Racist intelligentsia: Pathway to the far right's epistemology.

Frank Tridico
University of Windsor

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UMI
RACIST INTELLIGENTSIA:
PATHWAY TO THE FAR RIGHT’S EPISTEMOLOGY

by
Frank Tridico

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
Through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at the
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ABSTRACT

This study attempts to explain the nature of the far right movement in terms of a debate between Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory. While both theories contend that social movements attempt to change culture/society, they differ substantially in terms of methods employed. While Resource Mobilization Theory contends that it is done politically in the sphere of institutional power, New Social Movement Theory contends that change occurs in civil society.

To gain a more comprehensive analysis of the far right movement, it was necessary to combine the interviewing of one organization with content analysis of four other far right organizations’ literature. Apart from one organization that was based in the United States, all other groups were Canadian. Although the study was organized to study the far right movement in the Canadian context, it was necessary to include the American organization because the interviewed Canadian Ku Klux Klan sect is affiliated with it.

Before an examination of the far right can proceed, it is imperative that two issues are assessed in relation to it. A study of racism, in terms of how it has thrived socially and politically in its historical and contemporary dimensions, offers the reader an understanding of conditions that have allowed the far right to emerge. As well, an assessment of the history of the far right movement in Canada serves a descriptive function and will help in showing how the wider society, particularly the political and legal spheres, have allowed the far right to emerge and sustain itself.

The study presents two dimensions to the reader: the descriptive and the
analytical. First, there is an assessment of the various movements’ principles and purposes through interviews and far right literature. Second, the study proceeds with a critical analysis of the organizations to determine which theory best explains the nature of the far right movement.

The study offers a contribution to knowledge to an area that has been left relatively untouched by Canadian social researchers. Data have been generated through content analysis of far right literature and the direct interviews of a Canadian sect of the Ku Klux Klan. The study is unique in the sense that it attempts to directly explain the nature of the far right in light of a debate between two major sociological theories. In essence, the study explores whether far right organizations are primarily political or social. From such findings, an assessment is made to determine the level of threat, if any, it could have on the wider society.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The far right is most often perceived as being primarily concerned with race. While race is a significant underpinning in its ideology, it is not the only criterion used to form and sustain the numerous organizations in operation. Certainly not everyone who subscribes to right wing ideology is necessarily racist. However, there does exist a scale of intolerance that becomes more pronounced as one moves to the extreme right. While not all far right members are equal in their level of racism, many share consensus on a variety of issues. For example, there is clear intolerance of liberal positions on such issues such as open immigration, abortion, homosexuality and socialism (Barrett, 1987: 29-30). Intolerance plays a pivotal role in the formation and sustenance of far right organizations. Intolerance also paves the way for more accentuated levels of disdain. While it cannot be proven that all far right members are racist, one conclusion remains logical; where there is intolerance, racism is not that far behind (Kallen, 1982:136).

While this may be so, any suggestion that the radical right holds a monopoly on racist ideology would do injustice to the study of racism as a whole (Wrong, 1959:53). As Julian Sher (1983:211) stated: “Far from being an aberration in a supposedly just and equal society, the Klan arguably is more of a reflection - however exaggerated - of the racism endemic in that society.” To regard white supremacists, anti-Semites or their fringe right counterparts as separate entities with no connection to the wider society would be an unfortunate mistake (Barrett, 1987:4). In fact, by doing so, one allocates total responsibility for racism to the far right. In the chapter on racism, the prevalence and entrenchment of racism in our society on various levels (socially, economically and politically) will be illustrated. What becomes
important is to understand the conditions in the wider society that allow an environment for the far right to form and sustain itself.

Racism thus plays an integral role in creating an environment to allow far right organizations to not only form but flourish. While many far right groups overtly express their racist ideology, others do not. What we may find is that those who are most radical in expressing their beliefs are visible, while those who hide their extremist beliefs are less visible. It is overt racism which is most often recognizable and deplored by Canadians (Sher, 1983:132-136), but it is covert racism that is less visible and somewhat tolerated by society (Henry & Tator, 1985; Li, 1988). Following this logic, if some far right organizations focus on issues that hold more societal consensus, they become successful in a variety of areas. They may become able to operate with less of a negative stigma, they may be able to attract greater sympathy with conservatives and neo-conservatives who share similar ideology outside of overt racism, and they may achieve more political influence through altered strategies. If covert racism can thrive at the societal level, it can also do so at the far right level.

The central purpose of the study was to analyze the far right in terms of a debate between Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory. The two theories present opposite points of view with regard to the formation, origin and sustenance of social movements. While the former places greater emphasis on the political structures, the latter primarily concerns itself with the social realm (Scott, 1990). The themes to be analyzed during interview questioning and examination of far right literature will specifically
address the debate between the two theories. In essence, the study attempts to explore whether the nature of far right organizations is primarily political or social.

The study of social movements gives the researcher an opportunity to comprehend how groups are formed, why they are formed, what their goals are, the strategies they employ and the effects of these groups on the overall society. Resource Mobilization and New Social Movement theorists would both claim that social movements attempt to change culture/society. Where they differ significantly is that the former claims it is done politically in the sphere of institutional power, while the latter contends change occurs in the civil society.

In assessing whether one theory better explains the nature of the far right movement, the researcher is able to then make a calculated assessment of its level of threat to the overall society. For example, if the movement is guided by political criteria as opposed to social/cultural issues, it could be argued that there may be a greater threat to society since the primary goal of the movement may be to change or overtake the political and/or economic infrastructure. If this is done, their mandate can be legitimized through proposed legislation or force. As a result, such an agenda could be legitimized with greater effects than its social/cultural counterpart agenda which primarily seeks to change ideas (Canel, 1992).

CONCEPTS

During the course of this study, a number of key concepts emerge that need to be clearly defined. As a doctrine, racism can be defined as the assertion of "the superiority of
one group over another on the basis of arbitrarily selected characteristics pertaining to appearance, intelligence, or temperament” (Elliott & Fleras, 1992: 52). Social scientists break the concept of racism into three more specific components: racial prejudice, racial discrimination and racial ideology. The first refers to pre-conceived negative attitudes toward individuals or groups independent of actual contact and experience with them. Racial discrimination refers to acts involving differential or discriminatory treatment of individuals or groups according to perceived racial differences. Racist ideology emphasizes the general institutional framework of society. It defines the sets of ideas and beliefs that “rationalize, legitimize, and sustain patterns of inequality” (Barrett, 1987: 7). According to Barrett (1987: 7-8), racist ideology is the most powerful agent of the three because its effects are the most far-reaching and longest-lasting. Racist ideology can embed itself in the structures of society, be exercised as a means of power and control, and can sustain itself over time by the virtue of the continuity of the social system itself. By its very presence in the institutionalized structures of society, it can not only sustain itself but perhaps become legitimized.

The present study examines not only racism but racist extremists or fanatics. Extremism can be defined as a deviation from the political norm and the tendency to occupy the poles of the ideological scale (Spoonley, 1981: 100). Although this definition stipulates criteria to determine extremism, it is much more difficult to determine whether extremism is entirely correct or incorrect, positive or negative. Particularly on issues of morality, it should be noted that what is moral for one society may not be moral for another. Similarly, what one considers extremist in one society may not be considered extremist in another
(Devlin, 1971: 24-48). This categorizing also is dependent with time and circumstance. For example, whereas a few decades ago gay activists may have been considered radical extremists, contemporary thought may define the same activists as a legitimate lobby group (Tarrow, 1994: 18-27).

Conversely, fanaticism is a much easier concept to define and identify. Barrett (1987: 8) defines fanaticism as moving beyond the granted freedoms and channels of the political system (e.g., argumentation, debate, lobby) and endorsing violence as a justifiable means to achieve its goals. The radical extreme of the far right can be defined as fanatical primarily because it is more likely to endorse violence (Kinsella, 1994).

Perhaps the most critical focus of this study is the distinction of another wing to be differentiated from the mainstream right and the radical right. The mainstream right can be defined as conservatism as a political ideology (Limbaugh, 1993: 287). The radical right can be assessed as incorporating principles that are so far removed from the political mainstream that it is more likely to endorse violence as a justifiable means to achieve their objectives (Kinsella, 1994: 358-360). If there exists an ideology that reflects a position between mainstream right and the radical right, then it could be defined as fringe right. Two points need to be addressed here. First, the fringe right is “moderate” only when being compared to the radical right. When compared to the mainstream right, the fringe right would be considered radical. Second, the reader may disagree with splitting the far right into two categories. However, this should be done to gain a better comprehension of the phenomenon. In the political sphere, ideologies are categorized and defined through separate party lines. For example, to a member of a far left organization, the bad guys begin
with the New Democratic Party and get worse as one moves to the right politically (Liberals, Progressive Conservatives and ultimately, the Reform Party). To a member of the right wing, the enemy becomes more pronounced as one moves to the left of the political arena (Barrett, 1987: 8-9).

If it is possible to have different political wings, then it is also possible to have differences within the right wing. Indeed, definitions of what incorporates a left wing or right wing agenda are open to interpretation and may change over time. For example, contemporary Canadian conservatives are essentially reproductions of nineteenth-century liberals, who in their time promoted private enterprise, smaller government and individual freedom (Barrett, 1987: 8). Using this analogy, it could be hypothesized that the fringe right can be defined as holding beliefs similar to those of nineteenth-century Tories, who identified with structural elitism and privilege over egalitarianism and opportunity for upward social mobility. The point here is that it would be unwise to simply overlook fundamental differences that could separate the fringe right from the radical right.

There is difficulty in determining what can be defined as fringe right and what can be defined as far right. For example, a Ku Klux Klan organization could be interviewed, and the data collected may not correlate entirely with previous research on the Klan, or in comparison to other far right groups. Could we define this organization as fringe right? Arguably, a researcher cannot dispute the historical realities of its violent past. However, if data collected clearly shows that the subjects interviewed denounce violence, this creates a dilemma. The researcher cannot bring his or her bias into the study and denounce their beliefs simply because of the organization’s name: the Ku Klux Klan. The researcher must
examine the data in an unbiased manner and draw conclusions from that data. One way of differentiating between fringe right and far right lines is to clearly define extremism in terms of methods employed. The fringe right is less likely to endorse violence as a justifiable means to achieve objectives, whereas the radical right almost always will (Overstreet & Overstreet, 1964: 19-20).

According to Barrett (1987: 9-10) radical right members often define themselves as racists, fascists, anti-Semites and endorse beliefs of white supremacy and hatred toward outgroups. They are prepared to use violence as a means to an end. Fringe right members believe that the Conservative Party is being controlled by socialists posing as right wingers. They believe that society is being negatively impacted by abortion, homosexuality and pre-marital sex. However, they do not condone violence; they believe that laws should be respected and that if changes are to occur, they should be done using the existing political system.

Barrett (1987: 357-360) has been the only Canadian researcher to formally list and categorize fringe and far right organizations. He has identified 70 fringe right groups and 60 radical right movements that have operated in Canada since the Second World War. While these numbers appear high, there are several points to consider. First, although Barrett has categorized and classified these groups, there is no mention of the number of people in each group or the duration of the movements. The Invisible Empire Association of Alberta declared that their organization consisted of only 26 members (Kinsella, 1994: 24). Former Canadian Ku Klux Klan leader Alexander McQuirter once told the Toronto Sun that the organization had 500 members in Toronto, Vancouver and Alberta (Sher, 1983: 113). My
own research had subjects denying the existence of these two groups. They claimed that there had never been any alliances of these sect Klans with their organization or with the main branch in Indiana. Since there have never been any officially released membership lists or statistics (Sher, 1983: 113-114), it is difficult to measure the level of support for these groups. Moreover, it is difficult to discern how long they are able to sustain their movement because for the most part they are secret organizations with little known about them. Barrett has not concluded how many of these organizations are currently in operation. The New Order Aryans (of the Ku Klux Klan) in Ottawa, Ontario, recognized only 27 of the fringe right groups and only 11 of the 60 far right groups as currently existing (Personal Interviews, October, 1996).

METHODOLOGY

The present study was based on qualitative research. Qualitative methodology places greater importance on words than numbers. There are significant benefits from qualitative methodology. With qualitative data, one can preserve chronological flow, note precisely which events led to which consequences and from this, derive explanations (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 1). Qualitative data help researchers to proceed beyond initial conceptions and to generate or revise conceptual frameworks. When words are organized into incidents or stories, they present concrete and vivid images that prove far more personal than pages of summarized numbers (Newman, 1991: 28).

Qualitative research looks for answers to questions by analyzing various social settings and the individuals within them. The researcher's concern is finding how the
subjects make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures and roles. Qualitative techniques such as personal, detailed interviews allow the researcher to share in the understandings and perceptions of others. The analysis of qualitative data allows the researcher to assess the social contours and processes individuals use to create and sustain their social realities (Douglas, 1976: 12-13).

Field research sometimes is conducted using little or no prestructured designs. In these studies, there are few explicit conceptual frames or standard instruments. There is a more loosely structured approach to gathering data. The conceptual framework should emerge from the field in the course of these types of studies. Important research questions will become clear gradually (Berg, 1995: 16-17). Other field research has employed tighter designs. These are used most often when researchers work with well-defined constructs. What tighter designs provide are clarity and focus as opposed to diffuseness and overload (Labovitz & Hagedorn, 1981: 54-55).

It is the researcher's contention that the method that best served this study lay between these two extremes. On the one hand, there is merit in open-mindedness to enter a research setting looking for questions as well as answers. Nonetheless, it is inadvisable to embark upon research without any idea of what one is looking for. The researcher should have some conceptual framework to work with to establish some form of clarity and focus (Sommer & Sommer, 1991: 56-57).

On the other hand, a tightly-constructed research design used to study a phenomenon that most know little about may not be a perfect method. For the present, something is known conceptually about the phenomenon, but not enough to specifically house a theory.
Rather, the researcher has an idea of the parts of the phenomenon that are not well understood and knows exactly where to seek them—in which settings or among which individuals. The researcher thus has at least a rudimentary conceptual framework and a set of research questions that also allow for the possibility of others to be derived in the process (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 17).

A conceptual framework explains the main criteria to be studied: the key factors, constructs or variables. It also studies the relationship among them. Frameworks can be simple or elaborate, theory-driven or common-sensical, descriptive or causal (Babbie, 1990: 118-120). In this study, the analysis was related to the debate on the nature of the social movement. Both Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory were examined to assess which theory best explains the movement. This allowed for data to directly reflect the political vs. social/cultural debate of the two theories. The research design allowed for more flexibility, while it retained some basic structure and purpose.

Some structure is necessary for several reasons. First, the looser the initial design is, the less selective the collection of data will be. Everything appears to be too important, there is too much information and key constructs or regularities may take too long to emerge from the study. Thus, research is submerged in data that would be too time-consuming to sort. Second, researchers do have some background knowledge. Researchers see and decipher details. They know some questions to present, which issues to pay closer attention to and how theoretical interests are embodied in the field. Thus, to have some conceptual framework serves as a strength to the researcher (Miles & Huberman, 1994: 17).
What needs to be avoided are designs that are too tightly coordinated. Such designs yield generalizable findings that are less case-sensitive and out of context (Berg, 1995: 2-3). The solution may well lie in avoiding the extremes (Babbie, 1990: 61-63). Thus, the present study was organized in an informal, loosely-structured format. This allowed for the study to be flexible, and the data generated were used to assess which theory was better to explain the nature of the social movement.

Formulating research questions is the next step after the conceptual framework has been defined. If the conceptual framework is more constrained, so too should the questions be. The researcher needs to address specific variables and specific relationship (Sommer & Sommer, 1991: 134-135). Since the conceptual framework for the present study was less constrained, the questions were designed with less constraints as well. In other words, some questions were formulated to provide specific focus (i.e., dealing with a set issue), but some questions had to be closed-ended. For example, if a far right member was asked how important financial resources were in achieving the organization’s goals, this question could have been answered with a simple yes or no. Rather, the researcher asked “How does your group use financial resources to achieve its goals?” to ensure focus on a particular issue was maintained, while it also allowed the respondent to elaborate.

This research design was also set up in an informal, loosely-structured manner. The questions that were designed were not rigidly set in chronological sequence. The researcher found that during the course of the interviews certain questions became irrelevant or not applicable based on the answers given in previous questions. Initial questions addressed socio-demographic data. Following these questions, some questions were asked that were
constructed with no set conceptual framework to directly test a theory. For example, one of the first questions was "What is the reason you joined the New Order Aryans?" Since the researcher did not know the answer to this, the question was asked to generate some understanding of subjects' motivation to join. If the respondent's answer was politically motivated, then the researcher decided that questions dealing with political aspects of Resource Mobilization Theory were more applicable and should take precedence over the social aspects of New Social Movement Theory. However, the present study was designed to address the debate between two theories. Therefore, the researcher asked questions dealing with both theories. While respondents tended to focus more on the issues relating to one theory, every attempt was made to ensure that issues relating to the other theory were addressed.

Two points became apparent for this study. First, the format consisted of tentative questions. Second, the order in which they were asked depended on the discussion. For example, a respondent was asked "What relevance does leadership have on group organization?" The respondent answered in detail and provided the researcher with sufficient data and also elaborated on another issue (resources). The discussion then took the interview in a different direction. A follow-up question was then related to the issue last discussed. The researcher subsequently asked the question "How does your organization raise funds/capital?" The idea is that while it was necessary to have a conceptual framework, the research design was flexible enough that it took various directions while it still generated relevant data.
The researcher found that in the course of the interview new questions arose. These questions were not set in the interview schedule but were found to be relevant nonetheless. All of this was dependent on the discussion and the turn it took. Given the nature of the conceptual framework, the possibility of this occurring was expected. The answers generated showed that one particular theory's issues were more relevant to the movement. Although the researcher found that respondents tended to focus more on the issues of one theory, every attempt was made to ensure that questions relating to both theories were asked.

Thus, the interview schedule was formulated according to the following method. The researcher began with a general text of the phenomenon. The researcher then tested hunches and findings and built on themes and trends that were identified. During the interview process, the researcher typically moved through a series of analysis episodes that condensed more and more data into a more coherent understanding of how and why (Lofland, 1971).

The interview schedule for this study was formulated as a general guide. What this means is that outside of the initial socio-demographic questions, the rest were tentative questions. The order in which they were asked was dependent on the nature of the discussion with respondents; some questions were deleted along the way while others that appeared to be relevant were added. The idea was that the research design remained flexible and was patterned around the discussion.

The interview schedule asked basic socio-economic questions dealing with such issues as education, place of birth and occupation. Such questions were used to provide a general idea of who the members were and their backgrounds and helped to show who this movement appeals most to. For example, if the study found that most members were highly
educated and were employed in professional occupations, the researcher can deduce that perhaps education and occupation may play an integral part in motivating the members to become involved in the movement. On the other hand, if the socio-demographic questions revealed great diversity, then the answers may show that there appears to be no link between socio-demographic aspects and who becomes involved. The movement may be made up of members of all ages, places of origin, educational levels and occupations. Without asking such questions, the study would have been left somewhat incomplete.

Questions to follow included ones that the researcher posed to lead the direction and order of the rest of the interview. For example, the questions "Do you think that your organization should distance itself from the political system or should it directly try to oppose it? Why?" allowed the discussion to direct the interview. If the respondent placed significant detail and focus on the political aspects of the movement, then the order of questions was directed to lean toward the political aspects of Resource Mobilization Theory.

From this, the researcher proceeded to ask questions whose issues deal with a particular theory. In this case, the direction taken was political. Mobilization plays an integral part in Resource Mobilization Theory. Four central factors are part of the process of mobilization: organization, leadership, political opportunity and the nature of the political system (Canel, 1992). Questions posed were relevant to these issues. By doing this, the researcher was able to assess the applicability of that theory to the nature of the movement. For example, in dealing with the factor of political opportunity, a question that was relevant to this and was asked was "Has your organization been involved in any political process in the past or present?" A related question that proceeded was "Are there any plans to become
involved in any political activity in the future?” Such questions were formulated in relation to the issues that the particular theory stresses are important. The responses to them helped assess the applicability of the theory. As well, the responses helped to provide direction.

