



**HATE IN THE PEACEABLE
KINGDOM
RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN
CANADA**

Dr. Barbara Perry

University of Ontario Institute of Technology

barbara.perry@uoit.ca

TSAS Summer Academy July 2017

WHO'S A TERRORIST?

Justin Bourque

- Killed 3 RCMP officers
- “Cop killer”

- “he terrorized but he wasn’t a terrorist”

- “a Canadian city under siege”

Michael Zehaf-Bibeau

- Killed 1 Canadian soldier
- “Canadian bred Muslim extremist”
- “self-radicalized Muslim terrorist”

- “a strike at the core of Canadian democracy and values”

WHY DISCUSS RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN A CANADIAN CONTEXT?

OVER 120 INCIDENTS IN CANADA...

2007, Charlottetown, PE
Tony Laviol
charges, in
break an
and the
for se
inclu
slu

July, 20

April 16, 2006, Collingwood, ON
Stephen Long, a 22-year-old
"Hammer Heads" gang, was m
"nigger stick," and was engaged
Long slapped Broughton in the
of violence. He had previous
crime against a gay woman
(Anti-Racist Canada, 2014)

2006, Kitchener, ON
Neo-Nazi drug dealer Paul McGraw,
drug dealer, leaving him with brain inju
reports of aggravated assault and sentenc
convicted of aggravated assault and sentenc
Racist Canada, 2014; Waterloo Regional Rec

March 16, 2007, Toronto, ON
Jason Bellfiglio, 20, was charged, a
smashed at a Jewish daycare centre, deny
even though he was arrested near the scene wearin
(i.e., a Celtic cross intertwined with a swastika). He was giv
conditional sentence, three years of probation, 100 hours of
and ordered to make restitution and stay away from neo-Nazi
Canada, 2014; National Post, 2007).

2007, Guelph, ON
Neo-Nazi Paul McGraw was arrested in connection with a series of
offenses that took place in Guelph. After a three-hour standoff with
McGraw and two women were charged in relation to a separate assault
and forcible confinement in relation to a separate assault
female victims. McGraw was also charged with assault, kidnapping, sexu
took place in Orillia days before his arrest. The charges in this incident incl
assault, assault causing bodily harm, forcible confinement, and uttering death
threats. In 2009, McGraw was sentenced to 14 years in prison, which he
appealed in 2011. His appeal was denied, and he is eligible for parole in 2016
(Anti-Racist Canada, 2014; Waterloo Regional Record, 2011).

2000, Chatham, QC

Two boys murdered fifteen-year old Ailyn Otano-Garcia. The two classmates
were charged with first-degree murder after they lured Otano-Garcia to a
secluded sandpit and bludgeoned her to death. One of the boys responsible for
planning the murder was fascinated by Adolf Hitler, claiming that he murdered
the girl because he did not like immigrants (Anti-Racist Canada, 2014; CBC News,
2001d).

2000, Laval, QC

Fifteen-year-old Christelle Lavigne-Gagnon was stabbed to death by Richard
Germain, a 20-year-old ex-boyfriend and neo-Nazi. Germain harassed and
threatening Lavigne-Gagnon for months, and after the murder he attempted to
kill himself twice. Jean-Sebastian Pressault, then leader of the Laval Ku Klux Klan,
came to the trial to show his support. Germain was sentenced to life in prison
with the possibility of parole after 4 years (Anti-Racist Canada, 2014; Radio-
Canada, 2002).

2001, Montreal, QC

Neo-Nazi Steve Leagault pled guilty to attacking an anti-racist at a courthouse
during proceedings against his friend, who was facing charges for the beating
death of Christian Thomas. Leagault also attempted to attack an anti-racist in a
separate case outside the Montreal courthouse in 1998 (Anti-Racist Canada,
2014).

2002, Montreal, QC

Jacques Marselle, a 26-year-old Haitian man, was beaten and stabbed by two neo-
Nazis outside of court. Daniel Laverdiere and Remi Chabot-Brideault were
responsible for the attack. Laverdiere was on probation for mischief during the
time of the incident, and was described in court as a "hard-core neo-Nazi
extremist." He was also a member of the Vinland Front Skinheads, whose
members came to the trial to support him. Laverdiere was sentenced to four
years for aggravated assault, and was ordered by the Quebec Human Rights
Tribunal to pay Marseille \$35,000 in moral damages and \$10,000 in punitive
damages. Chabot-Brideault was given a one-year conditional sentence, which
was served at home, and he was forbidden from associating with "skinheads" for
three years (Anti-Racist Canada, 2014; Vancouver Sun, 2006).

