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Right-Wing Extremism in Canada

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RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN CANADA

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INTRODUCTION

Canada's new Counter-Terrorism Strategy notes that violence from domestic terrorist groups including white supremacists remains a reality in Canada, but relatively little contemporary research exists on Canadian right-wing extremism. Unclassified US Homeland Security and FBI reports have noted a national resurgence in right-wing extremism over the last decade, and its adherents have adopted concerns over immigration as a call to action following the economic downturn. Similar European groups have also emerged based on anti-Islamic sentiment. Given the rapid rate of immigration into Canada, it is plausible that right-wing extremist violence could flare up along the lines of similarly motivated attacks in the United States and Europe.

This working paper provides an initial, comparative assessment of right-wing extremism, political violence, and terrorism in Canada. By comparing Canadian right-wing extremist organizations and individual radicals with those in the United States and Europe, policymakers and public officials can gauge the relative security threat posed by these groups and manage the unique challenges they create. Through an examination of case studies and incident data, this working paper offers contemporary research exploring right-wing anti-immigrant sentiment and other drivers.

The following research questions guided this project: 1) What factors may promote violent right-wing extremism in Canada, and how is it connected to similar movements in the US and Europe? 2) What impacts might this violence have on radicalization within other communities? 3) What strategies can security and intelligence organizations employ to detect or reduce violent right-wing extremism?

With a better understanding of this phenomenon, leaders can develop effective, evidence-based policy for preventing future right-wing extremist violence and terrorism, including acts aimed at undermining the integration of immigrants within Canadian society.



FRAMING RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

There are no consensus definitions for extremism or terrorism. Extremism is not defined in the Canadian Criminal Code, nor is it defined in major US strategy documents geared towards countering violent extremism (Norton and Leuprecht 2013, 6-7). A working definition of extremism would be holding political, social, economic, or religious views that propose far-reaching changes in society that conflict with, or pose a threat to, the democratic order, while supporting criminal and non-criminal acts to achieve these aims. Violent extremism can be defined as serious threats, harm, murder, mayhem, and damage to property which are motivated and justified by extremist beliefs. The Canadian Criminal Code identifies a terrorist act to be committed “in whole or in part for a political, religious, or ideological purpose, objective, or cause” with the intention of intimidating the public “...with regard to its security, including its economic security, or compelling a person, a government, or a domestic or an international organization to do or to refrain from doing any act” (Criminal Code, R.S.C. 1985, s. 83.01). Terrorist activities can produce death and bodily harm, risks to the health and safety of the public, significant property damage, and interference or disruption of essential services, facilities, or systems. Terrorism represents a specific form of violent extremism that is criminal and political in nature.

Terrorism and extremism have been used in the name of many different ideologies, creeds, cultures, nationalities, and causes. The reasons groups and individuals resort to ideological violence are myriad. Extremists are not born; they are forged through a process of radicalization. Some seek adventure, some revenge, while others wish for status or to develop an identity as part of a larger movement or cause.

Right-wing extremism, in particular, stems from a complex set of interrelated, and occasionally, conflicting beliefs systems, making it a difficult subject to frame. Right-wing extremism encompasses a large, loose, heterogeneous collection of groups and individuals espousing a wide range of grievances and positions, including: anti-government/individual sovereignty, racism, fascism, white supremacy/white nationalism, anti-Semitism, nativism/anti-immigration, anti-globalization/anti-free trade, anti-abortion, homophobia, anti-taxation, and pro-militia/pro-gun

rights stances (Simi et al. 2013, 655; Ross 1992, 73; Gruenewald et al. 2013, 1012; DHS Rightwing Extremism 2009, 4). Right-wing extremists may reach these stances from either religious interpretation or secular reasoning, and there is often conflict amongst various groups within this sphere. The similarities in targets and modus operandi suggest that these actors are best evaluated as a highly complex, yet interconnected community (Bowman-Grieve 2009, 991).

There are several somewhat distinct types of right-wing extremists. One typology defines right-wing extremists thusly:

1. General white supremacists (e.g., Aryan Brotherhood, Ku Klux Klan)
2. Single issue terrorists fixated with one particular ideological issue, such as taxes or abortion
3. Neo-Nazis who maintain an anti-Semitic, racist, nationalist, and homophobic ideology
4. Militia and patriot movement members skeptical of the centralized government
5. Christian Identity adherents that believe whites are the true “chosen people”
6. Sovereign citizens that hold the federal government is currently illegitimate (Gruenewald et al. 2013, 991)

Some right-wing extremists overlap these types; skinheads come in many varieties, and the violent, racist skins float amongst several of these categories.

RIGHT-WING AND RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM FACTORS IN CANADA

There are relatively few publications about right-wing extremist violence and terrorism in Canada, and many Canadians believe racism and anti-Semitism have not been prevalent in their society (Ross 1992, 76). Indeed, Canadians often overlook their own history related slavery and other human rights abuses. Troubled race relations and associated violence, however, have long been a part of the Canadian story. As Jeffrey Ian Ross noted, “Right-wing violence in Canada can be traced back as far as 1784 when Canada’s first race riot took place in the Nova Scotian towns of Shelburne and Birchtown” (77). Racial segregation was legalized in schools in Ontario in 1849 (Barrett 1989, 237). There was substantial right-wing violence against Chinese and Japa-



nese migrants in British Columbia, as well as general right-wing extremism connected to labour throughout the history of Canada (Ross 1992, 95). As late as 1953, the Canadian Immigration Act included “climatic suitability” as a factor in determinations, leading some prominent immigration scholars to conclude that Canada’s pre-WWII immigration policy was “formally and explicitly racist” (Barrett 1989, 238). So why are so few aware of the right-wing extremist roots of conflict in Canada? There has been little research on the issue, in part due to a lack of data. Again, Jeffrey Ian Ross, who authored pioneering research on terrorism and right-wing violence in Canada, stated, “[O]nly a fraction of all right-wing activity is reported to the media or translate into criminal charges which make their way into the courts or produce written sources available in archives” (1992, 95). Aside from common racism, nativism, and anti-Semitism, Canada has played host to a number of fringe religious communities, which have produced violent individuals and terrorist campaigns.

Though not a right-wing extremist group (since they lacked racist, homophobic, and other ideological features) (Ross 1992, 82), the Sons of Freedom Doukhobors typify how a small segment of a fringe religious community can generate widespread political violence. The Doukhobors, whose name means “Spirit Wrestlers” in Russian, are a Christian sect that immigrated to Canada in 1899. More radical members are highly antiauthoritarian, denying the authority of the government to send their children to public schools, and they periodically demonstrate their freedom through communal burning of material possessions, including their clothing (Anderson and Sloan 2003, 114-115). Of the tens of thousands of Doukhobors in Canada, approximately 2,500 in eastern British Columbia were associated with the radical Sons of Freedom (114-115). Following early protests against public schooling in Saskatchewan in 1929, the Sons of Freedom conducted over a hundred bombing and arson attacks in the 1960s against government buildings, businesses, railroads, power stations, and co-religionists, accounting for the second largest source of political terrorism in Canada (Mullins 2013, 735; Anderson and Sloan 2003, 114-115). Few Canadians are familiar with this terrorist campaign and the associated fringe religious community. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish where violence emanating from these quarters fits, as in the more recent case involving the Christian fundamentalist community surrounding

Wiebo Ludwig. Though often described as environmentally motivated, the Ludwig case had more to do with a revenge campaign from a small fringe religious commune against neighbouring energy developers than a high-minded defense of nature (York 2011). Ludwig's Tickle Creek community was associated with a series of bombings and sabotage, as well as the shooting of a teenage girl. Violence can and does spring from these groups occasionally without warning.

The role of Canadian fringe religious traditions in the world of right-wing extremism is most prominent in the development of the Christian Identity movement. Christian Identity beliefs grew out of Anglo-Israelism, also called British-Israelism. Born in Newfoundland, Richard Brothers, developed this doctrine in Britain in 1794, claiming that Anglo-Saxons were direct descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel deported by the Assyrians in the 8th century BC (Bowman-Grieve 2009, 991; Anderson and Sloan 2003, 171; Kaplan 1995, 50). Anglo-Israelism, however, was not strongly anti-Semitic, and it gained favour amongst various British elites. A Canadian, W.H. Poole, brought Anglo-Israelism to North America, and Canada transformed Anglo-Israelism into the fiercely anti-Semitic Christian Identity theology, which was subsequently exported to the United States (Kaplan 1995, 50-51). Another Canadian, William J. Cameron used his position as chief spokesman for Henry Ford and editor of the *Dearborn Independent* to spread anti-Semitism south of the border, particularly through the 1920s series "The International Jew" (51). In the 1930s, prominent figures like Cameron, Howard Rand, C. F. Parker, and Clem Davies carried out meetings in Vancouver, which were later attended by American right-wing leaders such as Gerald L. K. Smith, Wesley Swift, Bertrand Comperet, William Potter Gale, and Reuben Sawyer, who first brought Christian Identity beliefs to the Ku Klux Klan (51-52).