Resource Mobilization Theory stresses political issues. As such, questions were designed in a manner that reflected these issues. The answers given tested how applicable that theory was to explain the nature of the far right movement. New Social Movement Theory stresses social/cultural issues. As such, questions were designed to reflect these issues. For instance, New Social Movement theorists see movements as demonstrations of values, thus serving as an expressive function for the individual (Scott, 1990). A question relevant to this aspect of the theory was “What benefits are derived from being a member in this organization?” The interview schedule categorized which questions were formulated to reflect the issues of the particular theories.

The other aspect of the study included content analysis of far right literature. Content analysis yields excerpts, quotations or entire passages from written literature. They are examined using major themes and categories (Berg, 1995: 113-114). The method employed in the present study was similar to how respondents’ answers were categorized. The researcher examined the literature and determined whether a significant amount of it dealt with particular issues of one theory or the other.

Document analysis allowed for a more comprehensive overview of the phenomenon. Content analysis represented information that was not just what was chosen to disclose to the researcher but what was chosen to convey to potential sympathizers. Particularly since
little is known about the organized far right, the amalgamation of content analysis and actual interviews presented a more comprehensive contribution to knowledge.

One issue that needs to be addressed is the consent form. While many studies do include a consent form which includes space to record the date of the interview and the respondent’s signature, it is not always necessary. In the context of the present study, such an alternative would have provided more shortcomings than benefits. For example, respondents may have wanted to take part in the study but may have felt reluctant to do so if it required a personal signature. Dealing with such a sensitive topic, which could have included information of illegal behaviour, the respondent may not have felt secure enough that information given would have remained in confidence and that anonymity would have been assured. Another concern was that having acknowledged a signature was given, the respondent could have answered in a more cautious, selective manner. This could have negatively affected the research, limited the researcher’s data and the contribution it could have had to knowledge.

Such reasoning gave favor to the alternative of not obliging the respondent to sign a consent form. Rather, a more viable option entailed providing an information sheet that allowed the respondent to acknowledge the interview/study’s conditions. The respondent was allowed to retain the information sheet and proceeded with the interview if he/she consented to the written conditions. This is called passive consent. Such a process was found to have placed the respondent at ease and generated more extensive responses.
THE STUDY

The combination of direct interviews and content analysis allowed for a stronger, more comprehensive study. Direct interviews allowed for greater insight into the nature of the social movement. Through this method, the researcher was able to more accurately assess criteria such as volume of membership, level of adherent commitment and the degree of consistency in group ideology among members. It allowed the researcher a forum to attain specific answers to specific questions and the opportunity to have members elaborate and go into greater detail.

While direct interviewing offered significant advantages, the nature of the far right movement made it rather difficult to gain access to organizations willing to collaborate. First, most far right organizations operate secretly and are difficult to detect. Second, those that can be detected often do not wish to be openly scrutinized (Kinsella, 1994). This general mistrust of outsiders makes it extremely difficult for researchers to gain access to direct interviews. This study entails the direct interviewing of one far right organization of 17 members. While there may exist some readiness for critics to discredit the validity of the study, several factors need to be addressed. First, apart from Barrett (1987), most information on the far right in Canada is derived from secondary sources (i.e., newspaper articles). Such information tends to be more descriptive or sensationalistic than analytical. The media often makes implications based on limited exposure of the far right without delving into a more comprehensive, theoretical analysis. In this context, the media becomes the public's primary agent in shaping the perception of the far right. It does not necessarily mean that perception is entirely correct. Due to the lack of primary source data available and
the difficulty to access such groups, the direct interviewing of one organization is a significant step in better understanding the movement.

The second point needing to be addressed is that there may exist false assertions that the far right is greater (in terms of number of organizations and volume of membership) than it really is. This may allow some critics to charge that access to interview such groups may not be difficult. Barrett (1987) points out throughout his research that the far right, although comprised of numerous organizations, have very little membership. Indeed, certain far right groups such as the Civil Libertarian Council (in Alberta) openly charge that most radical right groups that gain considerable exposure with the media have little to no membership (World Watch, June, 1997: 3). It can be argued that the far right is considerably smaller than commonly believed, making it that much more difficult to access for interviews.

The present thesis stressed the importance of differentiating between the fringe and radical sectors of the far right. While it was difficult to gain access to interview a far right organization, the one chosen for the study has been in operation for over 20 years and affiliated with the legitimate Klan organization in the United States. Criteria used to determine legitimacy were tenure of the organizations, their commitment to the Klan's legal constitution of 1921 and ownership of the patent for the Klan name and all related paraphernalia. Other groups analyzed through content analysis tended to have been in operation for many years, have not been criminally charged and openly critical of their radical right counterparts. In essence, the reader should determine validity for this study not solely in terms of "numbers" but who is being interviewed or analyzed. Any bigot with visions of grandeur can claim to the media that he is a leader of a far right group with
hundreds of members. It is important to assess which organizations are legitimate and which are nothing more than front-page headline money-makers for tabloid journalism. The purpose of the present study was to accurately assess and analyze the movement and not to embark on an emotionally-charged crusade to denounce. Face-to-face interviews with a legitimate organization provided a significant contribution to knowledge, and that knowledge was likely to be more valid or accurate than numerous secondary source information from organizations that may not even be legitimate.

Without evaluating other right wing organizations through content analysis, the study would be open to refutability. Data obtained through one or two organizations certainly would not allow for sufficient grounds to expose myths. While they could provide interesting revelations, albeit limited, what it does do is raise important questions over the validity of common myths of the far right. While it was not possible to interview other organizations for the thesis, it was possible to analyze the literature of other groups. Interviewing the New Order Aryans of the Ku Klux Klan in Ottawa, Ontario allowed me to attain my data through direct questioning. Content analysis involved looking for specific themes through the organizations’ literature. Thus, instead of posing questions to determine group ideology, movement goals, tactics and strategies used, analyzing the literature provided these answers. For example, if the organizations clearly assess political infusion as their primary objective, then it can be argued that Resource Mobilization Theory better explains the nature of the social movement. Multiple themes were explored to provide as much information to make a stronger argument that one particular theory better explains the nature of the movement. Moreover, it allowed for comparative analysis with other groups.
studied, including the one directly interviewed. As a result, if there is consistency among right wing organizations' ideology, goals, tactics, etc., it allowed the study to more accurately expose myths or bring to light certain revelations.

It should be noted that specific factors did not allow for a great volume of data from groups explored through content analysis. First, not having access to formal interviews with organizations' members limits the researcher in a number of ways. It is difficult to assess the volume of membership, level of adherent commitment to the group and other information that could answer specific questions and/or expand on these questions. As result, the researcher was limited to the information at hand. The second factor is that time and space did not allow for unlimited analysis. Rather, what took precedence was the consistency or inconsistency of themes within the literature. These could be used to illustrate the main points of either Resource Mobilization Theory or New Social Movement Theory. In the final analysis, one theory did emerge as better explaining the nature of the far right movement.
CHAPTER 2: RACISM

No study of the organized far right in Canada can be complete without an examination of the historical and structural settings that have allowed racism to flourish. How can radical and fringe right organizations exist in a nation that has a renowned reputation for tolerance? This chapter is different from the others since its focus is not the far right. What it does present is an examination of the institutional framework and how the right wing has flourished within it.

The first victims of overt oppression were the Native peoples of Canada during colonization. Valentine (1980: 47) claims that due primarily to successive government strategies to dominate Native peoples, today “they have the lowest incomes, the poorest health, and highest rates of unemployment of any single group in the country.”

The mistreatment of Native peoples is a dark period of Canadian history that is often overlooked. While most Canadians are aware of how Natives have suffered massive discrimination, not everyone is cognizant of the fact that Canada was once a region for slavery. The first slaves were Natives who were sold to traders. The first black slave to enter Canada was in 1608. By 1750, over 4,000 black slaves were in our nation (Frideres, 1976: 137). Indeed, slavery actually lasted longer in Canada than in many northern American states. Perhaps more surprising is that Canada was often the point of departure for many runaway slaves rather than a place of refuge (Winks, 1980: 288).

In 1833, slavery was abolished in Canada under the Emancipation Act. Nonetheless, this did not deter other forms of racism from remaining intact and expanding. Segregation in schools became legal in Ontario in 1849 (Head, 1975: 12). Over 15,000 Chinese were
allowed into Canada in 1883 to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway. After the railway was completed, a head tax of $50 was enacted to discourage additional Chinese immigration (Bolaria & Li, 1985: 86). In 1904, with the government recognizing that it was not a clear deterrent, the tax was raised ten-fold to $500 (Hiller, 1991: 173).

During this period, it should be recognized that many levels of government and politicians exercised their positions of influence to actively enforce racial discrimination through various methods. In 1858, the governor of Vancouver Island, James Douglas, remarked about Asian immigration: "They are certainly not a desirable class of people, but are for the present useful as labourers" (Ward, 1978: 25). In a House of Commons speech in 1882, Sir John A. Macdonald stated that "a Mongolian or Chinese population in our country ... would not be a wholesome element for this country" (Sher, 1983: 33). In Mackenzie King’s report on East Indian immigration in 1908, he remarked:

"It was clearly recognized in regard to emigration from India to Canada that the native of India is not a person suited to this country, that accustomed as many of them are to the conditions of a tropical climate, and possessing manners and customs as unlike those of our own people, their inability to readily adapt themselves to surroundings entirely different could not do other than entail an amount of privation and suffering which render a discontinuance of such immigration most desirable in the interests of the Indians themselves" (Ward, 1978: 83).

It was not only non-whites who faced the sting of discrimination in Canada. In fact, anti-Semitism was heavily pronounced in Canada in the 1920s and 1930s. By the end of the 1920s, Jews were barred from several college and university fraternities, and social clubs. In Toronto, Jews were denied membership to tennis and golf clubs. Professions such as teaching and nursing were not possible unless Jews were prepared to change their surnames,
pass as Christians, or at the very least have a Gentile spouse (Kayfetz, 1975: 10-11).

Quebec had the most prevalent anti-Semitic overtones during this period of Canadian history. It was here that Adrian Arcand’s Fascist political organization formed and flourished. It was also reported that anti-Semitism was encouraged by both the Catholic clergy and the political elite (Glickman, 1985: 7). One clear example of overt discrimination was the admissions policy at McGill University. Jews were required to have an average of 65 per cent, while Gentiles only needed 50 per cent to be admitted. This policy remained unchanged until 1942 (Draper, 1983: 28).

Before and during the Second World War, a particularly pernicious form of anti-Semitism and racism emerged within the Canadian government itself involving Jewish refugees and Japanese Canadians. Abella and Trooper (1982) assess that Canada had possibly the worst record of all countries in the world in providing sanctuary to European Jews during the Second World War. They argue that despite Canada’s knowledge of Hitler’s genocidal policy, Canada did little to offer haven to Jews in this desperate situation. Even three years after the war, and after the accounts of genocide by Nazi Germany become universally known, Canada still restricted its acceptance of Jewish refugees to a minimum.

During the Second World War, German and Italian aliens were under order to register with the RCMP. There were 840 German nationals and 60 naturalized Canadians of German descent interned during this period (Wagner, 1981: 134). In 1942, the federal cabinet ordered 22,000 Canadians of Japanese descent to be expelled from British Columbia, stripped of their property, and confined to intern camps (Sunahara, 1981: 87).

While the preceding is illustrative of the injustices faced by the four groups at the
hands of the Canadian government, it also raises another issue. It appears through this evidence that institutional discrimination was more actively carried out against the Jewish and Japanese groups. This denotes a hierarchy of intolerance by the Canadian government during this period, and cannot be denied as representing a distinct footnote in Canada's institutional racist history.

It might have been expected that with Hitler's genocidal policy and its deplorable effects becoming universally known, a more tolerant society would emerge in Canada. Betcherman (1975: 147) stated that "fascist movements and racism did not vanish, but withdrew to await a more welcoming climate." This was certainly true with regard to anti-Semitism. Driedger and Mezoff (1981) found that perceived discrimination was higher among Jews than among any other group. Jews reported receiving more hate literature, verbal abuse and physical attacks than any other group (Barrett, 1987: 306).

In British Columbia during the 1950s and 1960s, fourth grade students were still being issued a book called "Ten Little Niggers" (Killan, 1978: 164). As late as 1973 in Vancouver (Vancouver Sun, January 6, 1973), there was a residential section where it was stipulated on the property deeds that no person of African or Asiatic descent could stay on the premises after dark unless he or she was a servant. Segregation in Canadian schools remained in effect as late as 1965 (Barrett, 1987: 306).

Perhaps most disturbing are the actual words of politicians who actually promote racist ideology. It is disturbing in the sense that they are elected to represent their constituencies and their concerns, but by re-enforcing racist sentiments, they may be doing the worst damage of all. When one is in a position of influence and power, statements made
can have much more effect than those made by ordinary citizens because politicians have the forum to reach a greater audience and a position that can legitimize their ideas. Thus, it is much more damaging to have an elected official make anti-Semitic statements than it is for someone who does not hold public office because they represent the state. Regardless of whether statements made are reflective of the overall state or government, once they are made they carry a stinging message of institutional intolerance.

For example, while reflecting on the issue of the atomic bomb, former Prime Minister Mackenzie King wrote in his diary (Sunahara, 1981: 15): “It is fortunate that the use of the bomb should have been upon the Japanese rather than upon the white races of Europe.” According to Gordon (1982), David Blake, a Manitoba Conservative MLA, made overt racist comments about minorities. He stated during a legislative debate in 1978 about fees for foreign exchange students that the universities “were only educating niggers and chinks, anyways” (Barrett, 1987: 316-317). Another politician, Dan McKenzie, made pernicious comments about blacks after a visit to South Africa in 1981. He stated publicly that blacks are still primitive and uncivilized and not quite ready to grasp the intellectual and organizational tools for self-rule. The Klan’s Spokesman (vol.1, no. 1) suggested after his comments that rather than McKenzie being a Conservative back-bencher he should be nominated the party’s leader. McKenzie was also a guest speaker for the fringe right organization Alternative Forum, denoting how much the fringe right can have in common with some elected politicians (Barrett, 1987: 317).

There also exist documented cases showing how civil servants have used their positions to carry out racist agenda. According to Abella and Trooper (1982: 9), Frederick
Charles Blair was the director of the immigration branch of the Department of Mines and Resources during the Second World War. It is documented that his contempt for Jews was widely recognized by the public and that he played a major role in keeping Jewish refugees from entering the country. Also noted for abuse of power is Vincent Massey, the Canadian representative to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and later Governor-General. He is documented for associating with an anti-Semitic group and argued strongly against admitting Jewish refugees into the country (Abella and Trooper, 1982: 48).

**OVERT AND COVERT INSTITUTIONAL RACISM**

Among the most discernible examples of institutional racism are those that have been made laws. One example was the British Properties policy against non-whites in a sector of Vancouver which forbade minorities to stay overnight. As well, laws were introduced that restricted where the Chinese could live, work, travel to, who they could employ and how much property they could acquire. In 1905, a head tax was introduced to deter Chinese immigration. Perhaps the most overt immigration policy ever enacted, the Chinese Immigrant Act of 1923 prohibited the entry of all Chinese except “students, merchants, children born in Canada, diplomats and persons in transit.” Between 1924 and 1930, there were only three persons of Chinese descent were allowed entry under this Act (Thomas & Novogrodsky, 1983: 62-63).

Clear evidence of overt institutional racism also is clear with the selective denial of voting rights. East Indians were not given this right until 1947. Until this time, they were banned from obtaining Canadian citizenship (Ramcharan, 1982: 23). Canadian Aboriginal
people were denied the right to vote until 1960 (Kallen, 1982: 131). To appreciate the oppressive nature of such measures is to understand how upward social mobility was not possible for such targeted groups as Asians, blacks and natives. Without the right to vote, one cannot hold public office, join the public service or be allowed entry into professions such as law and pharmacy (Barrett, 1987:309).

Covert institutional racism refers to that which is unconscious, non-deliberate racism which may not be recognized by the wider society or the individual him/herself. This is indicative of racism which only occasionally or accidentally comes out of the structure, but can nonetheless, have just as harmful, negative effects. An example of unconscious, non-deliberate institutional racism would be admissions policies that rely on standardized tests that some segments of the population will perform better on than others. While those who are in charge of admissions may not intend to be racist, until they become aware of the effects of such a test on some groups, the institution is practicing covert institutional racism. While covert racism is less visible than its overt counterpart, both have similar effects on victims. The cumulative effect of both forms is the enforcement of prevailing relationships of control, exclusion and exploitation (Elliott & Fleras, 1992: 59-60).

There are two institutions in which racism can be best measured: government policies regarding immigration and employment.

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**IMMIGRATION**

Kallen (1982: 140) states: “A racist immigration policy is one of the most invidious techniques utilized by those in power to guarantee their ethnic ascendancy in any society.”
There are several examples of how the Canadian government has used legislation to carry out its racist policies. In 1907, Ottawa obliged Japan to sign an agreement limiting emigration to Canada. In 1908, the federal government passed tougher measures in its Immigration Act, making it nearly impossible for East Indians to enter the country. By 1910, racism was formally written and entrenched into Canada's Immigration Act. The legislation read that the government reserves the right to "prohibit for a stated period, or permanently, the landing in Canada... of immigrants belonging to any race unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada." This law remained in effect until 1978. This is a clear indication of the degree of Canada's structural racism and how it has remained overt for so long (Sher, 1983: 33-34).

The three most significant years in terms of immigration policy are 1962, 1967 and 1975. Until 1962, Canada had an overtly racist immigration policy, favouring Anglo-Saxon to non-Anglo immigration and white over non-white immigration (Hawkins, 1982: 166). In 1962, provisions were made removing restrictions and allowing more non-white immigration. In 1967, a points system replaced the previous system. Now immigration was based on educational, professional and occupational criteria as opposed to ethnic or racial make-up of the previous system (Thomas & Novogrodsky, 1983: 65-66). In 1966, there were 6,593 immigrants from China, India and Pakistan (3.4 per cent of the total number of immigrants). In 1975, 25,475 immigrants (or 13.6 per cent of the total number) came from these three nations (Li, 1979: 70). In 1967, about 80 per cent of Canada's immigrants were derived from Europe. However, by 1974 fewer than 40 per cent came from this area (Wood, 1978: 551). Pitman (1977: 37) states that by 1976, Asia, West India and Africa provided
Canada with 59 per cent of Canada's immigrants. The pattern that is evident here is that when immigration restrictions were relaxed, non-white immigration increased. This provides a clear indication of how Canada has used its institutional powers to shape the ethnic and racial make-up of our society.

The removal of conditions that favor Anglo-Saxon and European entry over their non-white counterparts and the dramatic increase of non-European immigration has not been met with unanimous approval. For example, it has been strongly opposed by both the far right and the fringe right who believe that it will bring with it racial tension (Barrett, 1987: 311).

**EMPLOYMENT**

One place where racist tendencies show up clearly is in the occupational realm. Discrimination can take place at any point in the employment process. It may be prevalent during screening, selection, promotion and termination. A study conducted by Henry and Ginzberg (1985) clearly demonstrates that discrimination in employment still exists in Canada. They used two types of testing: the in-person test and the telephone test. The first test matched black and white applicants equally with regard to age, gender, educational attainment and employment history. During field testing, the testers were able to apply for 201 jobs. Results showed that blacks received fewer job offers than whites. Of 36 job offers, 27 went to whites while only 9 went to blacks. Of these jobs, only whites received offers for managerial positions or jobs as waiters or waitresses. Blacks and whites were treated differently 36 times, and in all cases but one, the white applicant was preferred to the
black. In 15 instances, blacks were treated rudely or with hostility whereas whites were treated politely.

The second type of testing was by telephone. Two hundred and thirty-seven employers were telephoned by four job seekers: one without an accent, one who had a Slavic or Italian accent, one by a Jamaican-accented caller and one with a Pakistani accent. All callers were instructed to use full sentences and correct grammar so that lack of language would not be a discriminating factor that could be used against them. Results of the study showed that in 52 per cent of all jobs called, there was some form of discrimination. Italian/Slavic accented callers were screened 5 per cent of the time while the non-white callers received three times as much screening as the whites. What was even more surprising is that minority-accented callers did not receive the same information about the status of the job as did the whites. Although non- accented callers were told the job was available, 48 per cent of the same available jobs were claimed to have been unavailable to the Jamaican- accented caller and 62 per cent to the Pakistani-accented callers.