2006, Montreal, QC

Jean-Sebastian Pressault, a notorious Montreal-based white supremacist, was
arrested and charged in 2003 with wilfully promoting hatred through a racist
website that he built and managed. While on bail, he threatened to kill the judge
who was presiding over his case if he was given an exemplary sentence. Police
searched Pressault's home and discovered a loaded gun, and he was charged

2006, Ile Perrot, QC
Eighteen-year-old Renaud Emard, known as "necro99" on Stormfront, w
arrested on weapons charges after being investigated for making racist th
on the internet and posting pictures of himself posing with guns. After poli
s home, 20 firearms and other weapons were uncovered. Hate
an ethnic cleansings and a hit list featuring the names of a
s were also discovered, and a hit list featuring the names of a
weapon and five counts of careless storage of firearms (Anti-Racist
Montreal Gazette, 2006).

LeClerc, 20, and a male youth attacked several people
motivated assaults. Initially, a group of seven young Arab
been stabbed, and one required multiple blood transfusions
had (Anti-Racist Canada, 2014; CTVMontreal, 2011). The
and hurled racist slurs at the Haitian cab driver. They
ashed his windshield. They later attacked a second cab
in. Both LeClerc and the minor were sentenced to
for aggravated assault, assault and possession of a
dangerous to public peace (Anti-Racist Canada, 2014;

operator of the Canadian Ethnic Cleansing
of the Tri-City Skins, was charged with
and Jews post-9/11. The website also
filed a human rights complaint against
operator of the website, and the
the two websites encouraged
ries. Richardson and Kulbashian
da, 2014; CBC News, 2001f).

er of Queen and Lansdowne,
on the corner. The neo-Nazis
trons and shooting random
sted by police (Anti-Racist

the pipe
1999, the
d Hudson's

CANADIAN INCIDENTS INSPIRED BY ISLAMIST EXTREMISM

2004, Montreal, QB

A fire was set in the United Talmud Torahs St. Laurent campus' library just a few hours before the beginning of Passover. Approximately 15,000 books, along with the library's furniture and computers were destroyed in the fire, causing more than \$600,000 in damages. The perpetrators left a note on the school door and contacted a local TV station, stating their attack was in response to Israel's killing of Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmad Yassin on March 22, 2004.

2006, Orillia, ON

The "Toronto 18", a group inspired by al-Qaeda, were arrested on accusations of planning to detonate truck bombs, to open fire in a crowded area, and to storm the Canadian Broadcasting Centre, the Canadian Parliament building, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) headquarters, and the parliament Peace Tower, to take hostages and to behead the Prime Minister and other leaders.

2010, Ottawa, ON

Mishbahuddin Akbar was arrested for knowingly facilitating a terrorist activity and participating in the activities of a terrorist group.

2013, Toronto, ON

Chibeh Elmer and Rasim Jaser were charged as part of an alleged al-Qaeda plot to detonate New York City subway train on the Canadian side of the border. Alleged plot was not implemented. Canadian Muslims helped to foil the attack. The suspects said they were arrested based on their appearance.

2014, Quebec, ON

Martin Chaurio Rouleau targeted two Canadian Armed Forces members in a parking lot outside the Integrated Personnel Support Centre (IPSC) in Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Quebec. On October 20, 2014, officers were deliberately run down in a vehicular attack, killing one and injuring the other. The perpetrator then fled the scene and was later shot and killed by officers following a high-speed pursuit.