Since that time, Christian Identity teachings have become a major driver inspiring right-wing extremists in North America and beyond, blending together white supremacy and populism (Anderson and Sloan 2003, 171). Like the right-wing extremism itself, Christian Identity adherents are diverse and decentralized; there is no central church or leader, though there is shared literature from publications like *Jubilee* and the *American Bulletin* (Kaplan 1995, 53; Bowman-Grieve 2009, 992). As for the central tenets of this belief system, Christian Identity doctrine suggests that non-whites are "beasts of the field" descended from prototypes of true humans,



Jews descend from Eve and Satan (when he appeared as a serpent in the Garden of Eden), and the white race descends from Adam (Anderson and Sloan 2003, 171; Kaplan 1995, 53). Furthermore, “true believers” must discover the conspiracy behind the founding of the State of Israel, and they can only bring about God’s Kingdom on earth by fighting the forces of darkness (identified as Jews, non-whites, Communists, and others) (Anderson and Sloan 2003, 171-172; Kaplan 1995, 52). Christian Identity teachings easily meld with other conspiratorial beliefs such as ZOG and the New World Order, and this doctrine helps to unify various right-wing extremists, including groups like the Aryan Nations, Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazis, skinheads, and general survivalists (Anderson and Sloan 2003, 172). This belief system has inspired much of the right-wing terrorism and extremism over the last forty years. Canada’s role in ascribing a strongly anti-Semitic bent to the Christian Identity movement should not be overlooked.

Another fringe religious movement coopted by right-wing extremists in North America and Europe is Odinism, or Ásatrú. Using Viking traditions, white supremacists have combined these pagan beliefs with elements of the occult, Nazism, and even Christian Identity theology (Kaplan 1995, 60). As with the larger right-wing extremist milieu, there is considerable variation amongst Odinist followers, or Ásatrúrmenn. They range from neo-Nazis, to bikers, to skinheads, and beyond, linking Canadian and American Odinists to those in the United Kingdom, Germany, Iceland, Scandinavia, South Africa, and Australia (62). Modern, radical Odinism took on its anti-Semitic character from the writings of Australian Alexander Rud Mills following WWII, and it began to spread in the late 1960s by Else Christensen, who went on to publish the Toronto-based *Sunwheel* and the American-based *The Odinist* (60-62). Christensen’s Odinist Fellowship ultimately became a prison ministry, geared towards rehabilitating white prisoners by instilling them with racial pride (61-62).

Since the 1970s, Canada has also played temporary host to outspoken Holocaust deniers and historical revisionists like Ernst Zündel, a German citizen who became the largest Canadian purveyor of Holocaust denial literature (Michael and Minkenberg 2007, 1118). Zündel ran afoul of Jewish organizations with his radical writings and his Canadian Holocaust Remembrance Association, and he had his application for Canadian citizenship denied twice (Kaplan 1995, 69-

70; Michael and Minkenberg 2007, 1118). Zündel moved briefly to the United States in 2000. In February 2003, the US Immigration and Naturalization Service arrested Zündel and deported him to Canada, whereupon the Canadian Security Intelligence Service designated him a national security risk, based on his associations with white supremacists and other right-wing extremists (Michael and Minkenberg 2007, 1118). Zündel was ultimately deported to Germany in March 2005, where he was charged with inciting racial hatred and defaming the memory of the dead (1118). There has been significant coordination amongst Canadian and US revisionists, who deny the systematic extermination of Jews and others during WWII (which they contend was a lie to support the creation of Israel and to undermine the Nazi regime) (Kaplan 1995, 69). Other prominent Canadian revisionists include James Keegstra and Malcolm Ross.

EXTREMIST ACTIVITY AND GROUPS IN CANADA

Despite the dearth of research on the subject, there has been a consistent level of right-wing extremism in Canada since World War II. A chronology of suspected incidents of right-wing extremism in Canada over the last 50 years appears at the end of this working paper.

In the 1960s, Canada saw the return to right-wing extremism, following a period of calm (Ross 1992, 79). Many right-wing groups have engaged in extremism at various points since, including:

- Aryan Guard
- Aryan Nations
- Berzerker Boot Boys
- Blood & Honour
- Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee
- Canadian Association for Free Expression (CAFÉ)
- Canadian National Socialist Party
- Canadian Nazi Party
- Celts of Quebec
- Church of the Creator (COTC)
- Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform (C-FAR)



- Combat 18 (C-18)
- Concerned Parents of German Descent
- Edmund Burke Society
- Hammer Skins
- Heritage Front
- John Birch Society
- Ku Klux Klan
- Nationalist Party of Canada
- Northwest Imperative
- Social Creditists of Quebec
- Social Credit Party of Alberta
- Western European Bloodline (W.E.B.)
- Western Guard Party
- White Aryan Resistance (WAR)
- White Boy Posse

Stanley Barrett observed four historical periods of right-wing extremism in Canada: 1) the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s; 2) Pre-WWII fascism; 3) Neo-Nazism in the 1960s; and 4) Neo-fascism in the 1970s and 1980s, during which some 45 right-wing extremist organizations formed (1989, 225 & 230). Perhaps the most notable example of pre-World War II right-wing extremism emanated from Adrian Arcand and the Parti National Social Chretien. Arcand advocated Hitler and fascism during his junket to New York in 1937, which garnered him articles in *Life*, *The Nation*, and *Foreign Affairs*; he was later interned in New Brunswick during the war (226-227). His Parti National Social Chretien was later combined with the Canadian Nationalist Party to become the National Unity Party.

Jeffrey Ian Ross described four waves of extremist activity following WWII: 1) Edmund Burke Society attacks of the mid-1960s, 2) Western Guard attacks against Communists in the late 1960s, 3) Ku Klux Klan attacks during the mid-1970s and early 1980s, and 4) Skinheads attacks against visible minorities, Jews, and gays (1992, 84-85). His research showed the vast majority of attacks occurred in Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia, where large visible minority and im-

migrant populations live (87). Barrett too found that the majority of right-wing extremist groups' membership was concentrated in these provinces, though these groups wanted to mount nationwide campaigns in favour of white supremacy, immigration reform, and anti-Semitism (1989, 231).

Starting in the 1960s, the fascist Canadian Nazi Party, led by John Beattie and David Stanley, garnered significant attention (and protestors) with its outdoor rallies at Allan Gardens in Toronto that drew crowds of close to 5,000 people, and generated reciprocal opponents like the N3 Fighters Against Racial Hatred (Barret 1989, 229-230). In the 1970s, the Western Guard carried out a series of public attacks in concert with its drive to manipulate public opinion via its propaganda and recorded telephone hate messages (Ross 1992, 79; Barrett 1989, 235). In the 1980s, the Aryan Nations, which was founded on Christian Identity theology, came to Canada, and its national leader, Terry Long, sought to build a training camp in Caroline, Alberta (Ross 1992, 79-80). The Aryan Nations compound in the United States at Hayden Lake, Idaho brought together many different extremists and survivalists, and its prison ministry was seminal in the development of the Aryan Brotherhood (Kaplan 1995, 53). Canadian extremists again reached beyond these shores when the Heritage Front's Wolfgang Droege and Don Andrews represented Canada at Muammar Qaddafi's April 1987 Third Position conference, attended by some 2,000 delegates (Wright 2009, 202). Several Canadian groups have had a significant influence on the global right-wing extremist stage, notably the Ku Klux Klan, the Church of the Creator, and Skinheads.

Ku Klux Klan (KKK)

The Ku Klux Klan is the oldest right-wing extremist group active in Canada. The KKK crossed into Canada from the United States in the 1920s, with Klan groups appearing in Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Quebec under various names, such as the Kanadian Ku Klux Klan, the Ku Klux Klan of Canada, and the Ku Klux Klan of the British Empire (Barrett 1989, 225-226). The Ku Klux Klan has thrived on racist, nativist, and anti-Semitic sentiments that have appeared both explicitly and implicitly within the fabric of Canadian history, society, and institutions over time (224). A fiercely Protestant organization, the Ku Klux Klan seeks to de-



fend Western Christian civilization by repatriating or eliminating Jews, visible minorities, homosexuals, Communists, and Catholics (224).