Henry and Ginzberg (1985) developed an index of discrimination by combining the results of the in-person testing and the telephone testing to demonstrate the level of discrimination faced by equally qualified individuals. Blacks have a 64 per cent opportunity of getting through a telephone screening. However, their chances of actually securing employment after an interview are 1 in 20. White applicants have an 87 per cent success ratio during telephone screening and their chance of securing employment after an interview are 3 in 17. The overall index of discrimination was found to be 3 to 1. Thus, this suggests that for every job prospect that a black applicant secures, a white applicant will have three.
This clearly demonstrates that employment discrimination on the basis of race does exist in Canada.

**IMPLICATIONS**

What this chapter has demonstrated is that racism has been institutionalized in Canada. It is not simply a perverted fragment of racist right wing circles. It is part of mainstream society and continues to flourish in numerous realms: socially, politically, in education, in employment. One complex issue deals with the relationship, if any, between institutional racism and the racist ideology of the far right. It would be difficult to prove that one has directly caused the other. Nonetheless, they remain compatible phenomena because both use racism as a tool or means to achieve their goals. It is possible to suggest that the racism embedded in mainstream society has provided an environment in which the far right has been able to take form and mobilize (Barrett, 1987: 325).
CHAPTER 3: HISTORY OF THE FAR RIGHT MOVEMENT IN CANADA

Stanley Barrett (1989) traces the origins of the Ku Klux Klan as far back as 1865 in Tennessee. Six former Confederate soldiers gave birth to one of North America's most feared and violent hate organizations. The name "The Merry Six" had been considered but one of the men who had studied Greek suggested "Kuklos," meaning band or circle. Ku Klux Klan emerged as the final composition. Its name, imbued with an aura of mystery and power, sought to uphold such a presence through overt intimidation and violence toward a selected scapegoat. The early Klansmen identified themselves as upholding law and order. The defense of the moral order translated into random acts of violence and murder against newly-freed blacks. By 1868, the Klan's membership rose to 550,000, indicating significant support for its cause despite or perhaps because of its horrific violence (Barrett, 1987: 120-121).

One theory regarding the Klan's formation and sustenance suggests that economic, historical and cultural factors played significant roles. The economy of the South, from the plantations to the cities, had been shattered by the American Civil War. There was widespread hunger and poverty. Moreover, the Union's Reconstruction policy seemed to have been specifically designed to humiliate the South and its aristocracy. The emancipation of slaves both infuriated and frightened many southerners. Their emancipation came at what the Southern elite believed to be their economic expense (Kinsella, 1994: 8).

The political arena of the South legitimiz[ed] Klan ideology and objectives, so it should be noted that its formation was not a perverse aberration. In 1866, Louisiana
Democrats resolved that “We hold this to be a government of white people, made to be perpetuated for the exclusive benefit of the white race, and that the people of African descent cannot be considered citizens of the United States.” In April 1867, Southern Klansmen passed a resolution that was influenced by the Louisana Democratic pro-white resolution. It stated that the Klan’s main objective was the “maintenance of the supremacy of the white race in this Republic.” It also pledged to oppose “social and political equality for Negroes and congressional advocates of harsh reconstruction measures” (Kinsella, 1994: 8-9).

The violence that emerged from these politics of hate included an estimated 3,500 blacks being tortured and killed by the Ku Klux Klan and its sympathizers between 1866 and 1875 (Seltzer & Lopes, 1986). Seltzer and Lopes contend that the Klan’s membership dropped significantly after this period because its aims had been achieved. However, Barrett argues that its official disbanding was the result of government intervention; legislation was enacted making hooded nightriders illegal and there was widespread infiltration of government officials investigating such movements (Barrett, 1989: 224-246).

Whatever led to its disbanding, it would remain dormant only for a diminutive span. The Klan re-emerged in 1915, when it underwent a dramatic revival. Whereas in the 1860s, it had been primarily anti-black, the Klan in its second chapter broadened its definition of scapegoats to include Jews, Catholics, organized labor, communism and foreigners. It was within this period that cross-burning was introduced as a symbol of white purity, Christianity and Anglo-Saxon dominance (Robin, 1992: 5-6).

It should be noted that supporters of the Klan joined its second chapter not merely for reasons of fraternity and adventure. They enlisted because it was a channel of hate and
fear for concerned Protestants of post-Civil War America. Jews were termed ‘the new Negroes’ and were classified by many Southerners as “parasites feeding off the tender carcass of Gentile America.” Central and Eastern European immigrants brought with them foreign languages, customs and competition for jobs. The significant Catholic presence represented a religious and cultural threat to mainstream Southern Anglo-Saxon Protestants. The post-war years were times of stress, social upheaval and economic recession. These factors, merged with the traditional political conservativism of the South, formed, sustained and legitimized the second chapter of the Ku Klux Klan. Like its nativist predecessors, the revised Klan was both a social and political organization (Robin, 1992: 8-9).

Although it is not clear whether the Klan had penetrated the Canadian border in the 1860s, it is certain that the American KKK’s second incarnation swept over with significant success. The Klan was particularly widespread in Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta. The Ontario Klan promoted anti-Catholic propaganda in several cities in which they established units, including Belleville, Kingston, St. Thomas and Sault Ste. Marie. In British Columbia, the Klan strengthened already existing anti-Asian sentiments. In Alberta, immigrants from central and eastern Europe and French-Canadian settlers, all of whom spoke foreign languages and threatened the British flavour of the area, became immediate scapegoats (Devlin, 1965).

In the Canadian context, it can be asserted that the nation has not been a traditional home for the Ku Klux Klan. Perhaps due to the fact that Canada’s population of African descent is significantly lower than that of the United States, the Klan’s anti-black emphasis found more favour where it originated. However, the radical right did have a pronounced
presence in Canada. Its organizations were most influenced by the second component of the fascist dichotomy: Naziism.

Quebec had the largest and oldest Jewish-Canadian community in Canada in the 1930s and it was there that the most extreme fascist organization was fostered. Adrian Arcand was Canada's pre-eminent fascist. Arcand's organized group (Parti National Social Chretien) was founded on three key premises. It was founded on anti-Semitism, it advocated fascism as the solution to the world's problems, and it declared liberal democracy to be a Jewish invention as well as a threat to Christianity. Arcand's charisma propelled him to national and international status and recruited members from all professions, including a well-respected medical practitioner, Dr. Lambert. His book, "The Key to the Mystery," which promoted hatred against Jews and called for their repatriation or genocide, had attained such remarkable prominence that it was still being distributed in the 1980s by numerous right wing groups (Barrett, 1989: 224-246).

Important to note is that celebrated neo-Nazi organizations such as the National Order, National Socialist Alliance and the Western Guard were motivated by, if not direct branches of, Arcand's initial movement. The ending of the Second World War eased ethnic tensions in Canada for a period of time; right wing presence was limited and sporadic. However, by the 1960s, neo-Nazi movements once again took force. They revised their objectives and beliefs and found new scapegoats; in doing so, they were able to expand their level of support and sustain their movements (Barrett, 1989: 224-246).

Julian Sher (1983: 60-61) contends that the Klan in Canada never really succeeded in becoming a co-ordinated national organization. He made note of a fundamental difference
between the Canadian and U.S. Klans. In the U.S., the Klan modified its causes and campaigns with the changing times but always manifested itself around its premise of being anti-black. In 1981, the black sector made up an eighth of the American population and an even larger percentage in numerous southern states. Since blacks were a permanent and significant feature of American political life, they provided the Klan with a permanent target. In Canada, the Klan’s mandate was multi-issue, or regionally single-issue. Its targets included Asians in British Columbia, Eastern Europeans in Alberta and French-Canadians in Saskatchewan. As long as these single-issues remained, the Klan could thrive; however, if these conditions changed, the Klan’s force eroded.

THE FAR RIGHT AND THE MEDIA

American KKK Grand Wizard David Duke played a pivotal role in assisting the Canadian Klan on numerous levels: public image, organization and recruitment. In the 1980s, Duke stressed that if the Klan were to sustain itself, it would need to alter its image. Duke’s Madison Avenue approach was rather successful. Instead of claiming the Canadian Klan was anti-black as has been historically documented, they now stressed that they were pro-white. Violence was now being denounced in favour of law-abiding measures to achieve their goals. Duke was cognizant of the fact that presenting oneself more professionally would help legitimize certain issues of the far right (Sher, 1983: 98).

Alexander McQuirter was former national leader of the Canadian Ku Klux Klan. Like his mentor, David Duke, he used his conservative demeanor, intelligence and politeness to curry favor from potential sympathizers. Indeed, with few far right leaders bearing these
traits, he would go far in helping the far right cause by gaining particular attention from media. McQuirter learned how to use the media from Duke. According to one study (Columbia Journalism Review, March, 1981: 42), the Ku Klux Klan has a long history of “getting help from the press in achieving its nefarious goals.” Perhaps no single factor had helped the Klan more than the widespread, usually uncritical and sometimes flattering coverage it received in the media during McQuirter’s tenure. McQuirter was quoted as stating, “It’s the key to our success. It’s up to us to grab it” (Sher, 1983:108).

The media itself became cognizant of its role in elevating the Klan’s status and success through constant coverage in the press and on radio and television. A Canadian press story in 1980 drew a comparative analysis between the Klan of the 1920s and the modern version:

“Unlike its predecessor, which packed meeting halls to raucous overflowing 50 years ago, the 1980 reversion of the Klan capitalizes on media attention... McQuirter has been on numerous radio talk shows, appeared on television and has his name mentioned in most print media. Rarely does a day go by that some newspaper in Canada doesn’t mention the Klan. And McQuirter loves it” (Montreal Gazette, December 6, 1980).

In one month in 1980, it was noted that 23 interviews were granted to the press by McQuirter. A vicious circle was beginning to emerge; the Klan was expanding its influence by attracting the attention of uncritical media, and the subsequent exposure encouraged the Klan to seek even more publicity. McQuirter became so well known and presented himself in such a positive manner that he soon achieved celebrity status. There can be no denying that by having achieved this, some legitimacy for his movement was gained. Toronto Sun
columnist Clair Hoy helped his cause is a strange crusade of defense for McQuirter and the Klan.

"(Authorities should) leave them alone... until they bust somebody’s head or commit other crimes. (The Klan) shouldn’t be unduly harassed by officialdom and unfairly labeled as criminals. Surely, it’s not illegal to hate people, and until that hate is translated into concrete actions, these guys are as entitled as the Knights of Columbus or the Shriners to recruit members" (Sher, 1983: 110).

Another Toronto Sun columnist, Mackenzie Porter, used his influence in the media to legitimize radical right ideology. He stated that persons in the third world were:

"like the people of India and Pakistan, not of this century... they belong to the 14th century as the masses of sub-Saharan Africa belong to the Stone Age...(The) mawkish appeal that the people of Asia and Africa are equal politically, intellectually, morally and artistically to people of Western European ancestry is invalid" (Sher, 1983: 110-111).

The media has been used as a medium by many organizations of the radical right because it allows for their message to gain exposure, gain some standard of legitimacy and attain sympathy for their cause. Kinsella (1994: 358) argues that the mass media has a role to play. Perhaps most damaging to the radical right is dispassionate, well-researched journalism. Sensationalistic ‘exposes’ tend to do little more than boost the fortunes of organized racists. By allowing them a forum to speak, the media should also recognize that this allows them an opportunity for legitimacy and mobility.

THE FAR RIGHT AND THE POLITICAL ARENA

Canada’s current reputation as a kinder, gentler nation is not a comprehensive reflection of its past. Indeed, historically, prominent political figures and law officials sympathized with far right ideology. Sir John A. MacDonald, Canada’s first Prime Minister,
had strong reservations about Asian immigration (Sher, 1983:33). Another Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, used the House of Commons as a public forum to denounce non-white presence in Canada (Ward, 1978:58). Further, a statement by British Columbia Premier Oliver to Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King sounds rather similar to Klan ideology:

"The stopping of Oriental immigration is urgently necessary, but that in itself will not suffice, since it leaves us with our present large Oriental population and their prolific birthrate. Our Government feels that the Dominion should go further, and by deportation or other legitimate means, seek to bring about the reduction and final elimination of this menace to the well-being of the white population of this province." (Ward, 1978: 138).

In Alberta, other prominent politicians sympathized with Klan sentiments. In 1930, Alberta Premier Brownlee issued an official charter to Alberta’s KKK through the provincial Registrar of Joint Stock Companies. Like other politicians before and after, he took haven behind the law to justify his sympathy for the Klan.

"If the KKK or any other organization observes the laws of the country... it will not be molested. The government has not given any instructions to the police, or any other agency or body, to make investigation of the matter, for no need of such action has arisen " (Ward, 1978:139).

George Hoadly, Brownlee’s minister of agriculture, went further and condoned Klan goals. He states, “Any political action the Ku Klux Klan may take in Alberta is likely to be along Dominion lines” (Henson, 1977: 5).

The significant influence of the Ku Klux Klan in the political realm can be evidenced in Saskatchewan. In the 1920s, politicians adapted their mandate to accommodate right wing ideology. By 1928, Klan members included 8 mayors, 11 village clerks, 7 reeves, 12 secretary-treasurers and 37 councillors. Their political power base also included chiefs of
police, ministers, World War I veterans, lawyers, Orangemen and justices of the peace. R.B. Bennett, federal Conservative leader and Prime Minister of Canada, was noted to be a Klansman. In June, 1929, the Klan helped to elect Dr. J.T.M. Anderson to power in Saskatchewan. His government passed a series of anti-French measures (Kinsella, 1994:16-19).

While it may appear that far right ties with the political arena may be an unfortunate thing of the past, recent evidence would suggest otherwise. There have been several political movements that have been noted as having within them far right ideology. For instance, Martin Weiche, the former leader of the National Socialist Party and renowned neo-Nazi, had political aspirations. In 1968, he ran for federal political office claiming that Pierre Trudeau was a communist and a homosexual. Later, he was a Social Credit Party candidate (Barrett, 1987: 166-167). James Keegstra, the Alberta teacher who promoted anti-Semitism in his classes and became a crusader for far right freedom of speech, had the support of political lobbyist organizations like the Canadian League of Rights, the Christian Defense League and federal branch of the Social Credit Party of Alberta (Barrett, 1978: 240). Indeed, Social Credit cannot rid itself of its tarnished reputation of being historically sympathetic to far right beliefs, given that its founder, the avowed anti-Semite Major C.H. Douglas preached “the Jewish conspiracy” (Kinsella, 1994: 26). Certainly, these examples give evidence that it is possible for the organized far right to penetrate the political arena.

Doug Christie is one of Canada’s most infamous lawyers. He has gained national and international exposure by defending Canada’s most recognizable far right leaders and members. He has represented Jim Keegstra, Aryan Nations Ambassador John Ross Taylor,
Toronto pro-Nazi publisher Ernst Zundel, leaders of the Manitoba KKK, New Brunswick anti-Semitic teacher Malcolm Ross, Irme Finta, the first man to be charged under the war crimes section of Criminal Code and the far right Canadian Free Speech League. After a lengthy investigation, the Law Society of Upper Canada determined in February, 1993, that Christie shared may of the views of his clientele (Kinsella, 1994:72).

In the early 1980s, he considered giving up law and entering politics. However, Christie’s views (anti-bilingual, anti-immigration) placed him firmly outside the political mainstream. Since there was no party that shared his perspectives, he formed his own party: the Western Canada Concept (WCC). He exemplified the characteristics of many far right movement leaders used to gather momentum and support. In February, 1980, the federal Conservative government fell apart but Trudeau’s Liberals could not claim one elected politician west of Winnipeg. Christie encapsulated the expressions of western alienation and gained considerable political support. On November 20, 1980, close to 3,000 Edmonton residents were present to hear Christie’s political mandate which included Western separation from Canada (Kinsella, 1994: 75-77). While he did not succeed at becoming elected two points can be clearly made here. First, it is possible for the far right to penetrate the political arena, despite how radical their ideology may be. Secondly, even if they are not elected, they can play pivotal factors in influencing political decisions if they gather enough public support on various issues.

The Reform Party of Canada is the most right wing mainstream political party. As such, it has continuously faced allegations that it is sympathetic to far right ideals. Despite federal party leader Preston Manning’s assertion that his party is not racist, he has expelled
numerous individuals from his party for such reasons. Kinsella (1994: 35) notes that joining the ranks of haters are a few members of the Reform Party, some of whose activists are increasingly associated with extreme expressions of bigotry and intolerance. In 1994, Reform Party officials released results of a poll showing party members do not consider gay couples a family, and do not want homosexuals to be included for protection in Canada's human rights legislation. Gays were even likened to thieves and murderers by Wild Rose Reform MP Myron Thompson (The Windsor Star, October 14, 1994: A10).

In 1993, then federal NDP leader Andrew McLaughlin charged that the Reform Party's call for cutting back immigration and its attitudes toward women are igniting intolerance in the country. Reform's linking of immigration to unemployment, she claimed, would make Canadians wrongly conclude that immigrants are stealing their jobs. She also condemned a Thunder Bay, Ontario Reform candidate's comment that 'if you're a woman, black and lesbian, you're laughing all the way to the bank' (Toronto Star, October 20, 1993: A10). McLaughlin identified overt signs of intolerance as posing particular ramifications for disenfranchised groups. Having a mainstream political party and members publicly endorse intolerance helps to legitimize and sustain discrimination.

Reform leader Preston Manning has been mired in several controversies. He has allowed author William Gardner to speak regularly at party meetings in Southern Ontario. Gardiner's book, "The Trouble with Canada" claims that Canada is in danger of being taken over by immigrants or being bankrupted by a welfare state (Vancouver Sun, November 21, 1991: A4). Wolfgang Droege, one of Canada's most visible neo-Nazi leaders, was hired to act as bodyguard for Preston Manning at Reform Party rallies in Toronto. Also involved in
the riding association were Heritage Front members James Dawson and Nicola Polinuk (Kinsella, 1994: 243). Although Preston Manning has asserted his party is not racist, Wolfgang Droegge presents the most damaging evidence to refute the Reform leader: "Of course, we still have many members within the Reform Party. We still feel, even though we don't care for the leadership, it's still the party that most closely reflects the beliefs of our organization" (Winnipeg Free Press, April 21, 1993: A2).

ORGANIZATIONS AND MEMBERSHIP

There has been some discrepancy as to how many far right groups exist in Canada and the volume of their membership. Kinsella (1994) gives an approximate figure of 40 existing groups. However, there is no classification given and the membership numbers are not mentioned. Barrett (1987: 29) provided a formal classification system that documented 130 organizations. Of these, 60 belonged to the radical right and 70 to the fringe right. While these figures may suggest that the strength of the right wing is considerable, this can be disputed. For example, Barrett notes that only 30 of 130 organizations can be considered major ones. In fact, most fringe-right groups (80 per cent) were considered by him to be minor. Of the radical right ones, 28 per cent were front organizations; such organizations existed in name only, with no actual membership. This is a strategy used by some radical right leaders to create an impression that rightist groups are gaining particular momentum and force (Barrett, 1987: 29). Barrett suggests that despite vast numbers of groups in existence, this does not necessarily reflect volume of membership. He has noted that there is an average of 4.5 members for every organization. The implication here is that while there
continue to be a growing number of groups forming, membership is not necessarily growing with it (Barrett, 1987: 40).

Barrett noted that radical right groups were formed on the basis of contention for specific targeted groups and concern over moral issues. For example, almost all radical right groups firmly oppose Jews, blacks, communism, immigration, foreign aid, egalitarianism, homosexuality, feminism and abortion. They also believe in a Jewish conspiracy for world-domination. Radical right organizations are prone to use violent means to attain their goals. Most fringe-right groups were also anti-communist, anti-egalitarian, anti-homosexual and anti-feminist. However, where they differed from the far right was in their denial of being racist and their rejection of violence (Barrett, 1987: 30).

One point to consider is that although the fringe right and the far right often denounce each other, there is ample evidence to suggest two things. First, their views are not that different; where they differ is mostly in the means they use in trying to achieve their goals. Second, many individuals who begin as members of the radical right eventually move on to the fringe right. Fifty-six members of the radical right have been noted as later becoming members of fringe right organizations (Barrett, 1978: 33-35).