2014, Ottawa, ON

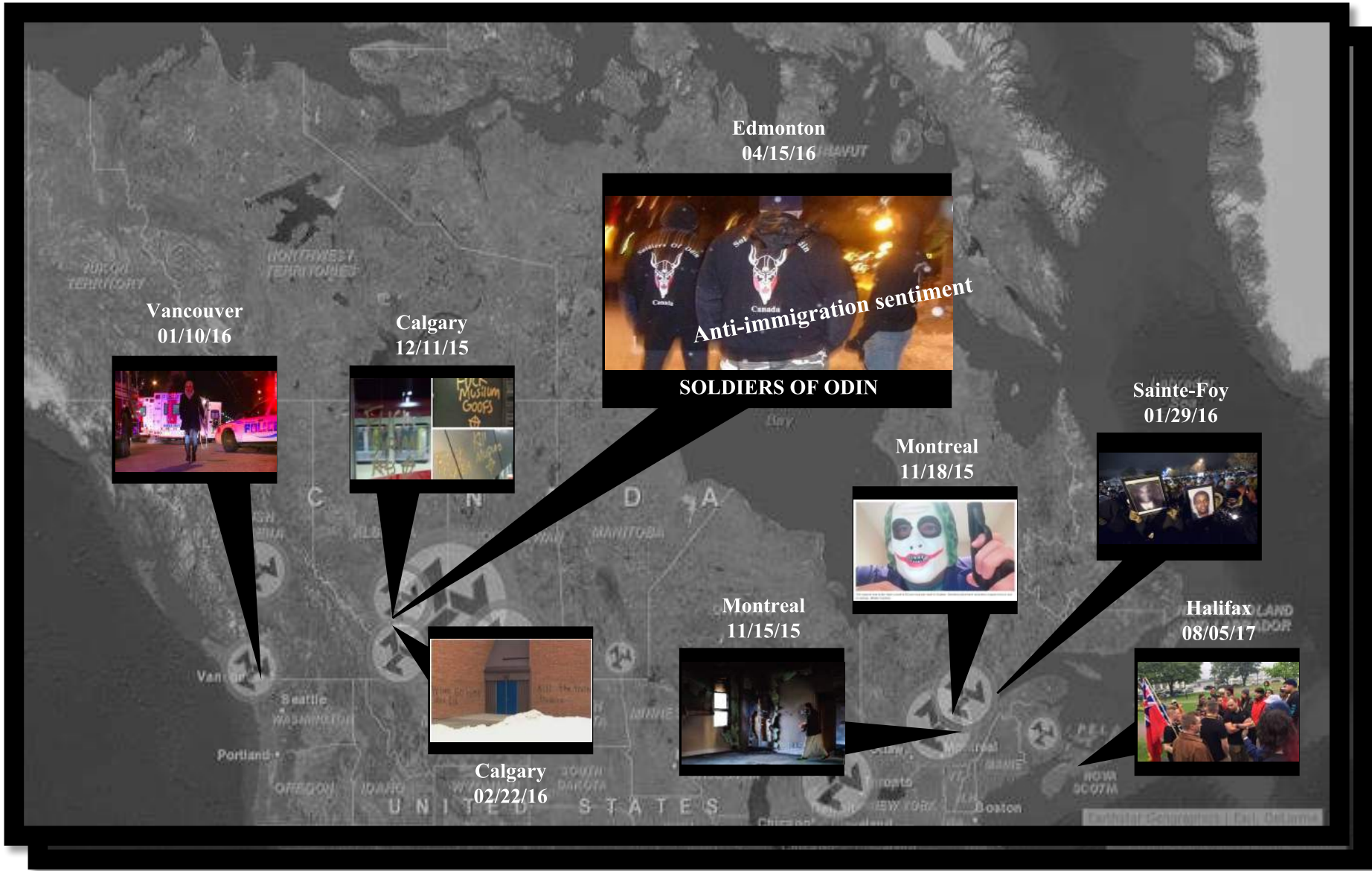
Another lone-actor attack was committed on Canadian soil, this time on Parliament Hill in Ottawa. 32-year-old Michael Zehaf-Bibeau drove to the National War Memorial on October 22, 2014 and fatally shot a Canadian soldier on ceremonial sentry duty. Zehaf-Bibeau later died in a shootout with parliament security officials in the nearby Centre Block parliament building.

2016, Strathroy, ON

Aaron Driver was killed in a confrontation with police after detonating an explosive in the back seat of a taxi. The confrontation followed a tip from the FBI that Driver had made a "martyrdom video" and was planning an attack on an urban area.

SEVEN
INCIDENTS

UPDATE



PEGIDA



Proud Boys



MORE TO COME?