A Klan klavern appeared in Montreal in 1921, followed by one in Vancouver in 1924. The British Columbia Klan claimed five MLAs amongst its members, and it built onto extant anti-Asian sentiments and calls for deportation of Chinese, Japanese, and Indian immigrant workers (Barrett 1989, 226). In Alberta, the KKK focused more on European immigrants and Catholics, and the Klan made major inroads in Saskatchewan, boasting between 15,000-40,000 members (226). The Canadian Klan was violent from the beginning, starting with a rash of anti-Catholic arsons in 1922 in Quebec, followed by a 1924 arson at St Boniface College in Manitoba that killed 10 Catholic students, another at Juvenaut College, and a church robbery in Samia, Ontario (Ross 1992, 78).

After WWII, the Klan settled into its familiar pattern of attacks against visible minorities, Leftists, Jewish, and immigrant communities. Anti-black violence in August 1965 at Amherstburg, Ontario brought additional notoriety (Ross 1992, 79). In the 1980s, the Canadian KKK was further influenced by David Duke via Alexander McQuirter (Barrett 1989, 234). In the early 1990s, Dennis Mahon of Oklahoma also crossed the border to better encourage and network with Canadian klaverns (Kaplan 1995, 48). Like its US brethren, the Canadian Klan has lost many of its leaders to prison (Ross 1992, 79).

Church of the Creator (COTC)

Ben Klassen, the founder of the Church of the Creator (an anti-Christian, racist organization), developed his radical ideas during his formative years in Canada from 1925-1945, which included his time at the University of Saskatchewan. Klassen studied history and determined that all religions were manufactured (Michael 2006, 562). He later studied engineering at the University of Manitoba, enlisted in the Canadian Officers Training Corps, and hoped to join the Axis forces in Germany (562).

Klassen established his “church” in the United States in 1973. He authored several books, in-



cluding *Nature's Eternal Religion* (1973), *The White Man's Bible* (1981), and *Salubrious Living* (1982). Klassen felt Christianity was fundamentally flawed by recognizing Jews as the chosen people, and he believed that it was a conspiracy to subvert the white race, part of a millennia-long struggle between Jews and whites (Michael 2006, 564). He felt an original, ethnically based religion could advance the white race. Creativity sought to define the white race's purpose in the world, and it asserted itself to answer all fundamental questions about life, advocating Latin as a universal language and a diet of uncooked fruits, nuts, and vegetables (565). Klassen and his Creators originally spread his gospel via his books and the newspaper *Racial Loyalty*, which attacked every belief system from Mormonism to Odinism (Kaplan 1995, 63). Klassen felt the Christian Identity and Odinist movements were misguided and would lead white supremacists astray. Like the Third Position, Creativity identifies the entire white race as its prime concern (Michael 2006; 566). Klassen corresponded with right-wing extremist leaders, including William Pierce, Tom Metzger, Else Christensen, and many others (568). Klassen ultimately committed suicide in 1993, but the COTC continued under a series of successors, most notably Matthew Hale who later renamed the group the World Church of the Creator.

Creativity is fervently anti-Semitic and racist, and its adherents naturally became involved in random and planned acts of violence, though this conduct was usually disavowed (Kaplan 1995, 63). The COTC claims to be "a Professional, Non-Violent, Progressive, Pro-White Religion," promoting "White Civil Rights, White Self-Determination, and White Liberation via 100% legal activism," but it is also known for developing the concept of "RAHOWA," an unavoidable "Racial Holy War" (Bowman-Grieve 2009, 993). The term RAHOWA is now used as shorthand by right-wing extremists across the world, spreading far beyond the COTC.

The concept of RAHOWA and Creativity were later spread by the Canadian band RAHOWA. Formed in 1989 in Toronto, the band RAHOWA was led by George Burdi, who studied political science at the University of Guelph before spreading Creativity's teaching to skinheads (Michael 2006, 569-70). RAHOWA was influenced by the British skinhead band Skrewdriver. In 1993, Burdi sought to advance white power music by launching Resistance Records (which was later acquired by William Pierce—chairman of the National Alliance and author of *The Turner*



Diaries—the book that motivated the Oklahoma City bombing) (570). Burdi also organized COTC paramilitary training with a former member of the Canadian Forces Airborne Regiment, and he had strong ties to Wolfgang Droege of the Heritage Front (570). RAHOWA earned the ire of reactionary groups, such as Anti-Racist Action. Burdi was eventually arrested and imprisoned for attempting to circumvent Canadian hate speech laws with his Detroit-based company (570). After his release, he disassociated himself from the COTC.

By some estimates, the World Church of the Creator grew to encompass thousands of members with chapters in half of the US states and several foreign countries (Michael 2006, 572). Matthew Hale continued to grow the movement, reaching out to women as well as prisoners. Indeed, two members connected to the female prison ministry—Erica Chase and Leo Felton—were arrested for planning to ignite a race war in Boston via a bombing campaign (573). Following 9/11 and Benjamin Smith’s shooting spree that killed nine, Hale rose on the US Federal Bureau of Investigation’s radar, and he was later imprisoned for forty years for soliciting the murder of a judge (Bowman-Grieve 2009, 993). Canadians played a major role in the diffusion of Creativity, its associated music, and its concepts like RAHOWA. Creativity has had a disproportionate influence on right-wing extremism across the world, and it has also helped to spread ZOG conspiracies and to further radicalize Odinists (Michael 2006, 577-578). Creativity has also made inroads into the much wider world of skinhead culture.

Skinheads

Skinheads emerged from the British punk music scene, and their fashion was adopted from Nazism to maximize shock value (Cotter 1999, 115-116). The skinhead movement began in East London in the 1960s, then in the 1970s it coalesced with the punk scene, and by the 1980s it became associated with right-wing groups like the UK’s National Front (Bowman-Grieve 2009, 994). The National Front identified immigrants and Jewish elites as the banes of the British working class. The white power skinhead band Skrewdriver sprang from this movement, along with its front-man Ian Stuart, who went on to found Blood & Honour/Combat 18 and spread neo-Nazi skinhead culture (Bowman-Grieve 2009, 994; Cotter 1999, 115). Stuart would later give inflam-



matory speeches during his concerts. Many skinheads are motivated by unemployment and economic dislocations, and attack immigrants out of the belief they are stealing jobs or housing from the white working-class (Cotter 1999, 112 & 124). Many skins accept a global racial kinship to whites in North America, Europe, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia (128).

Skinheads came to Canada in the 1980s (Ross 1992, 79). Skinheads number in the tens of thousands with members in over 30 different countries, comprising vast transnational networks (Cotter 1999, 112 & 135). According to a previous survey of worldwide Neo-Nazi Skinheads by the Anti-Defamation League, Canada was ranked 11th in terms of skinhead activity, which is remarkable given the relatively small population of the country (114). Canadian skins have been labeled anti-American, anti-immigrant, anti-free trade, and anti-homosexual, and many have belonged to the cadet corps or military reserve (Ross 1992, 96). Canadian skinhead organizations have included Longitude 74, the White Federation, the Aryan Resistance Movement (ARM), and the United Skinheads of Montreal (96), however most skins have no formal organizations, forming loose gangs of free-floating individuals (Cotter 1999, 114). Skinheads may be Neo-Nazi, Odinist, COTC, or white supremacist in orientation, but there are also non-racist and even anti-racist skins, such as the Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARPs) who wear green jackets (Kaplan 1995, 72). Despite these variations, the fundamental constants in the skinhead subculture are white power music and violence (Bowman-Grieve 2009, 994; Cotter 1999, 121).

Along with music, skinheads and other right-wing extremists attract youth with propaganda, video games, and websites (Bowman-Grieves 2009, 996). One of the most notorious right-wing extremist virtual communities is Stormfront. Established in March 1995 by Don Black, Stormfront features news, community discussion boards, and even scholarship competitions (1996-97). There is a section of the Stormfront website devoted to Canada.¹ Stormfront and other websites like Eurodatelink also provide other connections amongst right-wing extremists, including “whites only” dating services (Bowman-Grieve 2009, 1004).

The Canadian KKK, Church of the Creator, Skinheads, and many other groups have kept right-wing extremism and violence an ever-present threat within the Canadian context. There

¹ <http://www.stormfront.org/forum/f40/>



has also been violence associated with the anti-abortion movement, including cross-border cases like James Charles Kopp. There is growing concern that violence will also erupt from the Freeman on the Land movement and sovereign citizens who declare themselves to be beyond the government's jurisdiction. Though certainly active, Canadian right-wing extremists have so far been less effective in carrying out physical attacks than their brethren south of the border (Barrett 1989, 235).

CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Like Canada, the US has a long history of racism, xenophobia, nativism, and hate crimes. There are 150 hate crimes reported in the United States every week (Deloughery et al. 2012, 11). According to the Extremis Crime Database (ECDB), there were some 540 financial schemes perpetrated by far right-wing groups and individuals from 1990-2010 including tax avoidance (Freilich et al. 2014, 376). There were also over 370 homicides committed by far right-wing extremists in the US over the same period claiming over 600 lives (376-378).

