	.6
None/Not relevant	0	0	75	47.2
Missing data	0	0	6	3.8
Total	159	100.0	159	100.0

¹This represents people who were directly targeted

²Including yards

³Including hotels, restaurants, construction sites, and miscellaneous offices

⁴Including arenas

H. Ideological Reasons behind Radical Right-Wing Violence

Analysis of the ideological types of attacks illuminates the dynamics of radical right-wing violence in Canada (see Table 9). The majority (58 events) are of a racist nature. In descending order of importance the attacks of anti-communist/nationalist nature (46) and anti-Semitic ones (17) hold the second and distant third place positions respectively. All of these incidents persisted throughout the three decades. The balance are attributable to more ephemeral but no less salient right-wing concerns. In

contrast, anti-abortion events have largely been confined to the last five years.

TABLE 9
TYPE OF RADICAL RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE

	Frequency	Percentage
Racist attack	58	36.5
Anti-communist/Nationalist attack	46	28.9
Anti-Semitic attack	17	10.7
Anti-abortion attack	9	5.7
Counterdemonstration	7	4.4
Anti-homosexual attack	5	3.1
Inclusive attack	2	1.3
Anti-feminist attack	1	.6
Anti-immigrant attack	1	.6
Missing data	13	8.1
Total	159	100.0

I. Casualties from Radical Right-Wing Violence

In the three decades covered by this data set only six people were killed as a result of radical right-wing violence. In other words, only four per cent of acts of this kind of violence ended in deaths to the participants. The individuals killed were of different national origin and occupational categories. For example, a Sikh restaurant worker was killed on his way home from work in Vancouver. Another was the editor of a pro-communist Rumanian language newspaper in Toronto. A prominent Yugoslavian doctor living in Vancouver was killed by Ustasha. Finally, a homosexual activist was killed by skinheads in Montréal.

More dramatic was the fact that 112 people were injured as a result of radical right-wing violence in Canada. In decreasing order of frequency the type of people injured included domestic noncombatants (73), police (18), foreign noncombatants (13), and then radical right members (8). Finally, the majority of people attacked were of Canadian and not foreign citizenship.⁴⁹ While no radical right-wing members were killed during the events, two Croats, suspected of engaging in radical right-wing actions, died when the bomb they were assembling in their home prematurely exploded (1 September 1977).⁵⁰

J. Occupational/Situational Categories of Victims

When one looks across the categories of both primary and secondary victims⁵¹ one notices that the majority of them (57.5 per cent of those attacked) are protesters, members of an audience, or passer-bys (see Table 11). In other words, few specific people have been targeted; those

TABLE 10
CASUALTIES FROM RADICAL RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE

	Injured Frequency	Killed Frequency
Domestic noncombatants	73	6
Police combatants	18	0
Foreign noncombatants	13	0
Radical Right members	8	0
Total	112	6

hurt have been random. In particular, few government officials and prominent opinion leaders were victims of radical right-wing attacks. Moreover, the majority hurt are Canadian citizens.

TABLE 11
VICTIMS OF RADICAL RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE

	Primary ¹		Secondary ²		Total
	Domestic Frequency	Foreign Frequency	Domestic Frequency	Foreign Frequency	
Passer-by	24	3	9	2	38
Protester	14	1	13	1	29
Youth	10	1	6	1	18
Member of the audience	7	2	6	2	17
Worker/employee	12		3		13
Resident	6	1	3	1	11
Police	1		4		5
Doctor	4				4
Entertainer	1	1	2		4
Government official		2			2
Prominent opinion leader	2	1			3
Security guard	1				1
Teacher	1				1
Missing data	14	27	17	28	
None/Not relevant	62	120	96	124	
Total	159	159	159	159	159

¹Indicates the first person hit or attacked

²Indicates the second person hit or attacked

K. Outcomes to Radical Right-Wing Attackers

A total of 147 persons were reported to be arrested from acts of right-wing violence when statistically, there was close to one person arrested for each act of this type of violence (see Table 12). The most common number arrested was one or two individuals per incident. These scarce numbers must be weighed against the considerable amount of missing information concerning the number of arrests of initiators. Only 23 persons were

known to have been jailed because of these same acts; that is, only one in 14 right-wing acts lead to a jail sentence for the perpetrators. As with information on the number of arrests, there is much missing data concerning incarcerations.