TRUMP = TRUMP'S RACE UNITED MY PEOPLE



Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

“TRUMP EFFECT”

Hamilton
11/27/16



Edmonton
11/8/16



Richmond
11/17/16



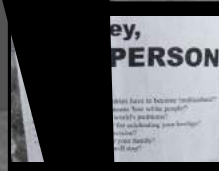
Regina
11/17/16



Toronto
11/23/16



Toronto
11/15/16



Hamilton
11/21/16



Montreal
12/8/16



Ottawa
11/17/16



Ottawa
11/13-19/16



Toronto
11/13/16



Burlington
12/11/16



Edmonton
11/21/16



THE PROJECT

OBJECTIVES:

1. Identify right-wing extremist groups that plan, engage in or incite violence
2. Assess the frequency, nature and severity of the violence
3. Identify factors, **internally** and **externally**, that are: (1) most likely to sustain the groups and/or give rise to violence and (2) most likely to weaken the groups and/or minimize violence

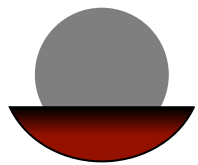
DEFINING THE FAR-RIGHT IN CANADA

- A loose movement, characterized by a racially, ethnically and sexually defined nationalism
- Nationalism is often framed in terms of *white power*
- Nationalism assumes as *perceived threats* non-Whites, Muslims, Jews, immigrants, homosexuals and feminists
- Extremists are willing to assume both an offensive and defensive stance
- Purpose is to preserve their heritage and “homeland”

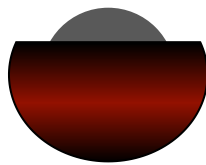
THE PROJECT

METHODS:

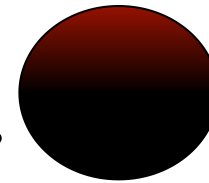
- Website analysis
- Court records
- Terrorism databases
- Media scans
- Interviews with law enforcement and intelligence community officials (n > 40)
- Interviews with community activists (n > 30)
- Interviews with far-right activists (n = 6)



Methods of
Terrorism



Objects or Targets

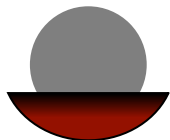


Agents of
Terrorism

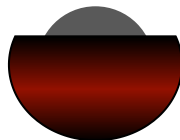
APPLYING BLACK'S (2004) FRAMEWORK

APPLYING BLACK'S (2004) FRAMEWORK

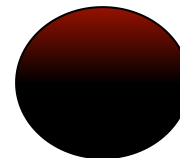
THEME	CRITERIA	FINDINGS
Methods of Terrorism	Recurrence/campaigns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence is generally individualized rather than collective
	Methods: mass violence; extreme violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There have been periodic flurries of racist violence, covering the span of several days and targeting multiple random victims, perpetrated by small groups of those affiliated with WS/NN groups; also ongoing campaigns directed toward specific people/sites
	Impact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Online discussions/comments often refer to violence, forcible elimination of “threat,” RAHOWA” (Racial HOly WAr), or “the final solution” • Violence is unpredictable, often opportunistic and fueled by alcohol • When it occurs, violence is extreme, typically involving the use of fists, boots, bats, but rarely firearms • Because victims are targeted due to identity, and because of the nature of the violence, it has a dramatic impact on individuals and their communities of reference



**Methods of
Terrorism**



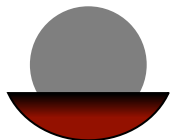
Objects or Targets



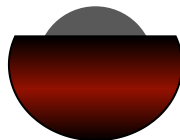
**Agents of
Terrorism**

APPLYING BLACK'S (2004) FRAMEWORK

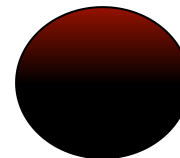
THEME	CRITERIA	FINDINGS
Objects or Targets	<p>Standard of collective liability</p> <p>Nature of “grievance”</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WS generally target racial and ethnic minority groups, Jews, and immigrants • Can vary regionally, with Aboriginal communities especially targeted in western provinces and Maritimes, Muslims in Quebec, Asians in GTA and British Columbia • Nature of threat is not always well articulated, but rather amorphous, referring to need to preserve “heritage” or “homeland” • In Quebec, threat is defined along lines of cultural nationalism • Anti-Fascist movement also targeted (e.g., Proud Boys)