US right-wing extremists are fragmented and heavily influenced by religion, particularly Christian fundamentalism (Michael and Minkenberg 2007, 1120; Bowman-Grieve 2009, 991; Michael 2006, 561). The American right-wing is often fratricidal, with frequent infighting, intrigue, and murders (Bowman-Grieve 2009, 994). American right-wing extremists are heavily influenced by cherry-picked martyrs in whose memory they often dedicate their actions. Examples include: the North Dakota tax protestor Gordon Kahl, The Order's Robert Mathews (killed in a shootout on Whidbey Island, Washington), and Randy Weaver's wife and son killed during an armed standoff in Idaho at Ruby Ridge (Barkun 2007, 118). The Branch Davidians of Waco, Texas were held as martyrs by right-wing extremists, including Timothy McVeigh, as well as gun rights advocates, anti-government militia groups, and others (118). This is surprising, in that, the Branch Davidians themselves had little in common with most right-wing extremists, especially white supremacists. The Branch Davidians lived in a multi-ethnic community, and half of their members were people of color and citizens of countries like Australia, Canada, Israel, Jamaica, Mexico, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom (118). The Branch Davidians did not dis-



play the rampant anti-Semitism that pervades much of the radical right. Indeed, David Koresh and his followers felt a strong connection to Israel, and Koresh believed his followers would fight on the Israeli side during Armageddon (118).

American right-wing extremists have also been very active in abortion related-attacks since the 1980s. Anti-abortion terrorists have resorted to arsons, shootings, and bombings, which have often killed case-workers, doctors, and others. In the 1990s, tactics changed to include targeting individual workers. Members of the Army of God killed several people, including: the March 1993 murder of Dr. David Gunn in Florida; the July 1994 shooting of Dr. John Britton and his bodyguard in Florida; and the December 1994 attacks by John C. Salvi III, killing two receptionists and wounding five others in Brookline, Massachusetts and damaging a clinic in Norfolk, Virginia. James Charles Kopp, who murdered Dr. Barnett Slepian in New York in October 1998, and other violent freelancers have emerged from groups like Rescue America and Defensive Action. Kopp is believed to have carried out attacks in both the United States and Canada.

The demobilization of the Patriot movement following the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing may have led to growth in the white nationalist and related supremacist organizations (Wright 2009, 189-90). Several organizations and right-wing leaders, such as David Duke, Tom Metzger, Jared Taylor, and William Pierce, tried to shift the attention away from antigovernment militias towards non-European immigration to expand the movement's base and attract recruits (192). It is interesting that William Pierce helped turn the page on Patriot and militia violence, since he was the author of *The Turner Diaries* which helped inspire Timothy McVeigh to attack the Oklahoma City Federal building. *The Turner Diaries* is the most widely read book on the radical right, which has hundreds of thousands of copies in circulation (Barkun 2007, 122). The transfer of former Patriots into the ranks of white nationalist groups led to tremendous growth in the number and size of organizations in the late 1990s, which was also aided and abetted by the growth of white power music and the Internet (Wright 2009, 192).

The September 11, 2001 attacks also inspired a resurgence in white supremacy, anti-Semitism, and anti-immigrant sentiments. There was a spike in anti-minority hate crimes in both the



US and Canada in the weeks following the 9/11 attacks (Deloughery et al. 2012, 14). Right-wing extremist leaders used the 9/11 attacks to criticize pro-Israel US foreign policy and to highlight the dangers of immigration and diversity as an attack on white culture (Wright 2009, 195 & 207). Outspoken leaders included Matthew Hale, David Duke, August Kreis, and Billy Roper. The National Alliance's William Pierce described al Qaeda and the Taliban as freedom fighters and condemned the war in Afghanistan (196-197). Right-wing extremists used this occasion to reach out to foreign terrorists who also opposed the US government and the state of Israel (197).

There has been a national resurgence in right-wing extremism over the last decade, which has adopted concerns over immigration as a call to action and has been fuelled by the economic downturn. The FBI has identified right-wing extremist groups as the first category of serious domestic terrorist threats, and its investigations have targeted groups like the KKK, COTC, Aryan Nations, National Alliance, and Christian Identity followers (Michael and Minkenberg 2007, 1113).

The US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) identified the election of an African American president and the deep recession, with its credit squeeze, home foreclosures, and high unemployment, as unique drivers for right-wing radicalization (DHS Rightwing Extremism 2009, 2). DHS noted similarities between the current economic and political climate with those in the 1990s, which spurred the growth of the right-wing extremist movement (2). Other aggravating factors were the anticipation of additional firearm restrictions and the potential for a small number of returning military veterans to join right-wing militias or groups (2-3). The former factor turned out to be a false alarm, while the latter has shown itself to be true, despite the controversy at the time. Much political hay was made over the DHS analysis which suggested returning vets would be attractive right-wing recruits, owing to their combat skills and experience (3). The DHS report concluded:

DHS/I&A assesses that the combination of environmental factors that echo the 1990s, including heightened interest in legislation for tighter firearms restrictions and returning military veterans, as well as several new trends, including an uncertain economy and a perceived rising influence of other countries, may be invigorating right-wing extremist activity, specifically the white su-



premacist and militia movements. To the extent that these factors persist, right-wing extremism is likely to grow in strength. (8)

A 2008 FBI report also noted that some returning Afghanistan and Iraq veterans have joined white supremacist or other right-wing extremist organizations (DHS Rightwing Extremism 2009, 7; Simi et al. 2013, 655).

Research has shown a clear trend of right-wing extremist recruitment of active military personnel and veterans. This occurs at both the leadership and foot soldier levels. Indeed, right-wing extremist groups are more likely to attract recruits with a history of military service than any other type of domestic terrorist organization in the United States over the last 25 years, and federally-convicted right-wing extremists disproportionately possess military experience (Simi et al. 2013, 660 & 665). One study showed that nearly half of these newly minted extremists had negative experiences during their military service (664). One powerful recent example includes Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma City bomber, who had well-documented misgivings about his military service in the first Gulf War. Of course, military service does not breed extremism, but the link between soldiers and right-wing violence should not be surprising given the history of many of these organizations. After all, the KKK's founding members were Confederate Army officers and soldiers, and since 1953, nine US right-wing extremist organizations have been established by active military personnel, including generals, lieutenant generals, lieutenant colonels, admirals, and commanders (655). Organized groups are only part of the puzzle when it comes to understanding right-wing extremism in North America.

Lone Wolves and Small Cells

Much of the modern right-wing extremist threat comes from lone wolf actors and small, free-floating cells. Though often associated with Louis Beam and his doctrine of "leaderless resistance," right-wing lone wolves can be traced back to the National Socialist Liberation Front's Joseph Tommasi in the early 1970s; the term was later popularized by leaders like Tom Metzger (Spaaij 2010, 859). Louis Beams's Leaderless Resistance encourages individuals and small cells to act independently of each other and carry out attacks on their own schedules, in order to avoid



government surveillance and law enforcement infiltration (Barkun 2007, 122). It was also meant to insulate right-wing leaders from legal troubles following attacks.

There is little empirical research on lone wolf terrorism, since most researchers and theoreticians focus on the role of leaders and organizational dynamics in recruitment, radicalization, and operations (Spaaij 2010, 855; Gruenewald et al. 2013, 1008). Lone wolves usually operate without formal guidance from or strong connections to an organized extremist group, though they are often heavily influenced by extremist literature, discussion groups, and websites (Spaaij 2010, 856). Though not confined to right-wing extremists, lone wolf attacks are chiefly linked with white supremacists, Christian Identity adherents, tax protestors, survivalists, sovereign citizens, and antigovernment activists in the United States (Spaaij 2010, 855; Gruenewald et al. 2013, 1006). The threat from lone wolves in the United States has been consistent over the last two decades, representing a significant proportion of the attacks in the country (Gruenewald et al. 2013, 1019; Spaaij 2010, 859). The Department of Homeland Security assessed that “the threat posed by lone wolves and small terrorist cells is more pronounced than in past years,” and that “[W]hite supremacist lone wolves pose the most significant domestic terrorist threat because of their low profile and autonomy—separate from any formalized group—which hampers warning efforts” (DHS Right-wing Extremism 2009, 3 & 7). Part of this concern relates to the threat from lone wolves armed with chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) weapons.