Barrett’s study (1987: 30-38) indicated that in terms of socio-demographic statistics, fringe right members tend to be older and more educated than their radical right counterparts. The latter consisted primarily of persons between twenty and forty years. In terms of education, 62 percent of the 93 radical right members interviewed had attended college or university. Of the 57 members of the fringe right, it was found that 84 percent of members had post-secondary education. In terms of education, 60 percent of radical right members...
were either in professional or white collar jobs (Barrett, 1987: 30-38). The implication here is that despite the fact that the right wing is often seen as a haven for the ignorant, this perception is not entirely correct. Indeed, many concerns may arise from such documentation. If the far right is more educated and hold influential positions in society, then one is left to wonder how much of an impact they can have on the wider society.

However, not every study supports the above-mentioned findings. The conclusions of a study of David Duke's Klan (which McQuirter's Klan was affiliated with) could be applied to Canada as well. The study found that American Klan members tended to be young; teenagers comprised 15 percent of Klan members, with 60 to 80 percent composed of individuals in their early twenties to mid-thirties. The study also showed that the class composition was mainly on the lower end of the socio-economic scale. In terms of education, the average Klan member had three years of high school; Klan leaders tended to be more educated (Sher, 1983: 114-115).

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE FAR RIGHT

While there has been much written on racism from a Canadian perspective, much less has been written on the Canadian organized far right. The most prominent national researchers in the field have been Stanley Barrett (1987), Martin Robin (1992), Julian Sher (1983) and Warren Kinsella (1994). They have written primarily of the historical underpinnings of the Canadian far right movement. The majority of research on the radical right is empirical and not theoretical. While the systematic accounts of the history of the far right are important, there is significantly more that can be learned through extensive
analytical approaches. Only Barrett (1987) has analyzed reasons why the far right movement emerged and focused his study around central questions.

Perhaps the most extensive and detailed account of Canada’s history of the radical right had been written by Martin Robin (1992). Robin examined nativist and fascist politics in Canada from the period of 1920 to 1940. He notes the role of nationalism and overseas fascist politics which helped set the conditions that allowed for the radical right to emerge. While this may appear to be analytical, his work is primarily descriptive. There is no detailed attempt to analyze the movement theoretically. Where he does differ from the others is that he downplays the level of influence the Ku Klux Klan has had in Canada. Rather, he contends that most Canadian far right movements were spinoffs from fascist movements in European countries such as Germany and Italy. In this context, he is original in that no other author has placed such significance on foreign influence to help foster the radical right (Robin, 1992).

Julian Sher (1983) has provided the most detailed, systematic historical account of the Ku Klux Klan movement in Canada. Sher’s research relies primarily on newspaper articles and no interviews were conducted with actual members. Where he differs greatly from Martin Robin (1992) is that he accentuates the influence and prominence of the Ku Klux Klan as the historical kingpin of the Canadian far right movement. There is little mention of the neo-fascist movements outside of the Klan. His work is valuable in the sense that it is a systematic detailed account of the Ku Klux Klan’s history in Canada (Sher, 1983).

Warren Kinsella (1994) is the latest researcher of the far right in Canada today. Kinsella differs from the above-mentioned researchers in the sense that he places historical
significance on a number of radical right groups. His work is original in the sense that he has noted multiple Canadian far right groups. He has also stressed that while no one particular organization is most influential or powerful, all of them pose significant threats to targeted groups. Groups such as skinheads, Aryan Nations, the Nationalist Party of Canada and the Church of the Creator are noted as being as powerful and as dangerous as the Ku Klux Klan (Kinsella, 1994).

Kinsella’s work is primarily descriptive, relying almost entirely on newspaper articles. As well, his work is written more in a journalistic fashion, intending to sensationalize as well as to inform. There is no apparent analytical framework beyond this. Nonetheless, his work is a significant contribution in the descriptive sense. He has provided more extensive coverage of the radical right as a whole than any of the four other Canadian researchers (Kinsella, 1994).

Stanley Barrett (1987) differs significantly from the other researchers on two grounds. First, he is the only researcher who has actually interviewed members of numerous radical right organizations. Second, he is the only researcher to formally conceptualize his study. While his work is primarily an ethnographic description of the right wing, it is guided by a set of interweaving questions which attempt to analyze the reasons why far right movements arise (Barrett, 1987).

His study is guided by three questions. First, he attempts to find out the relationship, if any, between the radical right and the wider society. Second, he attempts to demarcate why the far right exists from the perspective of the members themselves. More specifically, he seeks to understand what causes persons to join such movements, and in particular, to
embrace the politics of racism. Third, he seeks to understand why the right wing, racism and anti-Semitism exist from the sociologist's theoretical perspective (Barrett, 1987).

In the Canadian context, Barrett is ground-breaking in that he actually interviews members of the radical right. The benefit of such a study is that there is little or no reliance on previously formulated descriptive accounts by journalists and the media. Unlike other means, the researcher is more able to control the quality of the data by specifically asking what he or she wants to know. Here, the data are gained through a first-hand approach. Research that the social scientist has conducted him/herself is much easier to analyze.

While most of the Canadian literature on the far right is a systematic account of the history of the movement, most of it is lacking in the analytical aspect. Nonetheless, one can rely on these studies for extensive information on the history of the movement. As well, while they have contributed greatly in this regard, the researcher can acknowledge its shortcomings and pursue a more conceptualized framework to provide a more substantial contribution to knowledge.

The object of the present study was to analyze the nature of the movement in terms of a debate between the two existing sociological theories: Resource Mobilization theory and New Social Movement theory. In this study, analysis is related to the debate on the nature of social movements. The study attempted to explore whether the nature of far right organization is primarily political or social and thus provides a significant contribution to knowledge in two ways. First, there has never been research done in this context. Secondly, the results of the present study are useful in the sense that they can assess the level of threat these movements pose to their targeted groups and the overall society.
CHAPTER 4: THEORY

New Social Movement Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory present opposite points of view with regard to the formation, origin and sustenance of social movements (Canel, 1992). Insofar as detailed insight into the origin and sustenance of the Canadian organized far right remains somewhat limited, it may be best to approach the study in the format of a debate between the two theories. The themes to be analyzed during interview questioning and examination of far right literature will specifically address the debate between the two theories. In essence, the researcher is attempting to discover whether the nature of the far right movement is mainly political or social.

Before any investigation can occur, it is important that concepts be clearly defined. Alan Scott defines a social movement as:

"a collective actor constituted by individuals who understand themselves to have common interests and, for at least some significant part of their social existence, a common identity. Social movements are distinguished from other collective actors, such as political parties and pressure groups, in that they have mass mobilization, or threat of mobilization, as their prime source of social sanction, and hence of power. They are further distinguished from other collectivities, such as voluntary associations or clubs, in being chiefly concerned to defend or change society, or the relative position of the group in society" (1990:6).

RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY

Resource Mobilization Theory is based on a set of contextual processes such as resource management decisions, organizational dynamics and political infusion. It focuses on how the actors develop strategies and interact with their surrounding environment to pursue their interests. Resource Mobilization Theory, thus, is based on a “purposive model” of social action and explains social movements in terms of strategic level of action (Tilly,
1985: 740). The rise of social movements and the outcomes of their actions are seen as resulting from specific decisions, strategies and tactics used by the actors within the context of power relations (Canel, 1992: 38-40). There are two models within Resource Mobilization Theory. The "political-interactive" approach (Oberschall, 1973; Tilly, 1985) uses a political paradigm to analyze the processes that allow for the emergence of social movements. It concerns itself with concepts such as resources, political power and group cohesion. The "organization-entrepreneurial" model (McCarthy & Zald, 1988) focuses on leadership, organizational dynamics and resource management. Both emphasize the political nature of a movement insofar as their goals include objecting to state policies and/or challenging the present power elite. To achieve these goals social movements require certain resources. Resource Mobilization Theory argues that the success of social movements in achieving their goals depends on whether these resources are present.

Resource Mobilization Theory is guided by the premise that prosperous societies foster social movement activity because they provide a variety of resources (means of communication, capital) which can mobilize social movements. Indeed, communication can positively influence resources in the context that as more individuals are exposed to the movement's agenda, the greater the likelihood that financial contributions can increase (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 124).

Resource Mobilization Theory acknowledges that groups have goals which they seek to achieve. The theory focuses primarily on group organization through mobilizing and managing resources. This perspective views resources as being continually created and

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consumed. Thus, social conflict is perceived as the struggle for existing resources and creation of new ones (Turner & Killian, 1987: 324-235; Obsershall, 1973: 28).

The internal organizational constraints of collective action are believed to automatically pull social movements towards institutionalized forms of activity. The theory contends that it is here that the costs/risks are lower and the possibility of attaining greater external support can be realized. Thus, RMT is drawn toward a realist political analysis of movements. It is in institutional action where it is argued that risks (e.g., illegality) are lower. Moreover, greater importance is placed on organization rather than numbers. While loose organizations demand high degrees of commitment from adherents, movements that are political in nature replace that need with organization (Scott, 1990: 113).

Resources may refer to material or non-material criteria. Social movements may depend on material resources such as money, labour and means of communication. They may also place particular importance on non-material resources of an abstract nature; such would include moral commitment, group cohesion, and legitimacy (Jenkins, 1981: 117).

Tilly (1978: 78) notes that mobilization is the most critical stage of a social movement ensuring its success. Without mobilization, an organization may enjoy some tenure but it cannot challenge for power. To do this, a movement must use mobilized resources to come up against and challenge other groups. For mobilization to take place, it is imperative that the resources are placed under collective control; after this is done, the movement must use them to pursue group objectives. Resource Mobilization Theory proposes four central factors that are a part of the process of mobilization: organization,
leadership, political opportunity and the nature of the political system (Turner & Killian, 1987:238).

Oberschall (1973) contends that strong group cohesion is necessary for collective action. Strong interpersonal links among members promote group identity, group solidarity and encourage communication. Mobilization is thus facilitated by the provision of organizational bases upon which more complex forms of organization can be built. It is argued that these informal networks are necessary components for organization. Not only do they foster group solidarity but they help sustain it over a period of time, thus contributing to the group's tenure (Canel, 1992: 40).

Leadership is an integral factor in the development and sustenance of a social movement. Resource Mobilization Theory argues that leaders facilitate social movements by identifying and defining intolerance, by developing a sense of group coherence, by implementing strategies and by reducing the group’s costs and taking advantage of opportunities for collective action (Canel, 1992: 40).

Critical to mobilization success is the influence leadership has on a movement and its members. Charismatic leaders, for example, are usually a symbol of the movement in its entirety and the struggle it is concerned with. In this example, for a leader to be effective, he or she must be distanced from conventional authority. Usually effective charismatic leaders lead by personal example in various ways. They symbolize revolt against the conventional social norms, they symbolize personal struggle in their own lives and symbolize personal independence and power by antagonistic action. By fulfilling these functions, charismatic leaders will gain a more responsive following as opposed to
competent, conventional leaders who focus more on specific issues of contention (Turner & Killian, 1987: 377). Charismatic leaders may gain considerable support, even when such movements seem irrational and illogical. For example, Adolf Hitler seemed to mirror the struggles of German youth and attained a great deal of loyalty due to this (Erikson, 1950: 284-301).

The image a leader holds is formed by a number of criteria; it is partly a reflection of personal characteristics, partly a creation of the movement promoters and partly a projection or judgement by the adherents. The charismatic leader then must safeguard against tarnishing this image or symbol. As a result, he or she must continuously be at odds with the existing system or institution. The chief danger to the leader is having to legitimize the movement by using the existing political structure to achieve the group’s goals. By doing so, the leader may display flaws or weaknesses that may discredit him or her. Therefore, it remains critical that the movement stays clear of that which they oppose. Tenure of leadership and the movement is dependent on its displacement from the social and political mainstream (Turner & Killian, 1987: 378-379).

Decision-making leadership is more reflective of political movements. This form of leadership requires that mobilization occur and come into direct contact with the forces the movement opposes. Leaders play numerous roles in order for this to occur. First, the leader fosters the basic ideas of the movement. Then, he/she devises suitable methods for spreading the ideas, getting them accepted and influencing persons to act upon them. Thus, the leader acts as a theorist and propagandist. However, in order to sustain adherence to the movement, the leader must be effective in creating and holding the personal loyalty of the members.
Two factors play critical parts in the success of a movement. Articulation means establishing favorable relationship with the wider community; mobilization means stimulating and inspiring members. As an articulator of the movement, the leader must acknowledge the limit and possibility of actions that can be taken. He/she must be aware of power ideologies of influential organizations outside of the movement and attempt to sway these to the movement's advantage. In its function of mobilization, the movement gains a blueprint for action. For mobilization to occur successfully, it must be dependent on adherent loyalty. Thus, the development of separate identity of the movement and the binding of strong ties between members and leader are integral factors (Turner & Killian, 1987: 379).

Opportunities for collective action come and go. Resource Mobilization theorists contend that the challenge for movements is to identify and take advantage of opportunities for action (Oberschall, 1993: 68-77). The structure of political opportunities refers to the conditions in the political system that will either allow for collective action to be successful or repress it. Political and cultural traditions may determine the range of facilitation or repression of collective action. For example, a country that is more clearly founded on civil libertarianism may facilitate groups that adhere to freedom of speech. It is also argued that the scale of the action and the power of the group determine the degree of facilitation or repression these actions will encounter. It is argued that generally, the broader the degree of the action and the less powerful the organization, the more likely it will be repressed. Thus, Resource Mobilization theorists imply that movement success is more likely to emerge when smaller actions are taken within the existing (political) system and when the organization is more organized and more powerful (Tilly, 1978: 114-115).
The fourth factor that conditions the process of mobilization is organizational dynamics. The main variable that affects the organizational structures of social movements includes the nature of the movement and its goals (i.e., expressive/instrumental, single/multiple issue), the form of recruitment, the role that leaders employ in its initial stages and the influence third parties have on the group (Cane1, 1992: 41-45).

Tilly (1978: 52) places significant focus on the political sphere and the mobilization of political resources. He argues that the emergence of social movements is dependent on the political system allowing for an environment to incorporate the interests of new groups. Tilly believes that participants in these movements do not necessarily seek entry in the political system; rather, they seek access to influence policies.

Ash-Garner and Zald (1987: 311) argue that the emergence and nature of social movements are influenced by the size of the public sector, the degree of government centralization, and the nature of existing political parties. The size of the public sector determines how much emphasis can be placed on certain issues and the legitimacy of various courses of actions available to social movements. For example, in times of rapid inflation and high unemployment, conditions may allow for different political ideologies to be more tolerated. The public may be more receptive to movements opposing an increase in immigration or increased funding for social programs. Such conditions allow for an environment that enables social movements to mobilize and penetrate the political system.

When larger societal changes generate political volatility and dealignment, new political possibilities occur (Piven & Cloward, 1990: 160). For example, the federal government's prolonged focus on amending the Constitution (Meech Lake Accord,
Charlottetown Accord) sparked divisiveness while it tried to unite Canada. As such, it led to political realignment with new political parties emerging to defend regional interests. The Reform Party first emerged to defend primarily the interests of the West. The Bloc Québécois emerged as a powerful political force by defending the regional interests of Quebec. What is certain is that the pre-existing political volatility allowed for such movements to emerge and penetrate the political realm rather successfully.

**STRENGTHS OF RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY**

Resource Mobilization Theory accomplishes three objectives. It explains the dynamics of mobilization; it explains what types of resources and organizational features condition social movement activities; and it places emphasis on the relationship between the movements and the political system. The theory stresses the importance of strategic-instrumental action by focusing on resource management, tactics and strategies. RMT fares well in identifying elements of continuity among collective actors by placing emphasis on social networks, organizational dynamics, and political processes. This approach is important to the study in that it explains how strategies, decisions, and resources are intertwined to determine the emergence and success of a social movement (Canel, 1992: 45-46).

Resource Mobilization Theory’s emphasis on political processes allows insight into the relationship between social movements and the wider political sphere. Its focus on structures of opportunity demarcates political factors that either facilitate or repress the emergence of social movements. Perhaps its fundamental feature is that it makes it clear that
social movements engage in politics by a variety of means. Thus, it is contended that social movements operate in the areas of both civil society and the political realm. Social movements are identified as political actors that operate within traditional political institutions. While they may sometimes operate in competition, they may also operate in collaboration. Compromise is a feature that is often neglected in New Social Movement Theory, but remains a prominent feature in Resource Mobilization Theory (Canel, 1992: 45-47).

WEAKNESSES OF RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY

By focusing exclusively on rational-instrumental action and emphasizing the political realm, the theory neglects the symbolic dimension of social action. It is argued that it says little about the content and context of social movement activity. It does not adequately identify the sources of solidarity which are preconditions for collective action. RMT assigns little significance to the cultural aspects of social movement activity. As such, by neglecting expressive, affective and instrumental orientations for action the theory reduces social movements to political protests (Scott, 1990: 110-111).

While the theory fares well in explaining how strategies, decisions, and resources amalgamate to form a social movement, it has been deficient in explaining the meaning of collective action. While it is possible to see how established organizations can influence mobilization on the part of their members, two aspects are not as clear. RMT does not explain how such an organization could have become established nor how weaker organizations can mobilize at all. This is particularly true of groups where the collective
rewards are uncertain and unpredictable and considerable risks may be present (Scott, 1990: 119-120).

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

Contrary to Resource Mobilization Theory which emphasizes political objectives of social movements, New Social Movement theorists argue that social movements are concerned primarily with cultural issues, symbols, and social integration (Touraine, 1988: 40). New Social Movement Theory emphasizes the cultural nature of the new movements. It defines them as struggles for control over the production of meaning and focuses on the expressive nature of social movements. NSM theorists contend that social movements thrive in civil society, as opposed to the state or political system (Canel, 1992: 22-23).

NSM theorists separate themselves from Marxism in that they argue that the latter concerns itself only with economic and class reductionism. They disagree with the assumption that only economic logic fosters unity of a social movement and determines its mandate. They also disagree with the assumption that the identities of social actors are given to them by their class positions. NSM theorists contend that this reductionism only defines their identities in terms of economic class interests (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985: 75-76).

NSM theorists argue that Marxism places limitations on understanding contemporary social movements. They argue that other conflicts have replaced working-class struggles. These new social actors' primary concern rests with "collective control" of the process of symbolic production and the redefinition of social roles. Non-class issues are related to gender, ethnicity, race, age, the environment, and peace. By this process, NSM theorists seek
to explain the passage from condition to action. It is argued that this transition is a result of ideological, political and cultural processes (Canel, 1992: 23-24).

System integration and social integration present two different logics according to this theory. System integration refers to the steering mechanism of a society; it represents agents of domination, such as the state and the media. Social integration refers to legitimating normative structures; this is obtained through socialization and the certainty of meaning (Cohen, 1982: 203-204). A crisis occurs when system integration affects the process of social integration. When norms, values and meanings are challenged by system integration, new social movements emerge as defensive reactions (Habermas, 1981:37).

New social movements are defined as reactions against the "deepening, broadening, and increased irreversibility of the forms of domination and deprivation in late capitalistic societies" (Offe, 1985: 845). As more areas of private life come under state regulation, civil society begins to feel a sense of deprivation. Thus, the political institution is regarded as the chief catalyst in domination of everyday life. Since these effects are seen as irreversible, new social movements emerge as a direct opposing force to the expansion of this domination (Offe, 1985: 845-847).

New Social Movement Theory’s premise is based on the creation of new ideas and values. New movements are concerned with embodying resistance to power and are motivated by cultural aims. However, they are noted as being fundamentally different from labour and socialist traditions. New social movements have been reluctant to employ conventional forms of political participation, thus clearly separating themselves from orthodox Marxism (Plotke, 1990: 113-121).
It is important to note that many social movement developments were in fact revivals of earlier movements. Such would include the black civil rights movement and women’s liberation. Such movements see themselves as a revival of previous initiatives to gain, protect and extend human rights. However, the focus of the new social movement perspective that may be most unproblematically applied originated in the last three decades. For example, the student movement of the 1960s had many of characteristics employed by new movements in general. Its agenda broadened out from the political realm of previous movements to include values and lifestyles, it was anti-authoritarian and it refused to incorporate itself in the institution of politics (Scott, 1990: 13-14).

While the workers’ movement (i.e., union organizations) could be understood primarily as a political movement, new movements are understood to be first and foremost social movements. The shift from the political to the social is made. Of particular note is that their chief objective is the mobilization of civil society and not the seizure of power (Feher & Heller, 1983: 37).