Methods of
Terrorism



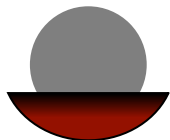
Objects or
Targets



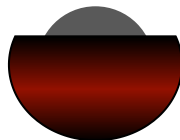
Agents of
Terrorism

APPLYING BLACK'S (2004) FRAMEWORK

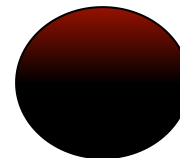
THEME	CRITERIA	FINDINGS
Agents of Terrorism	<p>Capacity to organize</p> <p>Covert/overt activity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally described as working “under-ground;” groups are aware of police surveillance/activity and so avoid detection • Generally described as weakly organized, or decidedly unorganized; leadership is weak and transitory • Some history of mobility/transience, especially when law enforcement has made for a “hot” climate • Groups are often linked to others, such as international/American/British right-wing groups, bikers, drug gangs



Methods of
Terrorism



Objects or Targets



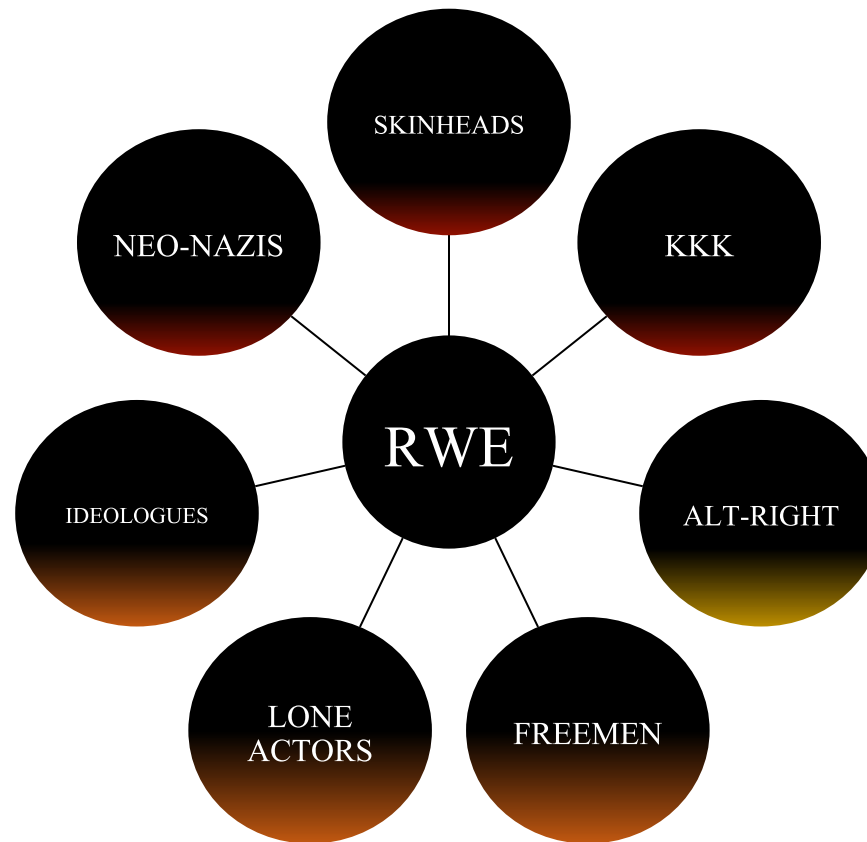
Agents of
Terrorism

RIGHT-WING EXTREMIST GROUPS IN CANADA



EXTREME-RIGHT GROUP DISTRIBUTION

CATEGORIES OF THE FAR-RIGHT IN CANADA



KU KLUX KLAN



Source: <http://blessingiloh.blogspot.ca>

- Address contemporary problems such as AIDS, crime, welfare, or immigration solely through the *prism of race*
- Promote a licence to hate

NEO-NAZIS



- Inspired by tracts of Germany's *Third Reich* to inform their nationalism, "Nazi-style – send the Blacks to Africa and the Jews to the ovens"

SKINHEADS



- Share the “White Power” rhetoric of neo-Nazi groups
- Less orderly and consistent; tend to be more loosely organized, but also *more violent* than many other hate groups