Lone wolves and small cells have demonstrated the capability to acquire and use CBRN weapons, as shown by Bruce Ivins in his anthrax letter campaign in 2001 that killed five and sickened seventeen others while disrupting U.S. postal and government facilities (Ackerman and Pinson 2014, 229). Other prominent examples of right-wing CBRN acquisition by small cells include: Larry Wayne Harris (*Bacillus anthracis*) (229), the Minnesota Patriots Council (ricin), and Ray Adams and Samuel Crump (ricin) (Ackerman and Pinson 2014, 229; Associated Press 2014). William Krar, who hatched a plot to attack the United Nations, also managed to stockpile and enormous amounts of guns, ammo, and chemical weapons (Michael and Minkenberg 2007, 1113). In 1993, Thomas Lavy was caught trying to enter Canada at the border with 130 grams of 7% pure ricin (Ackerman and Pinson 2014, 229). The new Profiles of Incidents involving CBRN

by Non-state actors Database (POICN) database has recorded at least twenty-nine uses of CBRN materials as weapons by lone actors since 1990 (239). Right-wing extremists have also been active in carrying out conventional attacks and plotting assassinations and mass murders.

A list of selected right-wing extremist incidents and arrests in the United States over the last decade appears below:

April 1, 2004

Oklahoma City, OK

Sean Michael Gillespie videotaped himself firebombing the Temple Bnai Israel synagogue with a Molotov cocktail. Though he had once been a member of the Aryan Nations, he later left the group and told authorities he was a racist skinhead acting on his own.

September 11, 2006

Davenport, IA

David Robert McMenemy drove his gasoline-soaked car through the glass door of Edgerton Women's Health Care Center. He mistakenly thought that the clinic performed abortions, and he planned to blow up his car once he drove inside. He was sentenced to five years in prison.

April 4, 2009

Pittsburgh, PA

Richard Poplawski killed three police officers. An ardent racist, he wrote about ZOG and antigovernment conspiracies (DHS Rightwing Extremism 2009, 3).

July 29, 2008

North Bethesda, MD

Collin McKenzie-Gude attacked a senior citizen in a carjacking attempt at White Flint Mall while trying to evade capture for his plot to assassinate then-Presidential candidate Barack Obama along a convoy route. He pleaded guilty to possession of bomb components, three high-powered rifles, two shotguns, hundreds of rounds of ammunition, and over fifty pounds of dangerous chemicals (Mickolus 2013, 34).

October 22, 2008

Alamo, TN

Daniel Cowart and Paul Schlesselman, two neo-Nazi skinheads, were arrested in Crockett County for planning to assassinate then-Presidential candidate Barack Obama. They also hoped to attack a high school in order to kill eighty-eight African Americans and decapitate fourteen others, but a preparatory robbery failed. They had practiced by firing at the Church of Christ of Beech Grove in Brownsville, Tennessee, and had already acquired a .308 rifle, a sawed-off shotgun, a handgun, and several swords and knives (43).

May 31, 2009

Wichita, KS

Anti-abortionist extremist Scott Philip Roeder murdered Dr. George Tiller. Roeder killed Dr. Tiller during a Sunday morning service at his church.



June 10, 2009

Washington, DC

James W. von Brunn, an 88-year-old white supremacist and Holocaust denier, attacked the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. Days after President Obama's speech at Buchenwald, the shooting killed Stephen Tyrone Johns, and von Brunn later died from his wounds on January 6, 2010.

February 18, 2010

Austin, TX

Andrew Joseph Stack III, a 53-year-old software engineer, flew his plane into the Internal Revenue Service building, killing himself and Vernon Hunter and injuring thirteen people. He blamed the agency for his financial troubles, and he espoused anti-government views.

March 29, 2010

Philadelphia, PA

Norman Leboon, who had previous arrests on terrorist threats and assault, was charged for threatening to kill U.S. Representative Eric Cantor, the only Jewish Republican in the House of Representatives. On March 23, 2010, a bullet had been fired at Cantor's office (125).

March 29, 2010

Detroit, MI

A Federal Grand Jury indicted nine members of the Christian warrior Hutarees for seditious conspiracy and attempted use of weapons of mass destruction. The group had planned to kill a Michigan police officer and attack other law enforcement personnel at the funeral. The Hutarees were preparing for a battle with law enforcement based on their belief in an apocalyptic war with the Anti-Christ (124-125).

May 10, 2010

Jacksonville, FL

The Islamic Center of Northeast Florida was attacked with a pipe bomb. On May 4, 2011, Sandlin Matthews Smith was killed as an arrest warrant in connection to the bombing was being served at Glass Mountain State Park near Orienta, Oklahoma (133).

January 18, 2011

Spokane, WA

Kevin Harpham, a white supremacist, placed a Swiss Army backpack bomb along the route of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day parade. The device contained shrapnel and a chemical found in rat poison (175).

December 4, 2011

Fort Stewart, GA

Four active and former Army soldiers plotted anti-government domestic terrorist attacks and killed a former soldier and his girlfriend. When they were arrested, they had eighteen rifles and pipe bomb components. The FEAR (Forever Enduring Always Ready) group planned to take over Fort Stewart, bomb federal, state, and local officials, attack parks and dams, and assassinate the President (264).

August 5, 2012

Oak Creek, WI



Wade Michael Page killed six and injured three at a Sikh temple before killing himself. He had been a dedicated white supremacist for over a decade, and he became attracted to neo-Nazism during his six years in the military (Simi et al. 2013, 654).

November 19, 2012

New York City, NY

An Afghan immigrant in Manhattan who issues the call to prayer was bitten, slashed, and stabbed a dozen times as he received an anti-Islamic rant (Mickolus 2013, 282).

April 13, 2014

Overland Park, KS

Frazier Glenn Miller, a former KKK Grand Dragon, was arrested for killing three outside a Jewish community center and a senior living community the day before Passover. None of the victims were Jewish. A former Green Beret in Vietnam, Miller had been forced to leave the military over his racist views (Yaccino and Barry 2014).

CONDITIONS IN EUROPE

The primary ideological drivers for European right-wing groups are unemployment, immigration, nativism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Islamic sentiment (Wright 2009, 206). These right-wing extremists tend to follow a more secular ideology than those in the United States, however strong ties exist amongst North American and European organizations and individuals. Leaders like Tom Metzger, William Pierce, David Duke, and others have built European networks during their many travels, and David Duke created the European-American Unity and Rights Organization (EURO) that featured Paul Fromm, the leader of Canada's anti-immigrant CAFÉ group (197-198). Western Europe has seen several cases of right-wing cells and individuals perpetrating violence at immigrant populations and other targets inspired by similar attacks in North America over the last twenty years.

In the United Kingdom, David Copeland offers a prime example of this type of radical violence. After leaving the British National Party, Copeland became the regional leader of a small neo-Nazi organization, and he started an improvised bombing campaign which was inspired by Eric Rudolph's 1996 Centennial Park bombing at the Olympics in Atlanta (Spaaij 2010, 863). His 1999 campaign killed three and injured over 100, attacking black, South Asian, and gay community targets.



In Austria and Germany, Franz Fuchs, an engineer, carried out a bombing campaign from 1993 to 1997 that targeted immigrants and officials working on behalf of them, killing four and wounding at least ten. He used twenty-five mail bombs and three pipe bombs (Spaaij 2010, 866). Claiming to be part of the “Bajuvarian Liberation Army,” a fictitious group seeking the unification of Germanic peoples of the upper Danube valley, Fuchs was arrested in October 1997 after blowing off his hands and one forearm. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in March 1999. A recluse, he sought to fight discrimination against German-Austrians by attacking visible minorities and refugees (865).

Germany has seen a resurgence in right-wing extremism over the last decade, where right-wing extremists have continued to evolve following unification into various fascist, racist, and xenophobic factions (Michael and Minkenberg 2007, 1114). For example, the German Interior Ministry recorded some 8,000 hate crime incidents involving the extreme right in the first eight months of 2006, marking a 20% increase over 2005 and almost double the 2004 numbers, and the German domestic security agency—Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz—recorded a 27% increase in all right-wing associated crime in 2005 (Wright 2009, 205). Proportionally, there are many more neo-Nazis and skinheads in the former East Germany (Michael and Minkenberg 2009, 1114). Germany outlawed Nazi related propaganda and materials. Consequently, some of these items are imported from radicals overseas. In 1995, the American leader of a neo-Nazi group in Nebraska, Gerhard Lauck, was arrested and deported to Germany and tried as a primary supplier of Nazi propaganda in Europe (1117). Police cooperation has also flowed in the opposite direction. In 2000, the US Marshals arrested Hendrik Albert Viktor Moebus, a leader in the European white power skinhead music scene, for German parole violations (1117).

The most prominent, recent case of right-wing extremist violence in Germany is the Doerner Murder Series, named for the kebabs sold by some of the victims. A small cell of neo-Nazis were linked to ten murders of Turkish and Greek merchants and a female police officer from 2000 to 2007, along with a dozen bank robberies and a bombing in Cologne in 2004 (Mickolus 2013, 213). They were also known as the Brown Army Faction. Two members (Uwe Boehnhardt and Uwe Mundlos) died prior to arrest, and the other two were captured in November 2011. Three of



them had previous criminal records from a failed 1998 bombing plot, though they were not kept under surveillance following release (213).