TABLE 12
FATE OF INITIATORS OF RADICAL RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE

Number per incident	Arrests Frequency	Jailed Frequency
0	5	9
1	20	8
2	10	4
3	5	1
4	3	
5	2	
6	3	1
7	1	
8	2	
9	2	
10	0	
11	1	
Missing data	105	136
Total	159	159

V. Theoretical Analysis of Findings

In this article the conceptual and methodological problems and solutions for creating a data set on radical right-wing violence in Canada have been outlined. Descriptive statistics were presented and analyzed to capture the attributes of this type of behaviour. As is evident, developing a general, comprehensive, sound, and accepted means to measure this type of violence is a monumental task. Despite many precautions taken, there undoubtedly will be measurement flaws which may produce misleading conclusions. Problems aside, what have we learned from this current exercise?

First, the amount of right-wing violence in Canada pales in comparison to that occurring in the United States, the country that Canada is most often compared with. The fact that only 159 acts of violence perpetrated by the far right in a nation-state of 24 million over a 30-year period of history could suggest that policy-makers, the media, and academics are overreacting. Moreover, right-wing violence has been a predominantly urban phenomenon, compared to its southern variety. This might be due to the rural nature of America's south where racist violence has been most prominent. Another interesting and related feature is that the Canadian

Farmer's Movement and survivalists, unlike its southern cousins, have refrained from right-wing violent activity.⁵² In this respect it has avoided the pattern followed with the rise of the Posse Comitatus. Additionally, there has not been the anti-abortion related violence that the USA has experienced.⁵³ Yet, in January 1988, the Supreme Court of Canada decided that the federal abortion law was unconstitutional. This could lead to future strains.

Second, radical right-wing violence in Canada is less frequent than the similar activities occurring in Western Europe. It has not spawned a party as powerful and durable as Britain's and France's respective National Fronts, the German National Democratic Party, the Republicans, the Italian Movimento Socialismo, nor has it fostered the terrorist organizations and resultant violence that has developed in these countries. Unlike many European countries, Canada does not have the guest worker problems which has generated and sustained many right-wing organizations on the continent.

Third, several minority groups typically subject to right-wing attacks in Canadian history have not, in the last three decades, experienced this types of violence. In particular Roman Catholic and oriental communities have generally been spared from this type of violence. This may be accounted for by the introduction of a greater number of visible (e.g., Pakistanis and Sikhs) and non-visible minorities into Canada during this period which have become additional convenient targets. While certainly targeted, native Canadians did not show up in any of the incidents. This might be due to the closed nature of reservations and/or the minimal interest by the major newspapers in printing stories concerning border-town incidents.

Why are there not more events? Is it because Canadians are a more peaceful, less politically and socially contentious nation of people? Or is it because the political and social issues of the times have been less stable in other parts of the world where right-wing violence has undergone a marked increase (e.g., post-1989 Germany, Britain and the USA)? Future research should explore these hypotheses. These findings may confirm theories of the peaceable kingdom.⁵⁴

How might this current version of RWVIC be improved? One way might be to look at other sources of information. The search for cases should be expanded to other newspapers and source material written in French, Canada's other official language. Additionally, numerous emigrant newspapers printed in Canada both in English and in the minority language could be searched. One might also look at court transcripts of significant incidents that came to trial. The national, provincial and municipal archives of major Canadian cities could also be

explored. The same could be said of the vertical files of major libraries across Canada. Clearly, this is a partial solution as only a fraction of all right-wing activity is reported to the media or translate into criminal charges which make their way into the courts or produce written sources available in archives.

Another strategy would be the inclusion of new variables. One could look, for example, at the responses of those attacked in the context of right-wing violence. Further research could include the counter-attacks by opponents of the radical right. For example, N3, the Jewish Defense League, the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) and a plethora of anti-racist organizations which occasionally held demonstrations against right-wing organizations could be investigated. Or the activities of groups such as the Gay patrol in Toronto which protects the interests of its community might be incorporated. Furthermore, the larger community, the media and the state response to the right-wing violence might be investigated.

Additionally, now that a data base has been created, inferential statistical testing could proceed. While a comprehensive casual theory of right-wing violence has yet to be developed, this data base suggests that some right-wing violence is a reaction to left-wing activity; both violent and nonviolent. This speculation would require an interactive type testing format. Eventually a data base on left-wing violence should also be created which will enable one to compare and contrast the interaction of these two ideologically-opposed factions in a holistic fashion. And at some point in time, information will make its way into a much larger project dealing with political violence in Canada.