The second prominent characteristic is that new social movements are located within civil society. New movements emerge from and sustain themselves within civil society and are not entirely concerned with challenging the state directly (Melucci, 1981: 190-191). Rather, they use alternative means of achieving their objectives such as employing a more symbolic scheme to their activities and ideology:

"In new social movements, the groups accomplish the task of letting individuals re-define symbolic relations between them, with society, with nature, creating other relation networks which radically oppose ‘mass’ and its atomization” (Sassoon, 1984: 871).
The third characteristic within new social movements is that they attempt to bring change through the changing of values and the development of alternative lifestyles (Melucci, 1981: 179-185). There is a direct distancing of the social movement from politics to ensure that there develops a sense of autonomy for the members. What this suggests is that within new movements, social change is attempted by challenging values and identities of social actors as opposed to direct political action (Melucci, 1985: 789).

The aims of new movements are to bring social change through the transformation of values, personal identities and symbols. Such movements are identity transforming, manipulate symbols and challenge mainstream values. This is best achieved through two means: the creation of alternative lifestyles and the re-construction of individual and collective wills (Scott, 1990: 17-18).

There are two manners in which new social movements build identity. One form of identity new movements place emphasis on is that of the movement’s adherents. The more individuals develop a sense of personal autonomy and integrity, the more they begin to feel that their movement helps change the social and political structure. This develops in-group solidarity and commitment to the movement (Nedelmann, 1984: 1,035). The second manner is the direct separation between the movement and the political structure. This distance is seen as a condition of the movement’s success because the political structure cannot exercise influence and control over it. As a result, collective control of the movement’s development is maintained (Melucci, 1981: 179).

Laclau and Mouffe (1985: 86-90) explain the formation of new social movements as due to two factors. First, they argue that democracy has allowed a forum for debate. As
such, new antagonisms are allowed to emerge. They argue that the French revolution of 1789 sparked a democratic revolution in both Europe and North America. This new transformation fostered individual autonomy and freedom, while at the same time placing the principles of liberty and egalitarianism at the center of social life. Thus, it was the availability of the democratic discourse that allowed for new social movements to emerge and challenge entrenched values of the society. Secondly, Laclau and Mouffe argue that the rise of social movements is linked to structural transformations. They view them as responses to the antagonisms that emerged after the Second World War. This "new formation" brought about tremendous changes in production and in the nature of the state and its culture. The effect of this is an increase in commodification and bureaucratization of social life. In essence, when capitalist relations penetrated the social realm, it began to impose negative influences. New social movements, thus, are defined as reactionary movements to the larger influences that threaten the aspects of social life.

New Social Movement Theory contends that actors struggle for collective control over the process of meaning and are primarily concerned with the construction of new identities. In comparison to paradigms such as political parties or trade unions we see significant differences. While political parties and trade unions operate at the strategic level of action and are concerned with material reproduction and distribution, new social movements operate at the communicative level of action and are chiefly concerned with cultural reproduction, social integration and socialization (Habermas, 1981: 33).

New social movements concern themselves with a variety of issues. They advocate the values of equality, autonomy of the individual, participation, difference and democracy.
At the same time, they remain opposed to the forces of manipulation, regulation and bureaucratization (Offe, 1985: 817).

The organizational structures of new social movements differ significantly from those of traditional formal organizations such as political parties. They are described as loose networks of democratic organizations that allow unlimited membership and part-time or short-term participation. There is less formal division or hierarchical positioning of leaders and followers, members and non-members and goals and ends (Offe, 1985: 830).

What should be acknowledged is that new social movements are not defined as mediums through which broader political goals can be achieved. The organization is, in its very form, the message. New social movements challenge already entrenched cultural codes and they provide the example of how an alternative lifestyle is possible; thus, assessing the impact of social movements as being success or failures may not be as important as acknowledging that their very existence is a gain itself (Melucci, 1985: 810-813).

**STRENGTHS OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY**

Since New Social Movement theory does not concern itself primarily with economic and class reductionism, it allows for the identification of new sources of conflict. By concerning itself with the creation of new identities, it has allowed NSM theorists to break with past theoretical positions. What it has done is to provide legitimacy for the aspects that have traditionally been held as unimportant in the construction of movements. As a result, it has brought to light areas left largely untapped: cultural issues, symbolic production, normative contestation, and social integration (Canel, 1992: 49).
New Social Movement theorists contend that the very existence of such movements is evidence of the limitations of Marxist class analysis and post-Marxist politics. It is argued that class as the primary political force should be replaced by non-class criteria.

"Social movements can no longer be understood as secondary to class struggle or as tangential expressions of an assumed "primary contradiction"; they have a logic and momentum of their own that needs to be spelled out theoretically" (Boggs, 1986:62).

New Social Movement theory seeks to avoid forms of reductionism; rather, it seeks to achieve a balance between structure and actor. Advanced technological process is seen to have influenced the emergence of new conflicts and actors. The theory places significance on new movements as being integral components in bringing about change. Concerned with non-economic, non-political criteria, these movements are contended to play a pivotal force in the social construction of reality despite their avoidance of economic and political criteria (Touraine, 1988).

**WEAKNESSES OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY**

One shortcoming of New Social Movement Theory is that it does not demarcate how social movements actually originate. As well, it does not clearly show all the processes that converge from a movement’s condition to its action. While it does explain the meaning of social movements (i.e., their structural and historical processes), it does not do this in explaining social action. Thus, the reader is left uncertain as to how individuals and groups develop strategies and mobilize resources. NSM theory’s main strength is also its weakness; its emphasis on identity comes at the expense of analyzing strategy. Identity only develops
in the process of interaction with other forces. As such, organization and strategy also need to be understood as being an integral part of this identity (Canel, 1992: 35-36).

Another drawback to NSM theory is how it defines social movements. Social movements are seen primarily as a radical opposition between themselves and the political realm. They see a clear division between civil society and the state. This definition is based on the fact that its entire focus is on the cultural dimension of new movements and their contention that it is only in civil society that social movements can thrive. Since there is a clear separation from the political dimension, NSM theorists restrict any analysis of a connection between civil society and the state, or between movements and political reform (Canel, 1992: 36-37).

There is little analysis of the organizational dimension of movements in New Social Movement Theory. Variables such as leadership, recruitment processes and goals are not identified as important components of social movements. This is largely due to the theory's emphasis on discontinuity. For example, since movements are seen to operate less formally, NSM theorists make no attempt to compare them to more formal organizations. As a result, the theory leaves itself open to criticism (Scott, 1990: 30-35).

**NSM AND RMT PERSPECTIVES: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

Social movements are not perceived as resulting from economic crises or class exploitation in these theories. Both perspectives explain social movements in terms of ways of action and organization that are relevant to contemporary society. Collective action is a normal process of contention and adherents are seen as rational. Beyond this however, the
two paradigms are completely different. Each theory tends to stress opposite features. These differences can be categorized in the following way:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY</th>
<th>NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY</th>
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<tr>
<td>CONTINUITY</td>
<td>DISCONTINUITY</td>
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<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL ACTION</td>
<td>EXPRESSIVE ACTION</td>
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<td>STATE</td>
<td>CIVIL SOCIETY</td>
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<tr>
<td>POLITICAL REALM</td>
<td>CULTURAL REALM</td>
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<td>SYSTEM INTEGRATION</td>
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Social movements are explained by Resource Mobilization theorists in terms of how they relate to resource management, organizational dynamics, political processes strategies and social networks. Theorists argue that social movements address their demands to the state. Thus, their focus is system integration since it is believed that only on this level can real change occur (Canel, 1992: 48-49).

New Social Movement theorists stresses discontinuity. It concerns itself with the expressive nature of social movements and separates itself from the political realm. It is within civil society that real change is argued to occur. Cultural issues and social integration are integral aspects in creation and sustenance of social movements (Scott, 1990: 19).

The object of the present study is to analyze the nature of the movement in terms of a debate between these two paradigms. In the present study, analysis is related to the debate
on the nature of social movements. The study attempts to explore whether the nature of the far right movement is primarily political or social.
CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Research was conducted through the direct interviewing of one far right organization and the content analysis of collected literature of four other groups. With the exception of one group, all the other organizations are Canadian. It was important to include the American organization since it is affiliated with the group that was interviewed and also represents the legitimate Ku Klux Klan. Criteria used to determine legitimacy were tenure of the organizations, their commitment to the Klan’s legal constitution of 1921 and ownership of the patent for the Klan name and all related paraphernalia.

While three of the four far right groups analyzed through content analysis are not affiliated with the interviewed group (the New Order Aryans of the Ku Klux Klan) or its broader affiliate (the Order of the Ku Klux Klan), they share similarities in ideology, social movement organization and goals. Since all groups studied operate as far right organizations it was important to assess the level of consistency between them. From this, a more calculated assessment can be made to determine whether Resource Mobilization Theory or New Social Movement Theory better explains the nature of the far right movement.

This chapter is organized into two sections. The first consists of description and includes data obtained through interviews or collected literature. It serves primarily as an information base to describe the principles and purposes of the organizations. The second part takes the data collected and critically analyzes it in terms of the theories presented for the thesis. It is critical that there be a determination of the level of consistency and continuity, if any, among the five groups. This is done to ensure that the study is a comprehensive analysis of the far right movement.
NEW ORDER ARYANS (OF THE KU KLUX KLAN)

The interviews for this thesis were conducted in Ottawa, Ontario, at the University of Ottawa between October 8th and October 12th, 1996. The New Order Aryans (of the Ku Klux Klan) are an affiliated chapter of the American Ku Klux Klan. The first three words denote independence and Canadian identity while its reference to the wider Klan conveys that it is also part of a larger body. The organization was founded in April, 1975, under the name Aryan Knights Legion by four Methodist, third generation Canadians of English descent. Of these four, only two are still currently involved in the organization. When official leadership (the position of Exalted Cyclops) was transferred to another member in November, 1993, the organization decided to change its name to its current one. No explanation as to why it was done was given by any of the members interviewed. What remains certain is that both have operated with relatively the same membership and have remained the only Klan sect in Canada that share an affiliation with the Klan’s main branch in Rockville, Indiana. The American Klan’s main branch formerly operated out of Oxford, New Jersey.

The total existing membership for this organization is 17 members; all of its members consented to be interviewed for this research. Of the membership, the youngest was 18 years old and the oldest was 42. Only five members were under 29 years of age, while the remaining 12 were 30 years of age or older. Apart from two members who were Baptist, all others were Methodist. Two of the members were of mixed Scottish-English descent, while the remaining individuals were of pure English descent. Apart from six fourth-generation Canadians, all others were of third-generation descent. It was revealed that relationships
through blood lineage or relations through marriage comprised nine members' affiliation while eight others were close friends/associates of the relatives. Of those related, two were brothers of the group's original founders, one was the son of the eldest brother, two others were brothers-in-law of the original founder, and the others consisted of first cousins. Those not related tended to have long-standing ties of friendship with the related members and were directly involved in business ventures with them.

The length of time used to conduct each interview varied from 15 minutes to 2.5 hours. The interviews with most of the members under 29 years of age tended to be shorter, with the respondents rarely engaging in prolonged elaboration of answers to questions. They tended to react in a distant fashion, remaining cautious in answering most of the questions. It should be noted that most questions were answered with a reductionist approach, allowing me only the apparent facts of how the organization operated as a whole. Personal opinions apart from this were rarely mentioned. As a result, the longest of these five interviews was one hour with all others ranging between 15 and 20 minutes.

Members over the age of 30 tended to less cautious, more receptive to the interviewing procedure and were more willing to elaborate on questions directly related to political issues. When questions dealing with social/cultural issues were asked, most of these members tended to react similarly; they tended to change the subject back to political issues. There appeared to be a reluctance to reveal more personal information when asked questions such as "How important is it for your group to promote its ideology to others?" or "Is it necessary to change mainstream society?" One thing became relatively clear; how they answered was directly related to their age. Those who were younger gave less information;
those who were older offered more information. Nonetheless, there was little to no discrepancy in how they answered the research questions. Either members had collectively discussed how their information should come across to me or there was strong group cohesion in terms of commitment to movement ideology, goals and strategies. My assessment is that it was a combination of both.

With regard to occupation, most members worked in the private sector or were self-employed. Two members were financial consultants, two owned a printing press and employed two other members, three were real estate brokers and had three other members working under them, two others were founders of an insurance company, one member worked as an insurance salesman for the two founders, and two other members jointly owned a restaurant. What became apparent was that they seemed to work in pairs or groups, even when starting an enterprise. Thus, it can be suggested that they are bonded by factors other than movement objectives (e.g., financial interests, family, friendship).

Most members of the interviewed group had post-secondary degrees. Of the 17 members, five had attained a Master's Degree: four in business administration and one in political science. Nine others had attained an Honours B.A. Degree: three in business administration and economics, three in public administration, two in political science and one in sociology. Of the remaining three, two are enrolled in university in political science and one has plans to enroll in university and major in sociology.

When asked why they joined the New Order Aryans, many mentioned that it offered them a forum for discussion on the three most important issues in Canadian society: race, religion and politics. All interviewed members stated that the organization allows them an
opportunity to organize and mobilize through political lobbying. They observed that through this organization, their ideas can be expressed and their goals and objectives can be better attained.

It was stated that membership is based on what they referred to as “elitist policies”; they are not interested in quantity but quality. Prospective adherents need to be close associates or relatives of existing members, white, Christian men of pure European ancestry. Women are not allowed membership in this organization. Members or prospective members cannot be romantically involved or married to a non-white woman or have racially mixed children. Prospective members must be native-born Canadian; no immigrants or naturalized Canadians are accepted. As well, persons must not have a criminal record, must be highly educated, heterosexual and opposed to abortion. Respondents also cited more thorough detailed membership criteria found in Article IV, Section 1-5 of the Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (1921). These include “owing no allegiance of any nature or degree to any foreign government, nation, institution or people, being of commendable reputation and respectable vocation.” Moreover, the application made to a chartered Klan must be endorsed by at least two Klansmen, by a Kleagle or the Imperial Wizard of the particular Order. All prospective applicants’ qualifications and personal history must be known before they are accepted for membership. The New Order Aryans operate their organization similarly to criteria used to determine membership eligibility and the process involved which is described in the 1921 Constitution. This Constitution was presented to me as the organization’s blueprint. It will also be used to help explain other criteria throughout this chapter.
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The New Order Aryans and most Ku Klux Klan organizations stress the organization and leadership themes of Resource Mobilization Theory. Unlike New Social Movement Theory which espouses that loose affiliations form the basis of a movements, RMT argues that a hierarchal structure of roles and responsibilities exists. This was found to be true for the Ku Klux Klan. The following illustrate the titles/roles and responsibilities of the movement's internal structure:

"Exalted Cyclops:

The supreme office of a Klan and its official head. He shall require the ritualistic work of the Kloran to be exemplified with the highest degree of perfection possible, and he shall do such other things as may be required of him by the Laws of this Order, the Kloran, the By-Laws of his Klan, and faithfully execute all orders and special instructions of the Great Titan, Grand Dragon or the Imperial Wizard.

Klaliff:

The vice-president of this Klan, shall preside over the Klonklave in the absence of the Exalted Cyclops and preserve order during the deliberations.

Klokard:

The lecturer or instructor and Klan censor or critic.

Kludd:

Responsible for such musical programs as may be presented and for the general spiritual welfare of his Klan.

Kligrapp:

The secretary and recording officer of the Klan.

Klabee:

The treasurer of the Klan.

Kladd:

The custodian of Klan paraphernalia and other properties. He shall conduct candidates for naturalization and collect the countersign and password at the opening of a Klonklave.

Klarogo:

The guard of the Klan. He shall permit only those to enter the Klavern who are qualified or have the permission of the Exalted Cyclops.

Klexer:

The outer guard of the Klan. He shall observe the outside premises of the Klavern to see that no eavesdroppers or other persons are around, who are
liable to obtain information or knowledge concerning the acts or procedure of Konklave.

Night-Hawk: The Special Courier of the Exalted Cyclops. He shall carry the Fiery Cross in the ceremony and on all public exhibitions where the same is used.

Klokann: The Klokann is the board of auditors, advisors and trustees, and the investigating committee of the Klan. It shall be composed of three members. It shall be their duty to audit the books and records of the Kligrapp and the Klabee” (Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Inc., 1921: Article XIX, Section, 1-10).

The Ku Klux Klan’s organizational structure has 13 positions of roles and responsibilities. The New Order Aryans employed 11 of these but have opted to exclude the positions of Klarogo and Klester. They contend that the necessity for these positions is determined by the size of the Klan sect. They stressed that since their organization is small and membership is comprised of relatives, friends and business partners, there is less fear of outside infiltration or exposed confidential information. All other positions were deemed by all members to be important.

Members were asked about the significance of cross lightings and the Klan robe. Only two of the five members under 29 years of age and one over 30 chose to abstain from answering the question relating to the cross; all answered the question relating to the robe. Members contended that the original Ku Klux Klan did not use the fiery cross. They cited that 47 volumes of testimony that make up the Ku Klux Klan report to congress in 1871 failed to convey one single reference of any kind to a fiery cross. The Klan’s Prescript of 1867 and amended Prescript of 1868 showed how to make the Klan banner (referred to as the Grand Ensign), but there was no mention of cross lighting. Two members charged that
it was fiction writer Thomas Dixon whose book "The Klansman" paved the road for the media's historical revisionism of the Klan.

Members contended that when the Klan was revived in 1915, the fiery cross was intended to be used for ceremonial purposes only. Most members claimed that rather than being seen as a Christian religious symbol, the "anti-Klan, Jewish-controlled" media and "illegal Klan sects" have become successful in making it recognized as a symbol of hate.

Some of the senior members of the New Order Aryans elaborated further on the historical and religious significance of the fiery cross outside of the Klan. They contended that it was the first Christian Roman emperor, Constantine, who adopted the fiery cross as his symbol for battle. Moreover, it was stated that the fiery cross is a religious symbol for the Methodist Church as well as a number of other Christian denominations. Members defended what they believed to be the true purpose and significance of the fiery cross, and that the media and illegal Klan sects continue to be the legitimate Klan's real enemies.

All members contended that the Klan robe was the supreme symbol of the movement since its conception in 1865. It symbolized the purity of the white race, the power and influence it once possessed and the organization's symbol of Christianity. The hood symbolizes what is often referred to as "The Invisible Empire", representing the idea that even though "the political establishment" or the "Jewish-controlled economic infrastructure" is often used against them, the Klan will continue to thrive secretly.

While the masking of one's identity may be interpreted as emphasizing and interpreting the power of anonymity and fear, members charge that is what the media wants it to convey. They claimed that while organizations such as B'Nai Brith and the National
Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) are allowed to publicly advocate pride for their race and culture, white-pride organizations are not granted this same privilege. If Klan members were to publicly reveal their involvement in the organization, even if the group is law-abiding and legitimate, members would face a negative stigma and harassment at the hands of those opposed to their beliefs. Members claimed that such stigmatization could directly affect their ability to earn a living since people opposed to their beliefs would be dissuaded from doing businesses with them. Members also charged that the Klan often faces a negative stigma for practices similar to other organizations. Eleven members charged that although Jews often condemn the Klan for exclusionary practices, they do the same thing. They contended that membership to Jewish organizations is not inclusive and that these groups practice the very basic act of discrimination that they charge others with doing. A common question posed by several members was “How many blacks do you see in top positions in the Canadian Jewish Congress?” The organization’s Exalted Cyclops went on to state “How many blacks do you see in top positions in the Canadian Jewish Congress? How many do you see as members? About as many as there are in the Ku Klux Klan."

HOW FUNDS/CAPITAL ARE ACQUIRED

The New Order Aryans do not solicit dues or membership fees, although donations are accepted. Its organization’s literature is freely distributed to interested parties. Since the organization is small, their objectives are limited to political lobbying and they exist in the nation’s capital, they contend that very little funds/capital are necessary to sustain the
movement. For one, members are bound by factors other than ideology: friendship, extended family, relationships, business ventures. Thus, resources such as computers, a printing press and real estate information are shared freely among members. As well, mutual financial support is expected and given. Moreover, their business ventures in the private sector help finance their movement. For example, two members own a printing press, two members are financial consultants and three are real estate brokers. This allows for the sharing of resources to help the movement that otherwise would not be available/accessible to other organizations. Contributions by members come not only in the form of finances but skills/trades that can be just as effective. As a result, costs are minimized and efficiency is maximized.