Neo-Nazism, anti-Semitism, and anti-immigrant sentiment are also showing up in Scandinavia. There is also considerable influence from North America. In Sweden, the White Aryan Resistance (Vitt Arikst Motstand or VAM) is named after the American group (following Tom and John Metzger's travels there), and it follows the same storyline of opposition to ZOG (Wright 2009, 196; Bowman-Grieve 2009, 994). Norway has seen the most dramatic expression of right-wing extremist violence.

On July 22, 2011, Anders Behring Breivik, detonated a car bomb near the prime minister's office in Oslo, killing eight and injuring thirty, then he carried out a ninety-minute shooting spree at a youth Labour Party political conference on Utøya Island, killing sixty-nine people and injuring dozens more (over sixty of the victims were teenagers) (Fimreite et al. 2013, 845; Mickolus 2013, 196-197). Breivik's writings were meant to inspire other lone wolves and suggested that CBRN weapons could be useful in follow-on attacks, and he indicated that his attacks were a reaction to Norway's multicultural society (Ackerman and Pinson 2014, 229; Fimreite et al. 2013, 845). The son of a Norwegian diplomat, Breivik was a fundamentalist Christian, belonged to an anti-immigrant/anti-Islamic party, and his manifesto—*2083: A European Declaration of Independence*—was a call for civil war (Mickolus 2013, 196-197). He used his trial as a soapbox for his radical beliefs. On February 6, 2012, he rationalized his attacks, stating, "The attacks on the government headquarters were preventive attacks on traitors to the nation, people committing or planning to commit cultural destruction, including destruction of Norwegian culture and Norwegian ethnicity" (196-197). He eventually received a twenty-one year prison sentence.

ASSESSMENT AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Canada has been home to a collection of right-wing extremists that have been surprisingly influential in the global movements associated with white supremacy, Neo-Nazism, Identity Christianity, Creativity, skinheads, anti-abortionists, tax protesters, sovereign citizens, and others. Based on historically strong connections and exchanges between Canadian extremists and



those abroad, it would be imprudent to presume that Canada is immune to the importation of the rising right-wing extremism in the United States, Europe, and beyond. As shown in this working paper, the relationships between Canadian right-wing extremists and their peers in the US and Europe have evolved over time.

Right-wing extremist organizations have sprung up out of inspiration from outside groups. Where radical beliefs belonging to the KKK were once imported into Canada, ardent anti-Semitic beliefs were exported out of Canada in the form of Identity Christianity and Creativity. Racist skinhead rock flowed into Canada from Europe, and white power music from RAHOWA! flowed back out. American and European right-wing extremist leaders and Holocaust deniers found eager Canadian hosts, and Canadian extremists are often represented at extremist conclaves and conferences abroad. Extremist enterprises have been set up to transfer funds, propaganda, and hate music across borders, and individuals have crossed the same borders to plan or conduct attacks, as in the Lavy and Kopp cases. Indeed, national borders are becoming less salient within these circles, given Third Position beliefs and calls for pan-white unity.

Though smaller in size than the US and European counterparts, it would also be shortsighted to assume that the Canadian right-wing movement is in a permanent state of disarray or impotence (Barrett 1989, 237). In the past, Canadian right-wing extremists have managed to secure outside financial contributions, along with music and literature sales, member dues, legitimate business, and illegal activities, including the Canadian KKK's trade in counterfeit passports and identification documents (237). Canadian security officials and intelligence organizations should remain vigilant in monitoring the wide variety of financial and non-traditional exchanges (music, conspiracy theories, pamphlets, etc.) involved in right-wing extremist circles in order to detect radicalization.

As noted above, there is a tradition of veiled and explicit racism, anti-Semitism, nativism, and fringe religious extremism in Canada that has helped to promote right-wing violence. Anti-immigrant sentiment continues to crop up across Canada. The most recent example is the anti-immigration flyers from Immigration Watch Canada in Brampton in April 2014 contrasting



European and South Asian immigrants, and this particular provocation appears to be a continuation of racist vandalism targeting a Sikh elementary school there in 2012 (Alyward 2014). These types of agitation may lead to follow-on or reciprocal radicalization of elements within Canadian immigrant communities. Research conducted as part for the 2011 Metropolis BC project, “Countering Radicalization of Diaspora Communities in Canada,” showed that large immigrant communities often contain their own small, violent elements that are quite capable of lashing out both abroad and within Canada.

There are historical precedents for reciprocal radicalization between right-wing extremists and other groups. For example, there was a clear pattern of KKK rallies in Toronto that would, like clockwork, invite confrontations with visible minorities, Jews, and left-wing groups (Barrett 1989, 236). Groups like Anti-Racist Action emerged to challenge right-wing extremists head on, and prominent figures like Zündel often received death threats or were attacked themselves. Similar patterns emerged with white power music concerts and skinhead gatherings, and there were anti-racist skins (SHARPs and others) that formed to fight their racist brethren. Within British Columbia, there were also small-scale, tit-for-tat exchanges between white supremacists and First Nations communities. This exchange included the June 9, 1999 pipe bomb planted in a rest stop by Peter Anthony Houston, who pleaded guilty to intent to cause an explosion and possession of an explosive substance (CBC News 2009). There was a subsequent conviction for additional, unplanted pipe bombs. As part of this campaign, a skinhead associate of Houston attacked a group of First Nations youth in East Vancouver, and he was, in turn, later beaten by members of the Native Youth Movement. Since right-wing violence does not happen in a vacuum, it is likely to leave lasting impacts on the affected communities. Given the viciousness of right-wing attacks and the propensity of some immigrant communities to feel unprotected by or distrustful of policing and security services, the possibility of reciprocal radicalization seems quite plausible, given historical precedents with other communities targeted by right-wing organizations and individual extremists.

It is clear that ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and nativism all have a part to play in radicalizing right-wing extremists, but racism and anti-Semitism are also social and political phenomena that



only explain part of the threat (Barrett 1989, 240). After all, much of right-wing extremist violence is perpetrated by individuals that are outside of big organizations and are only loosely connected to the larger movement, if at all. The radicalization processes of lone operators and small cells are not well-studied, and militating factors are varied and possibly unique for some individuals, making generalized causal analysis difficult or suspect (Spaaij 2010, 867).

Future extremism and terrorism will be increasingly perpetrated by individuals or small groups of like-minded people. These smaller groups can harbour ideologies that are more extreme and aberrant than those of larger organizations, and they may be more willing to inflict mass casualties. Amateur terrorists have no organization or sponsor to protect, see no reason to limit their violence, fear no backlash, and, like Timothy McVeigh, feel they need a body count to attract attention. It is a major challenge for counterterrorism bureaucracies to coordinate resources and track terrorists and fanatics organized into sprawling, loose, and “leaderless” networks.

The US has started coming to grips with the issue of lone wolf terrorism, as demonstrated by the “lone wolf” provision of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) under Section 6001(a) of the 2004 Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (IRTPA) (Spaaij 2010, 855). This provision allows for FISA-authorized searches of non-citizens engaged in international terrorism without requiring evidence linking those persons to an identifiable terrorist organization or foreign power. Like the United States, Norway proposed legislative changes to deal with “solo-terrorism” in May 2013 (Fimreit et al. 2013, 851). Canada would do well to reorient more of its focus towards detecting and intercepting lone actors. Given its history and social conditions, Canada will likely see future incidents similar to the 2011 Breivik attack in Norway and the 2012 Page shooting in Wisconsin. Canada’s Counter-Terrorism Strategy suggests growing recognition of this issue:

As seen in Oklahoma City in 1995 and in Norway in 2011, continued vigilance is essential since it remains possible that certain groups—or even a lone individual—could choose to adopt a more violent, terrorist strategy to achieve their desired results. (Public Safety Canada 2011, 9)

The United States has spent many years attempting to disrupt right-wing elements within its midst. In 1964, the FBI expanded its Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) surveillance



to cover “white hate groups,” and the FBI headquarters and field offices approved some 289 different programs of action against right-wing extremist organizations (Michael and Minkenberg 2007, 1111). These efforts, no doubt, contributed to the distrust amongst their leaders and may have spurred on some of the implosions of these organizations. The United States has also sought to combat right-wing extremism through assistance from non-governmental organizations, like the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League (1111). The number of non-governmental watchdogs has multiplied in recent years, and they have been quite effective in disrupting some of the larger organizations. Indeed, many of these groups have proven successful in bankrupting right-wing extremist organizations through civil litigation. Examples include the Southern Poverty Law Center’s judgments against the Aryan Nations, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the United Klans of America, and White Aryan Resistance (1112). Canadian watchdog groups and NGOs have also sought to blunt right-wing extremist action and rhetoric, particularly in terms of Holocaust denial. Still, there is room for more engagement of civic leaders, charities, and immigrant interest groups in identifying hate crimes and low-level violence before they build into more lethal manifestations.