What does the future hold for the existence of radical right-wing violence? Even though there were nine anti-abortion related events, it does not necessarily mean that the political climate will change such that Canadians will emulate the American pattern. Anti-abortion protesters have been arrested with increasing frequency in Canada at demonstrations and in some cases charged and convicted with trespassing for blocking entrances to abortion clinics. Changes in the abortion laws are already making some of their ranks increasingly militant, perhaps inspiring the recent anti-abortion attack at the Morgentaler clinic in Toronto (May 1992). Similarly, French or English-only language militants could engage in right-wing violence.

Most predictions about the future of Canada involve an increase in the number of immigrants particularly visible minorities to the cities. These new *émigrés* will be, in turn, available targets for promoters and practitioners of violence. There is also a perception that right-wing thinking is increasing internationally, in the United States, and in Canada

(especially through what is referred to as hate literature). The problem becomes how to determine the influence of this force on the people who adopt this doctrine of violence. For example, the pervasiveness of American culture in Canada including music with racist lyrics is undeniable. And the trials of suspected World War II Nazis and purveyors of hate literature and Holocaust denial could spark more right-wing violence. Moreover, the time is ripe for right-wing organizations including English-only movements which have had some success in the United States and are slowly making their way into Canada.⁵⁵ International factors also have an effect. Shortly after the Jewish cemetery desecrations in France similar vandalizations took place in Québec City and in Gloucester, Ontario.

Perhaps the greatest threat of radical right-wing violence these days is from skinheads. Canadian skins are anti-American, -black, -free trade, -homosexual, -immigrant, and in favour of, among other things, the death penalty. Many skinheads have belonged to the cadet corps or are in the military reserve. There are local, national and international organizations bearing names such as Longitude 74, White Federation, Aryan Resistance Movement (ARM), and United Skinheads of Montréal. They have connections with punk and hard-core subcultures and more established neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups.⁵⁶ In 1982 there were approximately 30 skins in Toronto. By 1988 their ranks have grown to an estimated 300. In Montréal there are an estimated 250 members.

But these figures may be misleading. One must avoid labelling all skinheads right-wing, as there are non-racist Trojan skins, Redskins or the Ligue anti-fasciste mondiale on the left (who are anti-racist and pro-communist), and Nazi and ARM Skins on the right. 'Strung across the canyon between them are underpopulated, fractured gangs such as the West End Boot Boys and the SS (Scarborough Skins).'⁵⁷ They have made appearances in almost every major city in Canada, captured media attention, and are rapidly growing in Montréal, Vancouver, and Toronto. It can be hypothesized that either the events data approach seriously under-estimates the propensity of skinhead violence in Canada or Canadian skins are profoundly less violent than American skins.

Perhaps an interaction effect is taking place. For example, between 1988 and 1989 this research found evidence of only 27 violent events (perpetuated mainly by skinheads) in the entire nation state – and this was a banner year for right-wing violence in the country. On the other hand, one gang leader of a Detroit area skinhead collective admitted 17 acts of racial violence during the same period of observation (1988–90).⁵⁸

Finally, the police and national security agencies have probably been relatively successful at discovering and bringing to trial members of the

radical right in several conspiracy cases (i.e., bombings and murders). These have led to the conviction and incarceration of several prominent members of the radical right and/or have helped to cripple the efforts and finances of the groups.

Given all these intricacies the future of right-wing violence, skinhead or nonskinhead, is barely predictable. What can be inferred from the data is that the typical action will be an assault against a passer-by or audience who is a member of a minority group. Whether this track record will persist is difficult to predict.

NOTES

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1. Jeffrey Ian Ross, 'An Events Data Base on Political Terrorism in Canada: Some Conceptual and Methodological Problems', *Conflict Quarterly* 8 (1988), pp.47-65; idem, 'Attributes of Domestic Political Terrorism in Canada, 1960-1985', *Terrorism: An International Journal* 11 (1988), pp.213-33.
2. For instance, a conference entitled 'The Threat of Right Wing Terrorism' sponsored by the Counter-Terror Study Centre, in Winnipeg and held at the Univ. of Manitoba 13-14 March 1987 examined aspects of international and Canadian right-wing violence and terrorism. Most of the Conference presentations, however, have yet to be made public. The entire proceedings are not publicly available, however, the author was able to obtain one paper (i.e., Kashmeri 1987).
3. The Senate of Canada's Committee on Terrorism and Public Safety suggested in their first report, released in June 1987, that radical right-wing/racist Canadian groups with US connections posed more of a threat to the security of Canada than left-wing terrorism does (Canada 1987, pp.9-10). In fact, the committee received much public disapproval by suggesting that anti-abortionists with right-wing tendencies would engage in terrorism.
4. Stanley R. Barrett, 'The Far Right in Canada' in C.E.S. Frank (ed.), *Dissent and the State* (Toronto: OUP, 1989), pp.224-46.
5. Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason*, 2nd ed. (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978) say that extreme right movements 'rise in reaction to the displacement of power and status accompanying change'. They emphasize the preservationist nature of radical and right-wing groups (Ch.1) in particular 'maintaining or narrowing lines of power and privilege' (p.15). These authors also articulate opinions associated with radical-right individuals: racial, religious, and ethnic prejudice; anti-Catholicism, intolerance of difference, conservative economic and political beliefs (including anti-communism), and Quondam complex (Ch.11).
6. This is not to dismiss the fact that these actions can create structural or psychological violence.