The main source of revenue is real estate. The organization’s members originally contributed between 5,000 and 60,000 dollars each into a joint account; the money goes toward the purchasing and selling of property (i.e., lots, homes, businesses). The profits from the sales are used for two things: financing movement goals and acquiring more property. Members claim that this is an extremely profitable venture; thus, they do not need to concern themselves with raising funds through selling memberships or hate paraphernalia. They believe that the latter does nothing positive and is ineffective in helping change policies in the political arena. They charge that such fund-raising is entirely self-serving. They denounce most other groups for doing this because they believe their leadership is corrupt. They charge that most of that revenue goes directly into the pockets of the group leaders with very little actually used to promote the movement’s cause. They contend that the real Klan, which is based on legitimacy, would not lower itself and its standards to charge for
memberships. They quote from the Constitution and Laws of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. (1921), Article IV, Section 3 that states: “The Klectokon (initiation fee) is given by an applicant and accepted by this Order as a donation to its propagation and general fund and not in the sense of purchasing membership in this Order by the applicant...” They concede that Klan sects may opt to accept annual contributions from its members but these are accepted primarily as donations. While the New Order Aryans do recognize that some sects may sell memberships, it is their understanding that the sects they are familiar with do not do this.

JUST WHO ARE THE INGROUPS AND THE OUTGROUPS?

Although the term “white” is often used in far right literature, it may mean something different for each organization. For example, the National Alliance includes Arabs in their definition of who is white (New World Order Comix #1, 1993). National Socialists contend that some Italians are white (Aryan) but not all (National Socialism: Questions and Answers, 1995). Some Klan groups include Slavics as being totally white (The Kourier, April 1997, Vol. 7, No. 4). As these examples illustrate, the definition becomes somewhat contradictory from organization to organization and from far right in comparison to mainstream ideology. For example, all collected far right information/literature rejects the notion that Jews are white, regardless of their actual racial heritage. Although the Greek and Roman Empires are glorified as having made great contributions to the white race, there exist some reservations by some groups regarding the inclusion of Mediterranean peoples as Aryan (or white). New Order Aryan members demeaned white supremacist Wolfgang Droege for being a “foreign-
born Nazi,” denoting some reservation for persons of foreign descent. Similarly, white supremacist George Burdi was put down for belonging to an ethnic minority group. One fact became increasingly clear throughout the interviews: there was strong antagonism toward the “political and social progress attained by French-Canadians in Quebec” and the “economic power held by Jewish bankers, lawyers, doctors and businessmen” (Personal Interviews, October, 1996). Note how their prejudice is not based on their physical characteristics (i.e., whether they’re perceived as white, black, etc.) but on the perceived status and power these persons hold in society, and how they believe it negatively impacts on mainstream Canadians. For example, their grievances against Franco-Canadians included an historical, undeserved elevated status at the expense of Anglo-Canadians. Franco-Canadians were perceived as sponging off federal tax money to promote an alien language and culture that fosters division and disunity within the country. Franco-Canadians are perceived as having attained unfair advantages at the political level and therefore reaping the benefits of being “the first to be hired, and last to be fired.” In Quebec, N.O.A. members claim the same occurs; Anglo-Canadians are shunned, discriminated against and treated as second class citizens. In reference to Jews, the N.O.A.'s anti-Semitism was heavily pronounced in all of its members. They believe that although Franco-Canadians have a foothold on political power, the Jews hold a monopoly on the Canadian and American money market. They believe that they play pivotal roles as bankers and businessmen to promote unfair/unethical business practices against non-Jews. As one member stated adamantly: “They’re the most vile, spiteful, and dishonest people this country has ever known.” When encouraged to elaborate on issues the informants felt very passionate about,
their central focus was Jewish-Canadians. Most members cited unfair business practices as being the point of disfavor. However, for several the antagonism toward this group was far greater. Seven respondents charged that there was an international, organized Jewish conspiracy (Zionist Occupational Government or ZOG) that wants to bring about moral decay, dilute the white race and replace democracy with Marxist communism.

Most New Order Aryans contended that the Klan’s greatest enemies are the media and illegitimate Klan sects. Fifteen members criticized organizations such as B’Nai Brith and the Canadian Jewish Congress as trying to come across as victims. Most respondents charged that Jews control most positions of power and influence in Canada and the United States. They claimed that true victims do not have access to power and influence. The presence of such organizations are not anti-racist organizations but smokescreens to ensure Jews continue to remain in power. Thirteen members went on to charge that Jews control the media and stir up racial intolerance between blacks and whites, and Jews and Christians. It was stated that by doing this, Jews come across as victims themselves, gain sympathy from minority groups, direct attention to far right groups and away from themselves. The second enemy was stated to be the illegitimate Klan sects or radical right groups. New Order Aryans all cited that the alleged Jewish-controlled media has been successful at using the fanatical extreme to define the entire far right movement. By only focusing on the radical right, the media has shaped the public’s perception of the far right as being violent, revolutionary and anti-establishment. The radical right is used as a pawn to discredit legitimate, law-abiding fringe right organizations to make certain left-wing ideology prevails in society.
There was a great deal of criticism of the more widely-known white supremacist leaders such as Wolfgang Droge and George Burdi. Many New Order Aryan members charged that both Droge and Burdi’s fixation with attaining media coverage has exposed their real objectives. They claim that by gaining media attention, they attain some cheap from of celebrity status or legitimacy that they would probably not be able to get by other means. During the interviews, six members went as far as saying that Droge and Burdi are so far removed from mainstream society that neither of them could probably land a legitimate job, never mind sustain it. They charged that their anti-establishment personalities are not conducive to formulating financially progressive ventures such as real estate sales. Rather, they need to rely on “creating a circus-like atmosphere, running around like screaming chimpanzees and stepping on their own gunk along the way” (Personal Interviews, October, 1996). The discord did not end there. All members stated Droge and Burdi would not be allowed entrance to any legitimate Klan organization because of their violent tendencies and criminal records. Most claimed that many far right leaders in the public eye are examples of persons who are illegally using the Klan’s name to gain particular legitimacy and momentum.

THE ORDER OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

The Order of the Ku Klux Klan was founded in January, 1995 in Rockville, Indiana as a modernized adaptation of the original Ku Klux Klan (1865-1869). This re-incarnation of the original Klan constitutes a legal, educational, political party which adheres to the laws of the United States and the Constitution of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (1921). It
publishes the Kourier Magazine, a national monthly publication that serves to identify the purposes of the Klan under the umbrella of the legal parameters. It denounces the many illegal and illegitimate Klan sects and their tendency for violence. The Order of the Ku Klux Klan contends that the media’s focus on the far right has almost exclusively been on leaders and groups that aren’t even legally affiliated with the authentic Klan. Such imposters are charged with distorting truth, committing criminal acts which are not condoned by the Klan’s constitution and effectively stereotyping the entire far right movement as radical, violent and anti-establishment (The Kourier, April, 1997, Vol. 7, No. 4).

The Order of the Ku Klux Klan defends the political establishment even though it does not agree with the direction it has taken. The Order contends that it is not the political system which is corrupt but the actors within that institution. It is argued that when the ultra-left successfully secured political victories, such gains were made on a continuum. Once the political pendulum swung entirely to the left, ultra-left wing activists such as Marxists, feminists and homosexuals have been using unfair, undemocratic tactics to keep the political climate in their sphere. One such tactic has been to use past historical oppression of disenfranchised groups as a mitigating factor in denying the far right room to lobby for political change. One example often used in the organization’s literature is government-imposed employment quotas. Visible minorities are allowed to use their race as criteria of significance in meeting job requirements when it is argued that it has nothing to do with ability. If the same polices were used for whites, the same act would be defined as discrimination. Racism, therefore, can be defined as “most likely to be practiced on visible minorities predominantly by whites.” In legislating such liberal dogma, it is argued that the
political establishment enforces reverse discrimination. Far right activists' arguments are effectively suppressed by such policies because interests now fall much further from both the political norm and imposed legislation (The Kourier, December, 1996, Vol. 6, No. 12).

This organization argues that it is based solely on the example set by the original Ku Klux Klan, which opposed the tyranny of the Reconstruction Era and restored constitutional rights and liberties to the disenfranchised population of eleven militarily conquered and occupied American states. Its current adaptation, which is referred to as the Ku Klux Klan's fourth incarnation, sees today's enemy as a broad-sweeping, powerful force called the New World Order. The New World Order, often referred to by other far right groups as the Zionist Occupational Government, is a movement led by what has become the current Klan's most loathed and feared enemies: Jews. Jews are argued to have monopolistic control over most spheres of power and influence in America and are making substantial ground in the only area that has been predominately controlled by whites: the political system. It is argued that while they stir racial tension between whites and blacks, they are able to shift attention away from themselves. In doing so, they effectively gain even more control, with less detection. With the process of moral decay, so too does the collective will and identity of the majority of white Christians corrode. The Order of the Ku Klux Klan argues that although Jews are at the root of making whites look like racists, it is they who practice real, pervasive and systematic racism. It is argued that Jews are more likely to marry within their own religion, and engage in more business transactions among themselves as opposed to others. The organization charges that often times, Jews reap the benefits of their socialist
philosophies but rarely practice what they preach to others (The Kourier, April, 1997, Vol. 7, No. 4).

The Order of the Ku Klux Klan boasts significant accomplishments. It has the largest, longest-running national monthly magazine publication in existence. It holds significant real estate in Rockville, Indiana and surrounding areas. Such land and property is bought and sold to generate revenue for the organization. The Order operates the United State’s largest Klan Museum with authentic artifacts dating back to 1865. While the organization does accept contributions, most of its revenue is generated through magazine subscriptions and real estate ventures. It has two main objectives: political infusion (changing laws through due process) and a white island project (purchasing a small island for its members). The first objective includes financing political candidate campaigns. The organization claims that it has and will continue to help members campaign for public office. The second objective is contended to be a long-range goal which will be realized when enough capital/funds are attained to make such a purchase. The island would allow for strong organization; strong interpersonal links among members would promote group identity, group solidarity and encourage communication. The Order of the Ku Klux Klan views group cohesiveness and organization as necessary to achieve movement goals (The Kourier, December, 1996, Vol. 6, No. 12).

CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD

The Christian Brotherhood was founded by Chris Matthews and Warren Douglas in 1989 in Victoria, British Columbia. The organization was a spin-off of an earlier movement
called the Halton Renaissance Committee. Renaissance was formed in 1974 at the county level in Halton County, Ontario, but eventually became a provincial and then a national movement. Spin-off organizations included Renaissance Ontario, Renaissance Canada, Renaissance International, and Renaissance Family Institute. The Movement’s aims included lobbying to have parents gain greater power and influence over the educational system, to have the Christian religion part of the school curriculum, and opposition to homosexuality. While Renaissance’s initial protest was directed towards the educational system, the organization eventually branched out to the political arena. Renaissance’s move toward political infusion appeared to be a reactionary response to government interference in the religious sphere. Renaissance proceeded to actively campaign for “pro-family” candidates in Metro Toronto’s municipal and board of education elections in the early 1980s (Barrett, 1987: 260-271).

Christian Brotherhood’s literature shows a marked antagonism toward liberalism and socialism, and attributes moral decay to these ideologies. It is contended that the move toward secular humanism and the separation of Church and State have encouraged, promoted and legitimized things such as homosexuality, promiscuity, out-of-wedlock births, abortion, and inter-racial coupling. The move toward making religion a private matter (outside of the political and educational institutions) is interpreted by them to be an endorsement for atheism. The Christian Brotherhood believes that there are two main forces that have helped paved the way toward moral decay: socialists and Jews (Who Is The Enemy?, 1997).

The Christian Brotherhood separates the two into different categories but often implies that the two are synonomous. Christian Brotherhood doctrine contends that socialists
are nothing more but wealthy, corporate business tycoons preaching utopian equality while at the same time working toward enforcing the current socio-economic class structure. Social programs are used as a means of keeping the “lazy, ignorant, lower classes in a state of comfort.” In doing so, they appear to be humanitarian, at tax-payers expense, but offer no long-term solutions to social ills. Christian Brotherhood contends that as long as conditions never improve, bureaucracy expands and socialists reap benefits such as inefficient, unnecessary public sector jobs. Socialism is society’s “enemy with a smiling face” and its main target is Christianity (Who Is The Enemy?, 1997).

Not only are the Jewish elite seen as the enemy but so too is Judaism. Christian Brotherhood contends that any religion that denounces Jesus Christ is an enemy of Christianity. Christian Brotherhood contends that Jews practice exclusionary practices toward non-Jews while at the same time trying to appear as victims of intolerance. The organization claims that Jews are the only ethnic group that has been held in contempt by every nation on Earth. They contend that Judaism is not a religion of love, humility, giving, sharing and penance to gain eternal salvation. Rather, it is contended that Jews practice such values between themselves while they practice the opposite toward non-Jews. Christian Brotherhood charges that throughout history, Jews’ exclusionary practices (i.e., claiming to be God’s chosen people, not actively seeking and accepting converts to Judaism) are proof that Jews are racists. Hence, it is argued that their refusal to view non-Jews as equals has led others to react defensively and negatively to them (Differences Between Christianity and Judaism, no date).
Christian Brotherhood contends that the mass media is overwhelmingly controlled by Jews. It is argued that the three major American television networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC) and more than half of the major dailies are under the direct control of Jews. Canadian culture is seen as being directly affected by the American media. To the Christian Brotherhood, this Jewish monopoly of the mass media places majority influence and power over perception. For example, it is argued that lack of effective competition has resulted in the media becoming an instrument of Jewish policy. Despite making up 2.9 per cent of the American population, Jews control almost all national television networks and over half of North America’s press. Despite comprising a minority population, they remain in the top positions in spheres of power and influence: level of education, income levels, corporations, business, the legal system and the media. It is argued that their perception as being victims of oppression is a tactic used by the media to deflect negative attention. Once they are universally accepted as powerless victims, few question their motives or actions or dare being exposed as racists or hate mongerers by the media (Who Runs The Media?, no date).

The Christian Brotherhood argues that when one group gains monopolistic power in areas such as the media, the economic realm and the legal system, due process will be compromised. As a result, democracy only becomes a word without meaning rather than a system with influence. The political realm is seen by them as the only effective alternative to champion the cause of Christianity. Thus, while it is necessary to inform Canadians of their ideology, without political infusion or lobby, the movement becomes futile. While Christian Brotherhood accepts donations, it does not sell memberships. Collected literature did not state the volume of membership but openly advertised its need for politically
motivated individuals with an expressed desire to lobby for its ideals or run for municipal or board of education elections in Victoria, British Columbia. The Reform Party was expressed to be the political party of choice for the organization. Members are urged to help Reform Candidates campaign or run for Reform nominations (Ideals of the Christian Brotherhood, 1997).

CIVIL LIBERTARIAN COUNCIL

The Civil Libertarian Council should not be confused with the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. While the names appear to be similar, the goals of these organizations are different. While the latter seeks to protect individual rights guaranteed by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, among other similar objectives, the former seeks to dismantle many individual rights and the Charter itself. The federal government, or "central-operating agency" as it is often referred to in their literature, is a direct threat to individual freedom, rights and liberties. It is argued that it imposes the will of the vocal minority on the silent majority. As a result, anglophones are legally bound to the will of francophones through policies, such as bilingualism. Similarly, white Canadians are subjugated into accepting policies such as open immigration and multiculturalism. These three policies (bilingualism, immigration and multiculturalism) are seen as an infringement of the rights of majority anglophone, white Canadians. It is argued that in a democracy, political parties should vote according to the needs and wishes of their constituencies. However, on issues that affect all Canadians as a whole, such as the three before-mentioned policies, national referendums should take precedence. Referendums represent the "real, and not imagined,
collective will of a nation” and will shift the political power back to what the Civil Libertarian Council claims are the people who deserve it most: the majority (World Watch, November, 1996).

The Civil Libertarian Council was a movement inspired by the political success of Preston Manning’s Reform Party. Its literature does not list the names of the organization’s founder(s) or members but claims that it was founded in 1991. Its literature does not actively seek membership, claiming that the movement acts as both “a voice of conscience and collective will” and “a political vehicle to empower the people.” Literature collected shows that similar to the New Order Aryans in Ottawa, Ontario, the Civil Libertarian Council is financed through real estate ventures throughout Alberta. It does boast of generous contributions from some of Alberta’s corporate elite, lawyers and small businesses.

While the movement refers to itself as “conservative,” it does so only in its definition of its right wing ideology. Council supports the provincial Progressive Conservative Party led by Premier Ralph Klein but is adamantly opposed the federal Tory Party led by Jean Charest. The Civil Libertarian Council charges that Tory Party has fallen to such low popularity due entirely to its failure to embrace its historical political agenda. Rather than protect the interests of English Canada and the private sector, the federal Tories have catered to Quebec and minority interests. It is argued that this sharp turn to the left has isolated the right wing of the Conservative Party. Both the Reform Party and the Civil Libertarian Council were formed as a response to the federal Tory change; both send a strong message of protest (World Watch, November, 1996).
The Civil Libertarian Council stops short of advocating discrimination but their movement appears to be infused with racist dogma. There are marked expressions of intolerance toward francophones, immigrants and federal policies such as bilingualism and multiculturalism. The Council also proposes legislative change to lower provincial and federal taxes, remove the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, introduce national referendums to controversial and/or moral issues, have Supreme Court judges elected and not appointed, have the federal government grant further powers to the provinces and impose harsher sentences to convicted criminals (World Watch, September, 1997).

The Civil Libertarian Council literature claims that political lobbying is the proper course of action at the current time because both the provincial Tories and the federal Reformers advocate many of their beliefs and goals. Campaigning against them would mean drawing from the same electoral repertoire and hence hurt the right wing movement rather than enhance it. Political lobbying (e.g., sending detailed reports to politicians to present to government, submitting letters of protest) serves as a more effective means of control. Council literature blames the shift to left wing politics on the inability of right wing lobbyists and activists to effectively keep the federal Tories in line. If the provincial Tories or the federal Reformers fail to endorse the Civil Libertarian Council’s right wing interests or should either falter in Party popularity, the Council would move toward campaigning under a new political party name. Either way, the Civil Libertarian Council sees its interests as being effectively represented. Council literature claims to have at the present time 21 elected members at the municipal level throughout various cities and towns in Alberta, including two mayors (World Watch, September, 1997).
CANADIAN ANTI-COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION

Similar to the Civil Libertarian Council, the Canadian Anti-Communist Association was formed in Calgary, Alberta. However, unlike the Council, the Anti-Communist Association has been in operation as a social movement since March, 1963. Despite its having only three leaders in its 34-year tenure, the movement has changed its name a remarkable five times. Opposition to immigration, anti-Semitism and anti-homosexuality are three prominent criteria of the Anti-Communist Association’s dogma (The Canadian Anti-Communist Association, no date).

In 1963, it was introduced as the Canadian League of Rights and Liberties. At various intervals the name was altered to Alberta Anti-Communist League, Canadian Council of Liberty, Liberty Council of Canada and finally the Canadian Anti-Communist Association. Although the movement has changed leadership three times and its name five times, ideology has remained relatively consistent. Unlike other far right groups that adopt new issues or target new scapegoats at different times to adapt to the social political climate, the Anti-Communist Association has not. Its literature states pronounced opposition to immigration (particularly third world immigration), entry of refugees into the country, Marxism, socialism, the current tax system, abortion and homosexuality (The Canadian Anti-Communist Association, no date).

Although there are implied anti-Catholic references, there are many direct references to atheism and Judaism as posing a threat to the Christian majority. Atheism and Judaism are interpreted by the Anti-Communist Association as synonymous. It is argued that atheism promotes individualism at the expense of family values while Judaism promotes
individualism over integrity. Both atheism and Judaism are interpreted as promoting personal financial gain, success and satisfaction, regardless of whom it affects in the process. The Anti-Communist Association charges that atheists attempt to discredit God and Christianity and separate the Church and State as a means to their ends -- to legislate their left wing agenda. The Association argues that Jews attempt to corrode the collective will, beliefs and values of Christians as a means to their ends -- to gain monopolistic control over all spheres of power and influence in Canadian society. By promoting multiculturalism, inter-racial marriages, homosexuality, promiscuity, abortion, love of money and individualism, Jews are believed to reap the benefits of such disorganization of collective will. It is argued to be the only way the minority atheists and Jews can succeed at overpowering the majority white Christians: through the tactics of division and corruption (The Canadian Anti-Communist Association, no date).