Beginning with the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001, Canada has restructured its legal framework and security apparatus, through budgetary increases for national security, which by 2011 exceeded CAN \$92 billion (Mullins 2013, 736). However, more can be done to articulate the threat, as well as the history of political violence and extremism in Canada. Canadian strategy documents use “violent ideologies” interchangeably with “violent extremism,” but it is important to separate mere rhetoric from radical acts (Cragin 2014, 6). It is crucial that the public support counterterrorism and counter-radicalization measures. Without this public confidence, support for prudent policy can wane at the worst times. For example, though Norwegians are generally more supportive of counterterrorism than Americans whose level of support for counterterrorism measures actually declined after the Breivik attacks (Fimreite et al 2013, 839 & 848-850). Ultimately, the success or failure of any security policy rests upon its legitimacy in the eyes of the public. Providing clear-eyed assessments, accessible information, and evidence-based policy are the keys to ensuring a safe and secure Canada.



- June 3, 2006* *Toronto, Ontario*
At least twenty-eight windows of a Toronto mosque were smashed.
- September 2, 2006* *Montreal, Quebec*
A firebomb was hurled at the front door of an Orthodox Jewish school.
- April 4, 2007* *Montreal, Quebec*
An improvised explosive device was detonated outside the Ben Weider Jewish Community Center on the second night of Passover.
- September 8, 2008* *Calgary, Alberta*
An Asian woman was attacked by two suspected skinheads.
- October 21, 2009* *Hamilton, Ontario*
The Beth Tikvah group home received an envelope containing a suspicious white powder.
- August 10, 2010* *Edmonton, Alberta*
Police discovered multiple improvised explosive devices on two individuals after stopping a stolen vehicle.
- September 4, 2012* *Montreal, Quebec*
A gun enthusiast, Richard H. Bain, killed a stagehand and injured another person while attempting to assassinate Quebec's newly elected premier with an assault rifle. Before his arrest he set fire to the hall's back door and later declared, "The English are waking up!"

Additional right-wing extremist incidents are also documented in online chronologies, such as Anti-Racist Canada's "[A History of Violence: 1970-2014.](#)"



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APPENDIX: SUSPECTED INCIDENTS OF RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN CANADA OVER THE LAST 50 YEARS

The following chronology was developed using the new Canadian Incident Database (CIDB) under development by the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security & Society (TSAS). The CIDB is funded by Defence Research and Development Canada (DRDC) and managed by Public Safety Canada under the National Security Data Initiative (NSDI) of the Canadian Safety and Security Program (CSSP). The purpose of the CIDB is to provide unclassified information to national security researchers, which can be used to identify patterns and trends in order to improve our understanding of terrorism and extremist crime in Canada.

TSAS aims to create a publicly accessible website featuring all terrorist incidents since 1960 with a Canadian connection (including those occurring overseas involving Canadian perpetrators and victims). TSAS is developing the CIDB by building on previous Canadian data collection work. TSAS believes the CIDB will offer a distinctively Canadian contribution to the intense international debates on terrorism and extremism, and this vital effort has the potential to fundamentally change the landscape of security research, policy, and practice in Canada by shaping the next generation counterterrorism scholars and leaders. The initial public version of the CIDB database and website is slated for release by March 2015.

The CIDB draws data from a variety of original sources, including pre-existing incident datasets, official unclassified government reports and chronologies, court documents, books, scholarly articles, media accounts, and reports and websites from reputable non-governmental organizations and watch-groups. The following chronology is not exhaustive. It is intended to show a selection of right-wing extremist incidents involving violence, serious threats, and significant property damage, which demonstrates the ongoing threat over the last five decades.

October 9, 1960

Montreal, Quebec

Six Hungarians were charged with an anti-Semitic demonstration and assault outside a downtown café in Montreal.

April 2, 1961

Oakville, Ontario

A Jewish merchant's store was looted and vandalized with anti-Semitic slogans, causing up to



\$25,000 damage. Swastikas were also painted on a McMaster University professor's home.

August 9, 1965

Amherstburg, Ontario

Three black youths were kicked off the premises of a model-car raceway after hearing a shot fired over their heads. A cross was burned on the main street of Amherstburg, Ontario, the primarily black First Baptist Church was desecrated with a warning that "The Klan is coming," and the town sign had "Home of the KKK" printed on it. Two weeks later attempts were made to burn the church down.

May 18, 1966

Ottawa, Ontario

The premature explosion of a bomb in a House of Commons washroom killed the would-be bomber, who had wanted to make a speech demanding that Members of Parliament pay less attention to partisan interests and more to those of ordinary working people. He was refused permission by the Commons, and planned to throw the bomb into the chamber from the gallery. A search of his Toronto room produced six more dynamite sticks, two crude bombs, and anti-government writings.

January 24, 1967

Montreal, Quebec

Two juveniles claiming membership in the Nazi Party were arrested after throwing an improvised explosive in the entranceway of Paul Sauve Arena in Montreal during a dance.

June 22, 1970

Toronto, Ontario

Members of the Edmund Burke Society attacked and injured William Kunsler while delivering a speech at Convocation Hall at the University of Toronto and a melee ensued.

August 18, 1970

Hamilton, Ontario

Three youths were arrested after ransacking Progressive Books and Periodicals and threatening a man with a shotgun. Charges included threatening, pointing a firearm, and illegal possession of an offensive weapon, along with assaulting a police officer and obstructing police.

March 28, 1971

Toronto, Ontario

Edmund Burke Society members instigated a fight during a University of Toronto conference featuring Quebec labour leader Michel Chartrand and Montreal lawyer Robert Lemieux. Convocation hall audience members were beaten, kicked, clubbed, and sprayed with an irritant that caused temporary blindness. Five men were arrested and charged for a number of offenses.

July 11, 1971

Toronto, Ontario

Edmund Burke Society members walked through Chinatown chanting, "Red out, kill Mao", and waved Canadian and Nationalist Chinese flags. They spat on men outside a Communist Chinese bookstore, and a fight ensued.



October 18, 1971

Ottawa, Ontario

Members of the Canadian Hungarian Freedom Fighters and the Edmund Burke Society attended a demonstration on Parliament Hill, at which Gaza Matrai assaulted Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin.

November 21, 1971

Toronto, Ontario

Four letter-bombs were sent to Jewish targets in Toronto.

January 2, 1972

Toronto, Ontario

After receiving telephone bomb threats, the police bomb squad removed an incendiary device from the New Yorker Cinema which was showing *The Garden of Finzi-Continis*, a film about the persecution of Jews in Italy around World War II.

May 4, 1972

Toronto, Ontario

Gaza Matrai and an accomplice sprayed anti-personnel gas causing ear, nose, and throat irritation inside the packed, 450-seat auditorium at the St. Lawrence Centre's Town Hall during a conference about homosexuality. The crowd was driven out, and one man was treated at the hospital. Matrai and his companion were sentenced to sixty days.

May 23, 1973

Toronto, Ontario

A right-wing demonstrator punched, kicked, and spat at a Toronto lawyer and his wife after the opening night of the movie *Hitler: The Last Ten Days*.

December 7, 1973

Surrey, British Columbia

Multiple smoke bombs were ignited and thrown at the residence of a South Asian family, and rocks were thrown into the living room while youths chanted racist taunts.

April 7, 1974

Toronto, Ontario

Western Guard members smashed windows and attacked and injured fifty-six people attending a screening of a film supporting African native rule at the University of Toronto. The ringleader was found guilty of property damage and was sentenced to twenty-eight days in jail.

June 16, 1974

Toronto, Ontario

Western Guard members dressed in Nazi regalia started a fight in the television studios of Channel 79 where a black musical group—*Crack of Dawn*—was performing. The band leader was struck by a metal pipe requiring hospital treatment, and a woman suffered internal bleeding.

July 26, 1974

Toronto, Ontario

Forty white power extremists held a demonstration celebrating Mussolini's birthday at the Yonge St. Mall. They injured onlookers in fights using wood, chains, and cable. Four men were arrested.



August 22, 1975

Toronto, Ontario

The editor of the Caribbean community newspaper “The Islander” in Toronto received a stick of dynamite in the mail with a death threat note that was signed by the White Nationalist Revolutionary Party.

August 25, 1975

Ottawa, Ontario

The Jamaican High Commissioner received a stick of dynamite from the Toronto-based White Nationalist Revolutionary Army.