ALT-RIGHT



- “Suit and tie” white nationalists
- Emboldened by Trump
- Featured on Canada’s Rebel Media

FREEMEN-ON-THE-LAND

- Anti-government movement with strong Christian, libertarian, and right-wing overtones
- Loose group of *sovereignists* who believe they're only bound by state law if they consent to those laws
- Declare themselves independent of the government and the rule of law
- True law is their own interpretation of it

FMOTL
freemen on the land



IDEOLOGUES AND LONE ACTORS

- Contribute extensively to the “movement,” providing ideological fodder on which others feed

OR

- Independently feed their hunger for right-wing rhetoric by attending related websites or collecting propaganda



KEY FINDINGS

INTERNAL CONDITIONS THAT FACILITATE THE MOVEMENT:

1. Drawn in by like-minded others
2. Music as a recruitment tool
3. Facility with Internet
4. Making connections: “strategic connectivity”
5. A façade of legitimacy

KEY FINDINGS

INTERNAL CONDITIONS THAT **INHIBIT** THE MOVEMENT:

1. Lack of ideological commitment
2. Ideological/interpersonal in-fighting
3. Transience/mobility
4. Weak/loss of leadership

KEY FINDINGS

EXTERNAL CONDITIONS THAT FACILITATE THE MOVEMENT:

1. Normative historical racism
2. Political climate of intolerance, exclusion, and fear
3. Media (mis)representation
4. Lack of law enforcement response

KEY FINDINGS

EXTERNAL CONDITIONS THAT INHIBIT THE MOVEMENT:

1. Strong and visible law enforcement response
2. Presence of anti-racism movement
3. Community resiliency

Multi-sectoral Responses

- Vulnerability to recruitment grounded in social context
- Countering movement must also be grounded in social context
- Necessitates recognition that it is not only a law enforcement or intelligence issue

COMMUNITY RESPONSE

- Identify and tackle community grievances head on
- Building resiliency through education
- Organize **positive alternatives** to counter-demonstrations:
 - Get community involved in positive ways during far-right activities (i.e., counter-rallies)
 - Amplify voices of the most credible messengers (i.e., formers and survivors)
 - Ensure a strong communications strategy is in place, with transparent and consistent messaging

DIVERTING YOUTH FROM GETTING INVOLVED

DIVERSION PROGRAMS:

1. Extreme Dialogue

- **Canada-based initiative**, consisting of formers and survivors of extremism who raise awareness through their stories and experiences
- Offers young people a positive alternative to the increasing amount of extremist material online

2. Against Violent Extremism

- **Global organization** that counters extremist narratives and prevents the recruitment of 'at risk' youth
- Utilizes lessons, experiences, and networks of those who have experiences extremism first-hand

EXIT PROGRAMS

- Built on the belief that those who join RWE moments are searching for status, identity, support and power, **not because of ideology**
- Aim is to offer a structured route out of the RWE groups and movements, through long-term **support programs**
 - Helps those who are seeking to establish new lives, re-integrating them into society
 - Challenges the belief structure and behavioural aspects of an individual
 - Targets three processes: (1) group dissolution, (2) disengagement, and (3) de-radicalization



CONCLUSION

THE THREAT:

- Right-wing extremism represents a distinctive threat to the well-being of Canada's diverse communities, yet it tends to fly under the radar
- The far-right continues to recruit and retain youth into the movement, through the power of the Internet and music
- Our current environment – of **social and economic instability** – is an ideal time to breed hatred

THE RESPONSE:

- Promote a **multi-sectoral** approach to strengthen reactions against right-wing extremism
- Understand how and why youths get involved in the movement
- Identify the warning signs, both at an individual and community level, before youths become indoctrinated

A map of Canada and the surrounding regions of the United States and Alaska. The map is overlaid with several red circles, each containing a black swastika symbol. The symbols are placed in various locations: one in the Pacific Northwest (near Vancouver), one in the central US (near Minneapolis), one in the Great Lakes region (near Toronto), one in the Northeast (near New York), one in the Atlantic region (near PEI), and one in the southern US (near Chicago). The text is centered over the map.

HATE IN THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN CANADA

Dr. Barbara Perry
University of Ontario Institute of Technology
barbara.perry@uoit.ca

TSAS Summer Academy July 2017