The Canadian Anti-Communist Association operates first and foremost as an organization which seeks to raise consciousness and awareness of the altering of meanings and values in Canadian society. Nonetheless, all collected literature refers to politicization as the only effective means of the majority regaining its collective control. The organization uses the sales of memberships and financial contributions as its primary source of revenue. Volume of membership has never been discussed in the collected literature, but the Association claims to consist of a small, elite executive council to govern decisions over the movements's ideology and direction. (What Is The Canadian Anti-Communist Association?, no date). The organization has been expressly critical of government policies since the 1970s with marked antagonism to the current unity issue crisis and threat of Quebec separation.
It is argued that the federal government has been so incompetent in its pacifist stance toward Quebec that it has lost its credibility with Canadians. As a result, regionalism has taken a natural route and political parties are reduced to represent the interests of specific regions. The Association has historically favoured the federal Progressive Conservative Party but has lost confidence in their ability to represent the interests of white anglophones. The Reform Party is not viewed as a better alternative because its interests are contended to be regional. The Association sees the political climate in turmoil and in dire need of reform. At present, the movement remains non-partisan at the federal level and pro-Tory at the provincial level. It actively lobbies for specific interests for such parties but feels that little will be done to legislate changes. Due to this, it is considering forming an independent federal political party to represent their interests (The Road To Ruin: The Demise of Character and Integrity, 1997).

ANALYSIS

While the media and mainstream research on the far right places due emphasis on the movement's antagonism toward blacks, this study's findings revealed that little to no emphasis is placed on them. The primary target of all five far right groups was the Jewish community. The main point of contention against Jews seemed to be that as a minority group in Canada and the United States, they have gained monopolistic control over most spheres of influence and power. Although none of the five far right organizations went as far as charging that Jews have broken laws to gain such supposed control, all groups charged that tactics used are unethical and mean-spirited, their motives are self-serving, and their
goals are ultimately racist. While all five far right organizations did not deny that their groups were racist, none of them directly asserted that they were. However, all organizations except the Civil Libertarian Council charged that Jews were racists and Jewish anti-racist organizations were fronts to disguise their self-serving motives.

The mass media seemed to be another target of antagonism for all five groups. For the New Order Aryans, the Order of the Ku Klux Klan and the Christian Brotherhood, the mass media and Jews seemed to be synonymous. Jews seemed to be the underlying force in using television, radio and the press as a medium to corrode the collective will of white Christians. This strategy is viewed by these groups as the only effective means that a minority group has to gain monopolistic control of spheres of power and influence once controlled by the majority. They charged that Jews use the media to appear as victims, distort truth and stir racial intolerance in society by placing continuous emphasis on racism. The Civil Libertarian Council and the Canadian Anti-Communist Association charge that the media is often used by socialists to promote their left wing agenda. Francophones, minority groups, feminists, homosexuals and communists are believed to be special interest groups that are trying to use the media to effectively re-define society’s meanings and values to make it difficult for far right interests to be represented effectively, even in the legal sphere of politics.

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

Features of New Social Movement Theory fit well in explaining the nature of the far right movement in the area of their ideology. For example, the five organizations all
conceded that the mass media, regardless of who controls it, is an effective medium in changing society's meanings and values. New Social Movement theorists argue that social movements are concerned primarily with cultural issues, symbols, and social integration (Touraine, 1988: 40). New Social Movement Theory emphasizes the cultural nature of the new movements. It defines them as struggles for control over the production of meaning on the expressive nature of social movements. In this context, the far right movement sees the media as effectively gaining "collective control" of the process of symbolic production and the redefinition of social roles (Canel, 1992: 22-23). The nature of the far right movement is explained as a response, or a defensive reaction to the norms, values and meanings that are being challenged (Habermas, 1981: 37).

While New Social Movement Theory fares well in explaining far right movements as emerging as reactions against the "deepening, broadening, and increased irreversibility of the forms of domination" (Offe, 1985: 845), where it is open to refutability is the theory's contention that such movements only operate in civil society. While all five far right groups were critical of the political climate, specific political parties and certain legislation, all organizations conceded that politicization was the only method through which group aims and goals can be realized. New Social Movement theorists contend that while the political institution is the chief catalyst in domination of everyday life (Offe, 1985: 845), new movements emerge from and sustain themselves within civil society and are not entirely concerned in challenging the state directly (Melucci, 1981: 190-191). All five groups had in their principal aims political infusion as an important agent to protect and promote their
interests. Thus, in this area, New Social Movement Theory fails to properly explain the movement.

The aims of new movements are to bring social change through the transformation of values, personal identities and symbols. The far right movement is identity transforming, manipulates symbols and challenges mainstream values. New Social Movement Theory contends that this is best achieved through two means: the creation of alternative lifestyles and the re-construction of individual and collective wills (Scott, 1990: 17-18). New Social Movement theorists argue that there are two manners in which new social movements build identity. One form of identity is concentration on group members. It is contended that the more individuals develop a sense of personal autonomy and integrity, the more they begin to feel that their movement helps change the social and political structure. Through this process, group cohesion and commitment to the movement is realized (Nedelmann, 1984: 1,035).

While this was applicable to some groups, it did not appear to be reflective of others. For example, the New Order Aryans and the Order of the Ku Klux Klan both did not place importance on quantity of membership but both groups contended that building group identity was an integral component in sustaining a movement. Conversely, the Christian Brotherhood, the Civil Libertarian Council and the Canadian Anti-Communist Association placed less emphasis on building group identity as opposed to mobilization. All tended to operate with a smaller membership and more streamlined leadership. The latter three contend that the damage caused through the re-definition of meanings, values and symbols is irreversible and that it is futile for the movement to expect change to occur in civil society.
Even if members are committed and have a strong identity, they cannot compete against the agents of domination (i.e., the media, ultra left wing groups); thus, the political sphere is the only recourse for real, substantial change. While the two Klan sects concur with the other three in terms of politicization, they differ somewhat in maintaining part of this feature of New Social Movement Theory.

Where this theory is open to refutability is in its second explanation of how social movements build identity. New Social Movement Theory contends that there is a separation between the movement and the political structure. This distance is seen as a condition of the movement’s success because the political structure cannot exercise influence and control over it (Melucci, 1981: 191). Research on the five far right groups have shown that all regard politicization as necessary to change society. Such evidence directly contradicts this feature of New Social Movement Theory; thus, this portion does not accurately explain the nature of the far right movement.

New Social Movement Theory addresses the ideological aspects of the far right. The theory is applicable in explaining the far right’s concentration on specific issues. For example, the theory stresses that new social movements advocate the values of equality, participation and democracy, while remaining opposed to the forces of manipulation, regulation and bureaucratization (Offe, 1985: 817). This is an interesting point. The far right advocates the values of equality, participation and democracy only in terms of their definition of these concepts, and it remains opposed to the forces of manipulation, regulation and bureaucratization only in their definition of these forces. Here, concepts are defined by the movement itself; they are seen through their perspective. Regardless of whether they are
correct or incorrect, all five far right groups have clearly demonstrated the cognitive and social construction of their perspectives. All five groups identified their movements as crusades of justice and reason against the forces of oppression and control.

Where New Social Movement Theory falls short in explaining the far right movement is in its feature of organizational structure. Movements are described as loose networks of democratic organizations that allow unlimited participation. There is less formal division or hierarchal positioning of leaders and followers, members and non-members, and goals and ends (Offe, 1985: 830). Social movements are not defined by this theory as mediums through which broader political goals can be achieved; rather, the organization is the message itself. New social movements challenge already entrenched cultural codes and provide the example of how alternative lifestyles are possible. Thus, their impact as being a success or failure may not be important as acknowledging that their very existence is a gain in itself (Melucci, 1985: 810-813).

Of the five groups studied, only the Order of the Ku Klux Klan and the Canadian Anti-Communist Association appeared to openly invite entrance to their movements; the other three appeared to be resistant to the possibility of new membership. For example, the New Order Aryans only had 17 members, nine of whom were related and eight whom were their close friends/associates. Considering the movement has had a 22 year tenure, the fact that membership is small and criteria such as blood lineage, friendship and business partnerships take precedence is sufficient proof in concluding that the group is resistant to outsiders entering it. The Christian Brotherhood and the Civil Libertarian Council do not sell open memberships; both groups have stated in their literature that members are
appointed by already-existing adherents. Criteria used to determine prospective members for appointment are similar ideology, higher level of education, and sound knowledge of the political system. The Civil Libertarian Council goes beyond the stated criteria and includes the ability to instrumentally help the movement politically as a crucial asset. Prospective members need to have an expressed interest and the qualifications for political lobbying and political infusion (e.g., campaigning for public office) to bring about positive change for the movement.

Where there is substantial agreement among all five groups is that organization is comprised of a formal division or hierarchal position of leaders and followers, roles and responsibilities, and goals and ends. The two Klan sects used the traditional Ku Klux Klan organizational structure of 13 titles and roles. Christian Brotherhood has two persons operating as group leaders, with an executive council of five others. The Civil Libertarian Council has a core executive council of eight members with one operating as chairperson. The Canadian Anti-Communist Association operates under one leader and has a small executive council (numbers not mentioned). Only the New Order Aryans disclosed volume of membership; it is uncertain as to how many comprise each of the other groups. All apparent goals of each organization appears to be similar: penetration of the political arena to help change laws. These findings directly contradict the organizational feature of New Social Movement Theory.
RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY

Resource Mobilization Theory appears to more accurately explain the nature of the far right movement in terms of its organizational dynamics, resource management decisions and political infusion. Its main focus is on how the actors develop strategies and interact with their surrounding environment to pursue their interests. Thus, the theory explains social movements in terms of strategic level of action (Tilly, 1985: 740). Resource Mobilization theorists contend that the rise of social movements and the outcomes of their actions are caused by specific decisions, strategies and tactics employed by the actors within the context of power relations (Canel, 1992: 38-40).

Resource Mobilization Theory focuses primarily on group organization through mobilizing and managing resources. This perspective sees resources as being continually created and consumed (Oberschall, 1973: 28). Resources may be material or non-material. While some movements may depend on material resources such as money, labour and means of communication, others may depend on non-material resources such as commitment and group cohesion (Jenkins, 1981: 117).

The New Order Aryans, the Order of the Ku Klux Klan and the Civil Libertarian Council showed marked emphasis on resources as being extremely critical to sustain and mobilize a movement politically. The New Order Aryans used real estate ventures as their main source of generating funds/capital. They also shared resources such as computers, a printing press and knowledge/expertise in various areas. For example, two of its members are financial consultants and three are real estate brokers. This allows for members to share various skills/trades that may otherwise have not been available to them. The Ku Klux Klan
Grand Wizard Richard Bondira offers land auction information so members can use it as a guide to pursue real estate ventures to help the movement. The sale of real estate for profit and magazine subscriptions are the Order’s main source of revenue (The Kourier, January, 1997, No.1: 3-5). The Civil Libertarian Council details its main resources coming from outside financial contributions from the corporate elite, small businesses and individuals who sympathize with its movement. Its circulated newsletter “World Watch” offers insight into their movement’s ideology and goals and helps bring in financial contributions from others. While the Canadian Anti-Communist Association sells memberships to raise funds, the Christian Brotherhood does not. Both groups publish newsletters and pamphlets to attract potential donations to help finance their movement.

Resource Mobilization Theory contends that mobilization is the most critical stage of a social movement ensuring its success. It is argued that without mobilization, an organization may enjoy some tenure but it cannot challenge for power. For mobilization to take place, it is crucial that resources are placed under collective control. Once this is done, the movement must use them to pursue group objectives. The theory proposes four central factors that are necessary for mobilization to occur: organization, leadership, political opportunity and the nature of the political system (Turner & Killian, 1987: 238). Each feature will be examined in terms of the far right movement.

All five far right groups have shown some form of organizational structure that categorizes the various roles and responsibilities of the adherents. Organization appears to be important because it promotes group identity and group solidarity. While the New Order Aryans were the only organization to reveal their volume of membership (17), it is believed
that most of the other groups have limited membership as well. Apart from the Order of the Ku Klux Klan and the Canadian Anti-Communist Association, the other groups do not sell memberships and restrict their membership by design. The New Order Aryans argued that having a smaller organization is necessary if group identity and group cohesion are valued. Fifteen of the interviewed members stated that a larger organization would lead to division and confusion, which would hurt the movement rather than enhance it (Personal Interviews, October, 1996). What is certain is that there is considerable importance placed on the organizational structure of the core membership. The Klan sects have a 13-title hierarchal structure, the Brotherhood has two leaders and an executive council of five, the Civil Libertarian Council has an executive council of eight with one operating as chairperson and the Anti-Communist Association has one leader and a small executive council.

Unlike New Social Movement theorists who contend that movements do not necessarily need to have leaders, Resource Mobilization theorists argue that leaders are critical to a movement's ability to sustain itself and mobilize. A leader facilitates social movements by developing a sense of group coherence, implementing strategies and reducing the group's costs and taking advantages of opportunities for collective action (Canel, 1992: 40). The role most important to the leader to ensure movement success is that of decision-maker; this is the form of leadership more reflective of political movements. This form requires that mobilization occur and come into direct contact with the forces the movement opposes. As an articulator of the movement, the leader must acknowledge the limit and possibility of actions that can be taken. The leader must be aware of ideologies of influential
organizations outside of the movement and attempt to sway these to the movement’s advantage (Turner & Killian, 1987: 379).

Leadership and political opportunity go hand in hand in ensuring the success of a movement. An effective leader will see political opportunity as a vehicle to ensure the movement’s goals can be met. However, of critical importance is that opportunities for collective action come and go. Resource Mobilization theorists contend that the challenge for movements is to identify and take advantage of opportunities for action (Oberschall, 1993: 68-77).

Political opportunity was discussed by all groups as being crucial to the movements’ success. Christian Brotherhood contends that its movement is strong enough to stand on religious and moral issues and campaign for office at the municipal or board of education levels. However, it concedes it is not strong enough to mobilize campaigns at the provincial or federal level. The Brotherhood contends that unless one runs under an established political party label, an independent seat serves no real purpose in terms of movement aims.

The Anti-Communist Association sees the current federal political system in turmoil with parties gaining electoral support in specific regions. The Association sees an opportunity to seize the support of disenfranchised groups, particularly the right wing vote who may disagree with Reform’s regional agenda and the Progressive Conservative’s perceived turn to the political left. They have mentioned the possibility of forming an independent federal party.

The Civil Libertarian Council is using political lobbying as their medium to ensure that movement interests are being represented. They feel that with the Tories in power in
Alberta and Reform as official opposition in federal politics, there is no apparent need to form their own political party. They feel that splitting the right wing vote would hurt the movement rather than enhance it.

The Order of the Ku Klux Klan believes that despite the media's perception that America has shifted to liberalism and is comfortable there, the public is unhappy with the current state of affairs led by a Democratic Party administration. It is contended that members can best serve movement goals by campaigning as part of the Republican Party, an already established political party.

The New Order Aryans conceded that since the political pendulum has shifted so far to the left, many of their beliefs fall outside of the political norm. As a result, it would be futile to organize a political movement because it would not be supported by enough voters to make it effective. Rather, the Reform Party gives them a political vehicle to voice their concerns through political lobbying. The Reform Party is seen as an established political party that best serves their interests and can be successful at swinging the pendulum back to the right. Once Canadians accept Reform's policies, the New Order Aryans would be in a position to lobby for more ultra-right interests, or have members campaign under the Reform Party to ensure movement interests are being represented.

All New Order Aryan members viewed political allegiances as crucial to a movement's success. The group seeks to build collective thought, organize and mobilize. It acts in two fashions. First, it acts as a lobbyist group that puts pressure on government to implement changes to existing laws and policies (e.g., pro-life activism). Second, it seeks an alliance with the federal Reform Party with members helping in various ways to help get
candidates elected. They are involved politically with the Reform Party as individual members only. They remain cognizant of the fact that although the Party encompasses most of their ideology, Reform will most likely ostracize them, at least publicly, to avoid a negative image. Nonetheless, they contend the Party recognizes their status and involvement in the far right and does not discourage it outside of the political sphere.

On November 4, 1996 the Toronto Star published the federal Reform Party’s election platform. Specific objectives included:

“(1) Simultaneously lower income taxes and balance the budget, a combination that would mean drastic cuts in spending, as Ontarians are discovering under Premier Mike Harris.
(2) Cut the capital gains tax in half.
(3) Constitutionally require the government to balance the budget.
(5) Repeal gun-control laws.
(6) Crack down on crime by introducing “two strikes” legislation, toughening parole, and repealing the Young Offenders Act.
(7) “Make families a priority.”
(8) Off-load welfare entirely on to the states/provinces.
(9) Privatize venerable federally supported institutions: CBC, Canada Post and Via Rail.
(10) Scrap the CRTC, the federal regulator of broadcasting that ensures Canadian content in our radio and television.
(11) End affirmative action by repealing section 15(2) of the Charter of Rights, which allows governments to pursue special measures for “the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups... because of race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.”
(12) Propose a constitutional amendment to ban abortion” (Toronto Star, November 4, 1996: A14).

The Reform Party is a contemporary example of how right wing ideals can be legitimized if they are implemented through the channels of the political system. One month prior to the publication of Reform’s election platform, it was presented to me by members of the New Order Aryans of Ku Klux Klan; this is evidence of how its members are actively
involved in the Reform party. Their endorsement of Reform’s objectives illustrate how the far right’s ideals are similar to those of an established political party. However, although there was unanimous support of Reform’s objectives, all members interviewed contended that Reform did not go far enough. New Order Aryans’ objectives were much further to the right, with some that could be defined as radical:

1. Drastic cuts to government bureaucracy, including the elimination of unnecessary federal civil service jobs.
2. Constitutional ban of homosexuality.
4. Total elimination of funding for bilingualism and multiculturalism.
5. Elimination of parole: all criminals must complete their full sentences.
6. Constitutional ban of euthanasia.
7. Capital Punishment introduced in all cases of first degree murder.
8. Life sentences in all cases of second degree murder.
9. Elimination of the federal Senate.
11. Repatriation of persons charged with a criminal offense if they are recent immigrants or naturalized Canadians (The New Order Aryans do not recognize naturalized Canadians as Canadians but as foreigners, and believe that as such, they should not enjoy rights equal to those accorded to native-born Canadians) (Personal Interviews, October, 1996).

The above-mentioned represents the main political objectives the organization under study seeks to attain. Nonetheless, members did have a pragmatic approach to mainstream politics. They recognized that mainstream politics would not allow such far right measures to be implemented for two distinct reasons. First, Reform’s proposals have yet to be embraced by Canadian voters and are up until now, only proposed objectives. Unless Canadians accept Reform policies, the chances of N.O.A. proposals gaining popular support are minimal at best. Second, N.O.A. proposals are defined as being part of a two-tier system with their objectives proceeding after Reform’s. When Reform Party’s objectives are put
into legislation, the national political atmosphere will allow for a further right wing agenda to be accepted. They compared such an approach to that of gay rights activists. It was their contention that the federal government’s systematic concessions to left-wing special interest groups, including those that pushed for bilingualism, multiculturalism and affirmative action policies, created an atmosphere that allowed more radical left wing groups to gain political leverage. They contend that it was primarily due to this process that the radical left has gained legitimacy. The same can occur again if the political atmosphere can be altered; the Reform Party, then, is seen as and used as a political vehicle to pave the way for far right objectives.

Tilly (1978: 52) argues that the emergence of social movements is dependent on the political system allowing for an environment to incorporate the interests of new groups. When larger societal changes generate political volatility and dealignment, new political possibilities occur (Piven & Cloward, 1990: 160). For example, the federal government’s prolonged focus on amending the Constitution (Meech Lake Accord, Charlottetown Accord) sparked divisiveness while various groups tried to defend regional interests. The Reform Party first emerged to defend primarily the interests of the West. The Bloc Quebecois emerged as a powerful political force by defending the regional interests of Quebec. What is certain is that the pre-existing political volatility allowed for such movements to emerge and penetrate the political realm rather successfully.