February 28, 1976

Toronto, Ontario

Two self-described Nazis and Western Guard affiliates made anti-Semitic remarks and injured the master of Bethune College at York University, over the college’s namesake—a hero for the Chinese Communist army’s war against the Japanese.

June 23, 1976

Toronto, Ontario

Two Western Guard members committed arson against the home of a suspected Communist. In November 1977, Western Guard members were put on trial for arson and mischief and were subsequently convicted of possessing explosives and conspiring to commit arson.

December 31, 1976

Toronto, Ontario

Two youths attacked two South Asian immigrants on a subway train at Rosedale station. They cut and broke the nose of another man who tried to stop the beating. They were later charged with assault causing bodily harm.

October 6, 1978

Vancouver, British Columbia

Six white men attacked a South Asian man and an Asian woman in a Simon Fraser University parking lot.

October 1979

Toronto, Ontario

A white male and female carrying KKK cards punched a black male in a Toronto subway station and temporarily blinded him with tear gas. They were later convicted of assault and possession of a prohibited weapon.

November 12, 1979

Vancouver, British Columbia

After a period of intimidation, two men killed three members of a South Asian family by setting a fire on the porch of the family’s home. The two men were found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to eight and six years, respectively.

July 1980

Winnipeg, Manitoba

A gang wearing KKK T-shirts attacked four black youths, slashing one of them in the face with a



knife.

November 22, 1980

Burnaby, British Columbia

Homes of Nigerian students attending the British Columbia Institute of Technology were spray painted with KKK and racist slogans. Garbage was dumped on their porches and lawns.

January 1, 1981

Richmond, British Columbia

A group of whites armed with baseball bats beat three Fijians and vandalized their car.

January 3, 1981

Delta, British Columbia

After a series of vandalism incidents, a firebomb was thrown into the home of a South Asian family, destroying the main floor of the house. The family's three cars were also damaged.

February 11, 1981

Delta, British Columbia

After receiving previous threats and broken windows, a South Asian family had their home damaged by four firebombs. The victims' home was located about two miles from the home of another South Asian family which was heavily damaged by a firebomb the previous month.

February 15, 1981

Merritt, British Columbia

An South Asian church was bombed at 3:00 AM causing approximately \$5,000 in damage. The incident was one of several attacks on the South Asian population in the area, which police suspected were committed by racist right-wing groups.

May 25, 1981

Matsqui, British Columbia

Four white males set fire to a South Asian farmer's home and two cars in the Fraser Valley, causing over \$6,000 in damage.

May, 28, 1981

Vancouver, British Columbia

After receiving hate mail and threats for its opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, the Vancouver Rape Relief House was ransacked.

June 1, 1981

Vancouver, British Columbia

A twenty-one year-old South Asian man was beaten by three white males and subsequently died from his injuries.

September 9, 1981

Vancouver, British Columbia

A South Asian man was shot with a three-inch knitting needle as he waited at a bus stop. The needle narrowly missed his heart, and it was labeled, "With the compliments of the KKK."

January 4, 1982

Vancouver, British Columbia

While five KKK members were distributing right-wing literature outside the Communist Party



of Canada's Vancouver headquarters, one member assaulted the manager of a bookstore, and he was later convicted and fined.

February 8, 1983

Toronto, Ontario

Three KKK members pleaded guilty to conspiring to commit murder a former Klan security chief. One of the defendants was already serving a term for conspiracy to overthrow the government of Dominica.

June 29, 1983

Toronto, Ontario

An arson attack on the Morgentaler abortion clinic caused nearly \$50,000 in damage, after receiving a bomb threat two weeks prior. The arsonists also wrote a threat to assassinate Dr. Morgentaler on the wall of the clinic.

January 17, 1986

Toronto Ontario

While blocking the entrance to the Mogentaler clinic, two abortion protesters attacked the chief physician, breaking his nose. They were fined and sentenced to one year of probation.

February 19, 1986

Surrey, British Columbia

A Canadian Immigration Centre was targeted with an improvised explosive device that included shrapnel. The device was accompanied by a note which opposed immigration from Third World countries into Canada.

June 5, 1987

Toronto, Ontario

Two Molotov cocktails were thrown at the home of a lawyer who had earlier done research on behalf of the Canadian Jewish Congress of Inquiry on War Criminals, causing a small fire.

June 27, 1987

Calgary, Alberta

The New Revivalists of the National Socialist German Worker's Party claimed the fire-bombing of a Calgary mosque, which was reported as the third attack on the mosque on three consecutive Fridays. A large swastika and a racial slur were spray-painted on the driveway.

June 4, 1988

Calgary, Alberta

Two former members of the Alberta Ku Klux Klan were charged with conspiracy to commit murder and conspiracy to commit property damage and injury by explosives. On February 27, 1989 they pleaded guilty to conspiring to blow up the Calgary Jewish Centre and were sentenced to five years in prison.

April 15, 1990

Edmonton, Alberta

Two neo-Nazi skinheads assaulted an Edmonton broadcaster with a club at his home. They later pleaded guilty to the attack.



- April 6, 1991* *Calgary, Alberta*
The Jewish Memorial Temple in Calgary had two Molotov cocktails thrown through a window.
- June 30, 1991* *Winnipeg, Manitoba*
Racist skinheads were alleged to have beaten a man to death in an area known for previous assaults on gay men.
- January 24, 1992* *Toronto, Ontario*
The front doors of the Morgentaler abortion clinic were fire-bombed.
- May 18, 1992* *Toronto, Ontario*
The Morgentaler abortion clinic was severely damaged by an arson attack.
- November 30, 1992* *Montreal, Quebec*
Four neo-Nazis were alleged to have murdered a man in a park whom they believed to be homosexual.
- April 8, 1993* *Beaver Creek, Yukon Territory*
Thomas Lewis Lavy was caught trying to enter Canada with 130 grams of ricin, \$89,000, a shotgun, rifles, and thousands of rounds of ammunition. He committed suicide while in custody for terrorism charges in 1995.
- May 29, 1993* *Ottawa, Ontario*
Right-wing extremists attending a Heritage Front event and planned concert by RAHOWA clashed with anti-racism protestors at Parliament Hill. Several of the right-wing extremists were convicted of assault, including the leader of RAHOWA.
- June 6, 1993* *Toronto, Ontario*
After attending a RAHOWA concert, a neo-Nazi assaulted a Sri Lankan immigrant, leaving him partially paralyzed. He later pleaded guilty to aggravated assault.
- November 8, 1994* *Vancouver, British Columbia*
Attempted murder of an abortion doctor by a sniper while having breakfast in his kitchen.
- November 10, 1995* *Hamilton, Ontario*
Attempted murder of an abortion doctor by a sniper while in his home.
- April 29, 1996* *Calgary, Alberta*
A secretary at the Jewish Federation Centre was wounded by a gift-wrapped bomb, which only ignited the detonator but failed to detonate the main charge.



November 11, 1997

Winnipeg, Manitoba

A sniper attempted murder of an abortion doctor while he was outside his home.

January 4, 1998

Surrey, British Columbia

The caretaker of the Guru Nanak Sikh Temple was beaten in the temple's parking lot and later died. Five members of White Power pleaded guilty to manslaughter in 1999, receiving 12-15 year prison sentences.

June 9, 1999

Fort St. John, British Columbia

A white supremacist planted a pipe bomb filled with rocket fuel and black powder in a rest stop restroom as part of a campaign to provoke an area First Nations community. Peter Anthony Houston pleaded guilty to intent to cause an explosion and possession of an explosive substance on September 8, 2008.

June 16, 1999

Edmonton, Alberta

Two employees of an Edmonton TV station were wounded by a mail bomb disguised as a videotape. The bomber had previously sent two letter bombs to the Edmonton and Calgary police chiefs. The bomber was later sentenced to twelve years in jail.

July 11, 2000

Vancouver, British Columbia

Attempted murder of an abortion doctor by stabbing. The attack was later claimed by the "Baby Liberation Army"—an unknown group.

November 1, 2000

Edmonton, Alberta

The Beth Shalom Synagogue and another area synagogue were firebombed.

September 14, 2001

Mississauga, Ontario

Multiple incidents of vandalism and attempted arson occurred at the Ar-Rah Man Quaran Learning Centre as a backlash in response to the September 11th attacks.

September 15, 2001

Hamilton, Ontario

A serious arson was committed on the Hindu Samaj Temple, which caused enough damage to require its demolition. The attack was a backlash in response to the September 11th attacks.

September 28, 2001

London, Ontario

A member of the Canadian Ethnic Cleansing Team was charged with uttering death threats and counselling to commit murder via a declaration of war against all London based Jews and Muslims.