7. Bertram Gross, *Friendly Fascism* (Boston: South End Press, 1980).
8. E.g., J.A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1959).
9. E.g., J. Crysdale and N. Durham, 'White Power: An Analysis of the Western Guard Party Ideology', Masters Thesis, York Univ., Canada, 1978.
10. E.g., William Calderwood, 'Pulpit, Press, and Political Reactions to the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan' in Samuel D. Clark, J. Paul Grayson and Linda M. Grayson (eds.), *Prophecy and Protest* (Toronto: Gage, 1975); Raymond Heul, 'La Survivance in Saskatchewan - Schools, Politics and the Nativist Crusade For Cultural Conformity', Univ. of Lethbridge 1975; Tom Henson, 'Ku Klux Klan in Western Canada', *Alberta History* 25 (1977), pp.1-8; John D. McAlpine, 'Report Arising out of the Activities of the Ku Klux Klan in British Columbia Presented to the Honourable Minister of Labour for the Province of British Columbia'; Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), Ch.3; Julian Sher, *White Hoods: Canada's Ku Klux Klan* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983).
11. This, however, is a limited sample of the plethora of right-wing groups in Canada. For a more complete analysis see Stanley R. Barrett, *Is God a Racist? The Right Wing in Canada* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1987). Since Barrett's book other groups have arisen. E.g., in 1985 there were manifestations of the Lyndon LaRouch Network in Canada in the guise of the Party for the Commonwealth of Canada (PCC). On 29 April, in particular, Gilles Gervais, the leader of the PCC dumped three pounds of raw liver in the Montréal office of the B'Nai B'rith League for Human Rights (BBLHR *The Review of Anti-Semitism in Canada* 1986, p.8).
12. E.g., Cyril H. Levitt and William Shaffir, *The Riot at Christie Pits* (Toronto: Lester & Orphon Dennys, 1987).
13. E.g., Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1975).
14. There were numerous acts of violence against blacks in Canada before confederation. It is hard to tell whether or not this had an ideological component. In fact slavery was in force in Canada until it was abolished in 1812. After this time there were kidnappings of blacks by bounty hunters in Canada who had escaped from their southern masters. For a review of the history of blacks in Canada from the founding to confederation (1867) see Daniel G. Hill, *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada* (Agincourt, Ont.: The Book Soc. of Canada, 1981). For a broader history of Blacks in Canada see Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1971) or Tulloch (note 15).
15. Headley Tulloch, *Black Canadians: A Long Line of Fighters* (Toronto: NC Press, 1975), p.80.
16. Gregory S. Kealey 'The Orange Order in Toronto: Religious Riot and The Working Class' in idem and Peter Warrian (eds.), *Essays in Canadian Working Class History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), pp. 13-34.
17. Peter W. Ward, *White Canada Forever* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1978). Ironically some of this violence was carried out by members of labour unions in an effort to protect jobs for whites. But because they were associated with all the other trappings of the right they are considered right-wing attacks.
18. Howard H. Sugimoto, 'The Vancouver Riots of 1907: A Canadian Episode in Hilary Conroy and T. Scott Miyakawa (eds.) *In East Across the Pacific* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio Press, 1972), pp.92-126; Ward, *White Canada Forever*, Ch. 4; Patricia E. Roy, 'The Preservation of Peace in Vancouver: The Aftermath of The Anti-Chinese Riot of 1887', *British Colombia Studies* 31 (1976), pp.44-59.
19. E.g., Sher, *White Hoods* (note 10).
20. Henson, 'KKK in W. Canada', p.2 (note 10).
21. *Barrie Examiner*, 24 June 1926.
22. Betcherman, *Swastika and Maple Leaf* (note 13); David Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties: On Anti-Semitism in Canada 1929-1939*, 13 vols. (Montréal: National Archives, Canadian Jewish Congress, 1977-91).