Tactics and strategies, then, play pivotal roles in ensuring that a movement gains particular success. Of the five far right groups, only two of them (New Order Aryans and The Order of the Ku Klux Klan ) could be visibly identified as far right movements.
Ironically, the others appeared to be at first glance mainstream organizations. For example, the Christian Brotherhood sounds like a religious order whose purpose is solely a cultural/social expression of love of God, family and friends. Unless one comes into contact with their organization's literature, few would believe that the organization espouses far right ideology. The Civil Libertarian Council can be easily mistaken for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. Ironically, while they sound similar, they work for very different causes. Indeed, the Council's literature is concerned more with dismantling individual rights (particularly those granted by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms) than protecting them. In fact, while claiming to defend individualism, it seeks to silence minority interests by granting absolute powers to the majority. The Canadian Anti-Communist Association appears to represent an advocacy group for democracy. Since communism has not been a popular political ideology in Canada and the United States, few would oppose such a name. Nonetheless, there are numerous groups and interests that are targeted by Association that cannot be identified unless persons read their literature.

It can be argued that a specific strategy of these groups is to camouflage their far right ideology with more respectable names. In doing so, they could (1) avoid negative attention and the social stigma attached to being exposed as a far right group, and (2) make certain that people will be more objective and be more willing to read their literature. The key would be to catch their attention; without a negative judgement due to pre-conceived ideas of far right groups, the literature may be able to influence persons and perhaps draw new support (through membership or financial contributions).
The Order of the Ku Klux Klan and the New Order Aryans do not do this; their names clearly identify them as far right movements. Where they differ considerably from the others is that they appear to be less spiteful or critical to specific groups, and steer their criticism to specific issues that the fringe right and neo-conservatives would more likely endorse or perhaps tolerate. For example, the Order of the Ku Klux Klan uses abortion and immigration as points of contention in its literature. It is much more difficult for a movement to be discredited when it represents various issues that people outside of far right circles would endorse. New Order Aryans identified bilingualism and multiculturalism as issues that they oppose. Certainly, many Canadians would concur with them but wouldn't necessarily agree with their racist ideology.

Even with regard to the far right's racist views there appears to be a sharp shift in strategy. Other than limited racist overtures in the Order of the Ku Klux Klan's literature, there was no specific, overt racism toward blacks. Certainly, one would be naive to believe that the far right has changed its views on blacks based on their historical, documented oppression of them. The suggestion can be made that the far right has simply adapted to the current political and social climate to ensure it maintains some form of credibility. Overt racism has been shown to be less tolerated by Canadian society than covert racism, and it can be suggested that the far right is responding to that. Where they have accentuated their level of disdain is the Jewish community. All far right groups wish to remove any conceptualization that Jews are victims of racism in the present time; indeed, they take it one step further and charge that Jews are racists while all other groups are victims.
One strategy used specifically by the New Order Aryans is to suggest that the Klan is not anti-Catholic. Some New Order Aryans went as far as saying that the Catholic religion is the most far right conservative religion in the world and that it has historically championed the rights of the unborn for years. They espoused an appreciation for the traditional Catholic stand against promiscuity, birth control, abortion, and homosexuality, despite all members being Protestant. While such advocacy could be taken at face value, there are a number of points that could raise suspicion. For example, while one could argue that Klan ideology on such issues parallels the religious dogma of the Catholic religion, it also parallels that of orthodox Judaism and Islam. If the Klan were to respect religious conservativism, logic would dictate that they would have to appreciate the ideology of various religions; they do not.

While the New Order Aryans suggested that they are not anti-Catholic, this should not be interpreted as suggesting that Catholicism in itself is a criterion for membership. Since culture is tied to religion, race and ethnicity are more important criteria used to determine eligibility for membership. While it is certain that non-white Catholics would not be admitted, it is uncertain whether all white Catholics would be allowed to become members. For example, one of the New Order Aryans’ targeted groups is Franco-Canadians. Despite many Franco-Canadians being Catholic, it is doubtful that they would be allowed entrance into the Klan. The fact that the New Order Aryans are formed almost exclusively of members of pure English descent raises doubt that the Klan would allow entry to Catholics of any white ethnic background. Perhaps it can be argued that while some Catholics could be admitted entry, Catholics of English descent would probably be given
preference. What is certain is that all data collected did not assess Catholicism to be a specific target of the Klan. Where the Klan has historically emphasized its disdain for religion is its anti-Semitism; Jews were and continue to remain a prominent target of the far right. It can be suggested that while the Klan continues to be primarily Protestant, it may have relaxed its intolerance of Catholicism as a strategy to gain greater sympathy from the Christian population in their opposition to Jews.

It remains unclear as to why such powerful anti-Semitism is more overtly expressed while racist dogma regarding blacks and visible minorities is suppressed. What is certain is that far right groups have identified new points of antagonism and/or have concentrated on specific issues. For instance, all Canadian far right groups studied opposed bilingualism, multiculturalism, abortion and open immigration. When interviewing the New Order Aryans new strategies and tactics appeared. For example, they would argue that multiculturalism and affirmative action are policies that divide Canadians rather than foster unity. It remains difficult to prove that what they really meant to say was that visible minority group interests should be suppressed. Even if one wishes to believe that was their intent, it cannot be proven; it can only be questioned. These are examples of new tactics and strategies adopted by the contemporary far right movement.

Altered tactics and strategies may also have been influenced by fear of criminal prosecution. For example, of 27 far right groups bought to trial in the United States, only one organization was acquitted while all others were either heavily fined, sued, or leaders and/or members were charged and/or sentenced to prison. Many of the groups brought to trial disbanded shortly thereafter. A list of 15 alternative tactics and strategies to ensure that
rightist organizations avoid criminal prosecution was published in the Order of the Ku Klux Klan’s literature. Some of the strategies included:

“1. Be careful about one’s associates and avoid violent or lawless types. Dealing with those who have been convicted of “civil rights” violations is generally unproductive.

2. Avoid anything that could be considered a conflict of interest. Maintain well-structured, rather than loosely-knit organizations.

3. Be careful as to the kind of speech used. Avoid words that threaten, harass, intimidate or violate “hate”, “civil rights” and “housing” laws. Stay within legal limits of a free press and free speech.

4. Observe laws that prohibit conspiracies. Maintain a structured organization which has rules that are followed. Avoid or expel any associates who are unduly unruly or who break the law.

5. Be public and open. Use the courts not only defensively, but offensively. Secret and underground organizations for illegal and violent ends are counter-productive. Avoiding an “underground” mentality altogether gains public trust and support” (The Kourier, May, 1997, Vol.7, No. 5: 11).

It should be noted that as the far right has channeled its goals to include politicization, many groups have altered their strategies to fall within the parameters of the law. In remaining law-abiding (i.e., non-violent), such movements may be able to separate themselves from their radical far right counterparts. This may help reduce their negative stigma, may attract more sympathy/support for their causes and help bring them closer to the political realm.

NSM AND RMT PARADIGMS: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Although New Social Movement Theory does help explain the meaning of the far right movement (i.e., its structural and historical processes), it fails to do this in explaining social action. As a result, there is uncertainty regarding how groups develop strategies and
mobilize resources. Its emphasis on identity comes at the expense of analyzing strategy. Identity only develops in the process of interaction with other forces; therefore, organization and strategy need to be explained as part of this identity (Canel, 1992: 35)

New Social Movement Theory has been ineffective in its definition of social movements pertaining to the far right. Since there is a clear separation from the political realm, NSM theorists deny any connection between civil society and the state or between movements and political reform (Canel, 1992: 36). All five far right groups showed politicization as an integral process for their respective movements to achieve their goals.

Since New Social Movement theorists place an emphasis on discontinuity, no attempt is made to compare movements to more formal organizations. Thus, concepts such as leadership, recruitment processes and goals are not deemed to be pertinent components of social movements (Scott, 1990: 30-32). All far right groups studied did regard these concepts as important. Success, then, is not defined through the creation of alternative lifestyles but through the gains made through politicization. Action, therefore, is not solely expressed but is instrumentally applied through the channels of the political system.

Where Resource Mobilization Theory has been deficient has been in its explanation of the meaning of collective action. While it is possible to see how established organizations are able to mobilize, some aspects remain ambiguous. The theory fails to explain how far right organizations could have become established or how weaker groups can mobilize at all. Examples of this are organizations where the collective rewards are uncertain and considerable risks may be present.
Resource Mobilization's biggest shortcoming has been its neglect of the symbolic dimension of social action. It fails to identify the content and context of social movement activity or the sources of solidarity which are necessary for collective action. By neglecting the expressive feature, Resource Mobilization Theory reduces the far right movement to a political protest (Scott, 1990: 110-111). In this context, New Social Movement Theory better explains the nature of the far right movement.

Resource Mobilization Theory better explains the nature of the far right movement in all other areas. For example, it explains the dynamics of mobilization, the types of resources and organizational features that condition far right activities and emphasizes the relationship between the movements and the political system. Strategic-instrumental action (e.g., resource management, tactics used) has proved to be critical in far right movement success. All far right groups showed how strategies, decisions and resources were used to determine the success of their respective movements. Organizational dynamics and political processes provide continuity among far right members; these present features present in Resource Mobilization Theory.

Both New Social Movement and Resource Mobilization theorists would claim that social movements attempt to change culture/society while the latter claims it is done politically in the sphere of institutional power. The far right movement has defined its measure of success in the gains achieved at the political level. Resource Mobilization Theory thus provides a more comprehensive explanation of the nature of the far right movement.
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The study has presented evidence that Resource Mobilization Theory better explains the nature of the far right movement than New Social Movement Theory. The far right organization, whose members were interviewed, and the four groups studied through content analysis definitively assessed politicization as both the primary goal and the measure of movement success, consistent with Resource Mobilization Theory.

All five organizations showed marked emphasis on resources as being critical to sustain and mobilize a movement politically. While some movement placed greater dependence on material resources such as money, labour and means of communication, others were dependent on non-material resources such as commitment and group cohesion. Placing such resources under collective control allows the movement to more effectively pursue group objectives, again consistent with the theory contention that mobilization is the most critical stage of a social movement insuring its success.

Political opportunity and the nature of the political system are two central factors necessary for mobilization to occur. Of critical importance is that opportunities for collective action come and go. Resource Mobilization theorists contend that the challenge for movements is to identify and take advantage of opportunities for action (Oberschall, 1993: 68-77). Each organization was consistent in assessing political opportunity as being crucial to the movements' success. However, each group emphasized alternative manners in how they would make political gains.

The Christian Brotherhood contends that it can effectively gain proper representation at the municipal or board of education levels, but concedes it is not strong enough to
mobilize campaigns at the provincial or federal level. The Anti-Communist Association sees an opportunity to seize the support of disenfranchised voters in the current federal political arena and are prepared to form their own independent federal party. The Civil Libertarian Council contends that lobbying to the provincial Tories (in Alberta) and federal Reform Party ensures an effective representation for their interests. The Order of the Ku Klux Klan urges its members to campaign for the already established Republican Party to best serve movement goals. The New Order Aryans sees the Reform Party as a political vehicle to voice their concerns through political lobbying.

Tilly (1978: 52) argues that the emergence of social movements is dependent on the political system allowing for an environment to incorporate the interests occur. It can be argued that both fundamental freedoms guaranteed under Canadian law and specific sections of the Charter and Rights and Freedoms have allowed the far right movement an opportunity to have their ideology effectively represented in the political sphere.

The Dictionary of Canadian Law clearly defines three freedoms which are coveted by the organized far right: freedom of religion, freedom of association and freedom of expression. Freedom of religion is defined as “the right to entertain such religious beliefs as a person chooses, the right to declare religious beliefs openly and without fear of hindrance or reprisal, and the right to manifest religious belief by worship and practice or by teaching and dissemination.” (See R. V. Big M. Drug Mart (1985), 13 C.R.R. 64 at 97). Freedom of association is defined as “the freedom to combine together for the pursuit of common purposes or the advancement of common causes. It is one of the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the Charter, a sine qua non of any free and democratic society..., the
freedom to work for the establishment of an association, belong to an association, to maintain it and to participate in its lawful activity without penalty or reprisal is not to be taken for granted...”. Freedom of expression is defined as “to permit free expression to the end of promoting truth, political or social participation and self fulfillment. That purpose extends to the protection of minority beliefs which the majority regard as wrong or false... See R. V. Zundel (1992), 75.C.C.C. (3d)” (Dukelow & Nuse, 1995: 206-207).

The three guaranteed freedoms under Canadian law are allowed for any organization and no opinions, beliefs and ideology can be deemed as wrong unless such forms move beyond legally acceptable boundaries. There needs to be a separation of the radical right and the fringe right at this point. While the radical right often breaks existing laws (particularly with violent actions) to achieve its aims, its fringe counterpart usually stays within the boundaries of existing laws. While its agenda may be essentially racist, the fringe right is more likely to take haven within the granted freedoms provided by Canadian law, particularly the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Indeed, the Charter and Rights and Freedoms has effectively been used by members of the far right to have convictions overturned. Two specific cases that gained national and international coverage were the Ernst Zundel and James Keegstra trials. Zundel was charged under section 177 (now section 181) of the Canadian Criminal Code for spreading false news that was likely to cause social or racial intolerance. Keegstra was charged under section 281(2) (now section 319(2)) of the Canadian Criminal Code for wilfully promoting hatred against an identifiable group (Jews) in Alberta secondary school classrooms. Both men were historical revisionists, contending that the Holocaust was a myth fabricated by Jews and that
there exists a Jewish international conspiracy to control the world. Their propaganda also included derogatory hateful stereotypes of Jews. Although both men were originally charged under the respective sections of the Criminal Code of Canada, both convictions were eventually overturned by the Supreme Court of Canada. The Supreme Court ruled that section 2(b) of the Charter which protects freedom of expression superceded any harm that may have been caused by their actions. Under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, upholding the convictions would be unconstitutional (Kallen & Lam, 1993: 9-10).

This is a clear example of how laws can be rendered useless. Essentially, specific sections of the Canadian Criminal Code may be interpreted by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to determine their constitutionality. This is an example of how the legal and political systems allow for an environment for right wing interests to emerge. Once this is allowed, the environment allows the possibility for the far right to have its interests represented through political infusion.

While it is legally possible for far right interests to be represented in the political arena, it needs to be effectively supported by the electorate to gain any significant status. Tactics and strategies, then, play pivotal roles in ensuring that a movement is successful. Many of the far right groups altered their historical antagonism toward specific groups and tailored their criticism to specific issues that the fringe right and neo-conservatives would more likely endorse or perhaps tolerate. For example, the Order of the Ku Klux Klan points to abortion and immigration in its literature as issues that it firmly opposes. It is much more difficult for a movement to be discredited when it represents various issues that persons outside of far right circles would endorse. New Order Aryans identified bilingualism and
multiculturalism as issues that they oppose. While many Canadians may not necessarily agree with their racist ideology, they could find consensus on such specific issues.

Altering tactics and strategies enable the far right a means to achieve their ends in a variety of ways. First, by focusing on predominantly on issues rather than racial or ethnic groups, they are able to camouflage their underlying racist agenda. In doing so, they are able to find legitimate political concerns and effectively enter the political arena. Issues such as open immigration, bilingualism and multiculturalism are more acceptable points of contention than its historical targets. Second, the far right is able to represent the interests of conservative and neo-conservative voters who may parallel their ideology on specific issues, but not necessarily their racist dogma. Without a significant percentage of electoral support, the far right cannot gain enough political leverage to legislate changes. Gaining the support and confidence of voters is essential; thus, altering strategies and tactics is pivotal. The far right essentially sees altering its strategies and tactics as a natural process that must take place to effectively swing the political pendulum back to the right. Once voters accept certain right wing policies, the political environment will allow for the far right to push for further right wing policies. Thus, the process of achieving its objectives is a continuum.

Although the study’s findings suggest that the far right’s chief aim is politicization, it is difficult to assess the level of threat it can have to the overall society. This is primarily due to the fact that the far right has not yet made significant changes to legislation, and the extent of such changes is dependent on how far the political system will allow their ideology to be translated into laws. While the political system may be seen as a powerful agent of change by many far right groups, it should not be seen as a system of absolute rule. It can
be argued that within this context are checks and balances which restrict a governing political party from imposing unreasonable or controversial legislation that could harm the wider society. For example, at the federal level there are five established political parties that represent five trains of thought. If the far right was to gain exclusive control of one party, others would offer distinct ideological opposition and the political system ensures that debate must precede house voting. The federal Senate reserves the right to veto a bill before it is passed into law. If a bill is passed into law, its constitutionality may be challenged by the Canadian Bill of Rights, the Interpretation Act (which respects the interpretation of statutes and regulations) and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Supreme Court of Canada reserves the right to overrule legal decisions that may have infringed upon rights guaranteed by these fundamental Acts.

What does need consideration is that the study has proven that all five far right groups have been able to penetrate the political system in different manners. It is conceivable that the far right can successfully use freedoms granted under existing laws and more specifically the Charter of Rights and Freedoms as tools for political mobilization. Essentially, it is the legal system itself that allows the far right to emerge and it is the political system that could allow it to sustain and possibly legitimize its ideology.
APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Apart from the socio-demographic and initial general questions, all other questions are tentative. The order will depend on the discussion. These questions are designed to be used as a guide. Depending on the direction of the discussion, some pre-set questions may be irrelevant and be deleted along the way. Conversely, some new questions may arise that may be relevant to the discussion. This loosely-structured design will allow for flexibility.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

How old are you?
Where were you born?
What is the level of your education?
What religious background do you come from?
What is your ethnic background?
What form of occupation do you have?

GENERAL QUESTIONS

What is the reason you joined the New Order Aryans?
What are the criteria for membership?
What does your organization offer to your members? to society?

POLITICAL ISSUES (RMT)

What are the goals of your organization?
What are the tactics and strategies used to achieve your goals?
Is there a particular political party that you support? If so, why?
Has your organization been involved in any political activity in the past or present?
Are there any plans to become involved in any political activity in the future?
What government policies do you agree or disagree with?
What policies would your organization like to see removed and/or implemented?
How does your group raise funds/capital?
How does your group use financial resources to achieve its goals?
Does your organization place greater priority on resources or on volume of membership?
Why?
What role does the political system play in achieving your goals?
What relevance does leadership have for group organization?
What relevance does leadership have for the group seeking to achieve its goals?
SOCIAL/CULTURAL ISSUES (NSM)

What relevance do values and lifestyles have for your organization’s agenda?
What values and lifestyles does your organization find acceptable? Why? How does it seek to promote them?
What values and lifestyles does your organization oppose? Why? How does it seek to change them?
What roles do members serve in your organization?
How often do members get together?
What social activities happen when they get together?
How important is it for your group to promote its ideology to others? Why?
What importance does freedom of speech have for your group?
Is it necessary to change mainstream ideology? Why? How is this best achieved?
APPENDIX B

INFORMATION SHEET

The following interview is part of the researcher’s study of the organized far right. Its purpose is to explore far right ideology. It is understood that the information obtained from this interview will be used for a Master of Arts Thesis in Sociology. Furthermore, it is agreed that:

* Participation in this study is voluntary, and you reserve the right to withdraw from this study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any question that you prefer not to answer.

* All responses are confidential and all steps will be taken to ensure your anonymity. Therefore, it is agreed that you shall not be identified from the information which you provide unless you authorize otherwise.

* The researcher will be allowed to take notes during the interview process to ensure that misrepresentation will not occur.

* Any questions, concerns, or comments can be addressed directly to Frank Tridico during the interview, or by contacting the researcher at (519) 252-3652.

* Although this study has been approved by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ethics Committee, you retain the right to discuss any procedures with the departmental Ethics Committee. Contact can be made through the Head of the Department for a referral at (519) 253-4232.

* You reserve the right to request a copy of the results, as well as a full explanation of the research upon completion by contacting the researcher directly. As well, a copy of this thesis will be available in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Windsor by November 1997.
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VITA AUCTORIS

Frank Tridico was born in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario on January 14, 1969. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology in June, 1991 and his Honours B.A. in Criminology and Sociology in June, 1993 at the University of Windsor. He is currently a candidate for Master's degree in Sociology at the University of Windsor and hopes to fulfill his requirements in Fall 1997. Frank Tridico is one of the founding members of the Calabrians Multicultural World Society, Inc. in Sault Ste. Marie and has been a Race Relations consultant for the organization for the last three years.