23. Levitt and Shaffir, *Riot at Christie Pits* (note 12).
24. Duart Snow, 'The Holmes Foundary Strike of March 1937', *Ontario History* 69 (1977), pp. 3-31.
25. Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, p. 419 (note 14).
26. *Ibid.*, p. 420.
27. Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1981).
28. Winks, pp. 449-52 (note 14).
29. Kirk Makin, 'Covering the Zundel Trial: A Reporter's Notebook', *TO Magazine* (May/June 1985), pp. 20-8; Gabriel Weinman and Conrad Winn, *Hate on Trial: The Zundel Affair: The Media, Public Opinion in Canada* (Oakville, Ont.: Mosaic Press, 1986).
30. Michael W. Cuneo, *Catholics Against the Church* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1989).
31. Ironically Morgentaler's greatest opponent has been Joe Borokowski, a former MP for the Manitoba legislature and a member of the New Democratic Party (a democratic-Socialist party).
32. Albeit the person who was responsible for the action was mentally unstable (or not fit to stand trial in legal terms) and according to his testimony, was acting on orders from God.
33. The quote is attributed to John Loftus in 'Jewish Group vows to expose alleged Nazi criminals here' *Toronto Star*, 5 Oct. 1983. See Canada (1989) for a general discussion of the hunt for Nazi war criminals in Canada.
34. Also known as the Deschenes Commission Report. There were allegations that an international network of Rumanian Nazis and so-called war criminals was operating in Canada. Bob Tompson, 'Nazi Group Operating Here' *Toronto Sun*, 5 July 1983, p. 36, and 'Trial Presents Spectre of Worldwide Nazism' *Globe and Mail*, 8 Feb. 1983, p. 22.
35. Clearly any analysis will benefit from the integration of case study and quantitative research strategies, e.g., Charles Ragin, *The Comparative Method* (Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 1987).
36. One might also suggest that there are problems studying each of the different groups but this is probably too reductionist an avenue of inquiry for this article.
37. Governmental agencies such as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), and the Department of National Defense (DND) either do not maintain statistics, and/or do not have a publicly available chronology of events or data base on right-wing violence. Likewise, major metropolitan or provincial police forces whether it is the ethnic relations and/or intelligence divisions rarely make this type of material available. Moreover, the Canadian Human Rights Commission and the individual provincial human rights commissions fail in this respect also. This was determined on the basis of a written request to these organizations all of whom were asked for information concerning these groups and individuals specifically available chronologies and data bases on right-wing violence, and or these groups and individuals.
38. These supplementary sources, however, were not free from drawbacks. First, researchers (e.g., academic, journalists, and private) who have conducted research or collected material on one or many right-wing organizations were a mixed lot. They were generally extremely difficult to track down, unco-operative, had confusing political agendas, and mistrustful.

Second, religious, minority, and ethnic groups that monitor the activities of the radical right-wing organizations as a part of a larger mission (e.g., the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), B'nai B'rith, Canadian Abortion Rights League, Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, etc.) were contacted. Letters were sent to most of the minority, religious and political organizations in Canada which were perceived to have experienced right-wing attacks on their constituency. The rate of response was marginal.

Additionally, some organizations which act as umbrella organizations seeking to protect the interests of a variety of threatened groups (e.g., British Columbia Organization to Fight Racism, Urban Alliance on Race Relations, etc.) were investigated. Very few organizations responded to these requests. Information available from these organizations required the writer to spend enough time (in some cases several days) manually or photocopying this information at their premises.

Third, since 1982 the B'Nai B'rith of Canada, League for Human Rights, produces the yearly *The Review of Anti-Semitism in Canada*. In the main, the report includes statistics on acts of anti-Semitism in Canada and attitudes of Canadians towards Jews. While the data are collected across Canada they focus mainly on Ontario and Québec. The rationale for this perspective is that first anti-Semitic incidents in Québec and Ontario are higher than most of the other provinces and that second, these two provinces contain 80 per cent of the total Canadian Jewish population. Although incidents in the reports are grouped under two main categories vandalism and harassment, both of these classifications contain acts of overt physical violence and others short of physical violence. These data have not been disaggregated any further. An additional difficulty with these statistics is that these reports cover a limited time. Five years is too short a time to make reliable inferences. A request was made to this organization to review the chronology of the incidents or case summaries of the incidents which are used to make their data set. Access was never granted.

Fourth, and most important, attaining a relatively comprehensive picture of the Canadian context from newspaper articles is only possible for 1977-present time due to the development of both manual and computer accessible news indexes created since then. For 1960 to 1976 researchers must depend on case studies, or the goodwill of people and organizations (both public and private) that have maintained vertical files of newspaper clippings, complaints and actual copies of right-wing group publications or monitored the right-wing in some other manner.

39. Here this researcher uncovered a series of files labelled Canada, Race and Prejudice, John Birch Society, Western Guard, Edmund Burke Society, Ku Klux Klan, Youth, Race and Religious problems, Political parties and movements. These contained news-clippings from the *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail*, and the now defunct *Toronto Telegram* publications. These files were, however, severely ransacked, and hence incomplete.
40. First, Robert Jackson, Michael Kelly, and Thomas H. Mitchell, 'Collective Conflict, Violence and the Media in Canada' (Ontario Royal Commission on Violence, 1977), examined all issues of the *Globe and Mail* for 1965 to 1975 and identified 129 incidents of collective violence in Ontario. Second, Judy M. Torrance in *Public Violence in Canada* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1986) has prepared a chronology identifying 40 acts of 'public violence' in Canada occurring between 1868 and 1984.
41. This procedure yielded very little if any information. The majority of organizations could not provide this writer with any information. Sources that did send me information included *The Vancouver Sun*, and the *Calgary Herald*.
42. These included *Canadian News Index* and *Canadian Periodical Index*. This produced a total of 278 citations. The additional indexes of the *Canadian Annual Review* and the *Index de l'Actualité* could also be examined but were not for this generation of the data set.
43. This point is brought up by B'nai B'rith League for Human Rights, *Review of Anti-Semitism in Canada* 1983, p.9, but they code these events nevertheless.
44. The three source criteria was not necessary for an event to be omitted unless that was the reason why it was rejected. The rigour of the data set can be judged in several ways. One is by analyzing the events that were discarded. Although many of the events excluded have been labelled as radical right-wing and were included in other publicly available chronologies, they were not necessarily included in this one. In general, the most common actions for exclusion were threats and hoaxes, irrelevant, insufficient documentation or details, non-violent, not right-wing, actions taking place outside of Canada, and failure to meet the three source criteria.
45. For a discussion of measurement difficulties with events data bases see, e.g., Doran (1973); Snyder (1978); Jackman and Boyd (1979); Azar (1969); Cohen, Jukan and McCormick (1972); Burgess and Lawton (1975); Doran, Denley, and Antones (1973).
46. One could look at the variable 'Primary Nationality of Instigating Groups', but because there is a considerable match between the group responsibility and nationality it is omitted from this analysis.

47. A similar finding has been made with acts of anti-Semitism. According to B'Nai B'rith of Canada, League of Human Rights' 1982 review, p.13, in 1982 'as in the previous years, anti-Jewish hostility still appears to be overwhelmingly the acts of young people on their own rather than under the orders of anti-Jewish hate groups'.
48. As many newspaper articles lack details as to the perpetrators, many Croatian attacks against Serbians and other Yugoslavians are perpetrated by Ustasha, a right-wing organization.
49. The national origin of the victims was coded but not listed as the results contain too much irrelevant or missing information.
50. This event was not coded as it was not a violent action directed against someone.
51. This category/table is the composite of four variables: primary victim, domestic; primary victim, foreign; secondary victim, domestic; and secondary victim, foreign.
52. Allen Wilford, *Farm Gate Defense* (Toronto: NC Press, 1984).
53. David C. Nice, 'Abortion Clinic, Bombings as Political Violence', *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (1988), pp.178-95.
54. Edgar Friedenberg, *Deference to Authority: The Case of Canada* (White Plains, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1979).
55. Howard Goldenthal and Wayne Roberts, 'Franco-phobia', *Now*, 17 March 1990, p.10.
56. David Hubert and Yves Claudé, *Les skinheads et l'extreme droite* (Montréal: VLM Editeur, 1991).
57. Ian Brown, 'New Nazis or Old Hat', *Globe and Mail*, 30 April 1988; Bill Dunphy, 'Skinheads Fighting Racist Tag', *Toronto Sun*, 22 June 1989, p.18; Tim Pelzer, 'Skinheads: Stormtroopers of the Ultra-Right', *Canadian Dimension* (Oct. 1989), pp.39-40.
58. This observation and data was provided by Mark S. Hamm, personal correspondence, 15 Feb. 1992.