



FROM DIRECT ACTION TO TERRORISM:

CANADIAN RADICAL RIGHT NARRATIVES AND
COUNTER-NARRATIVES AT A TIME OF VOLATILITY





The *CARR-Hedayah Radical Right Counter Narratives Project* is a year-long project between CARR and Hedayah that is funded by the EU STRIVE programme. It is designed to create one of the first comprehensive online toolkits for practitioners and civil society engaged in radical right extremist counter narrative campaigns. It uses online research to map narratives in nine countries and regions (Australia, Canada, Germany, Hungary, New Zealand, Norway, Ukraine, United Kingdom, and the United States), proposes counter narratives for these countries and regions, and advises on how to conduct such campaigns in an effective manner. This country report is one of such outputs.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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The views expressed in this practical Guide are the opinions of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of Hedayah, the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right or the European Union.



INTRODUCTION

For several years now, radical right extremist¹ groups and their terror potential have been on the radar of Canada's Security and Intelligence Services.² Noted as a growing threat (see Figure 1),³ after an attack on three police officers in June 2014, another attack on the Islamic Cultural Centre of Quebec City in January 2017 and the recent proscription of Blood and Honour and Combat 18 in June 2019, events all point to how ideologies of older white supremacist groups have been supplemented with anti-Muslim and alt-right sentiment within the more violent parts of this extremist milieu.⁴ Indeed, in recent years, the main modus operandi of radical right extremist groups animating the Canadian scene have been direct-

action style activism and protest orchestrated by the likes of PEGIDA, Soldiers of Odin (SoO) Canada, La Muede ("The Pack") and Storm Alliance. In May 2019, for example, SoO Canada were banned from holding events at a Canadian Royal Legion facility, after a directive was issued by the National Command.⁵ Moreover, and as shown with groups like PEGIDA, Proud Boys and Church of the Creator, the international synergies and overlaps with other radical right extremists (both south of the Canadian border in the US and through national chapters of international groups) have also been notable, displaying the transnational nature of these movements, both in Canada and internationally.⁶

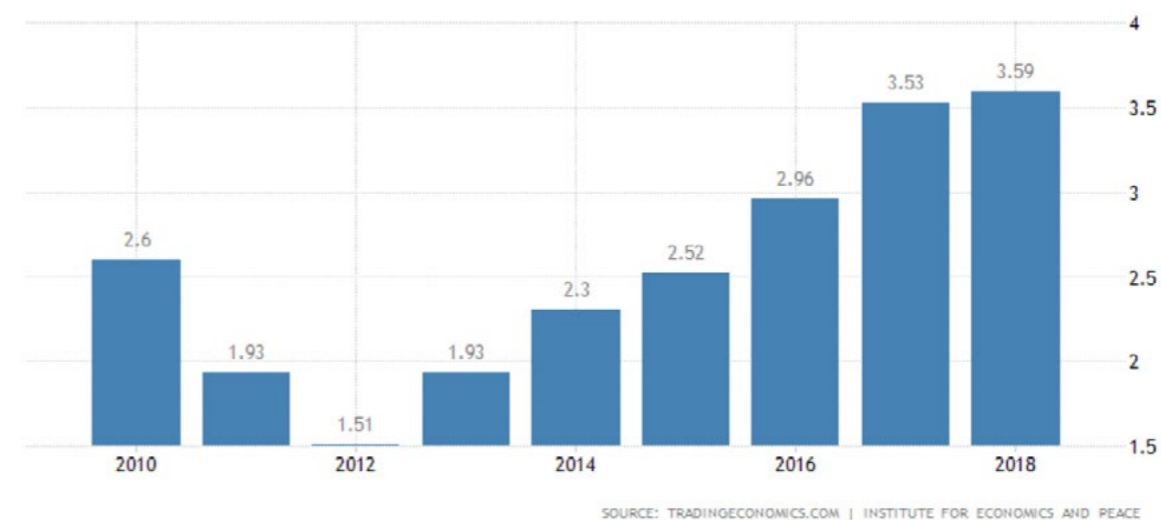


FIGURE 1 Canada's Global Terrorism Index Score, 2010-2018⁷

¹ Here 'radical right extremism' is used to describe a broad plethora of cognate paramilitary groups, groupuscules and lone-actor terrorists that could be considered as harbouring violent nativist, authoritarian and (sometimes) non-violent populist policy ideas (Mudde, *Populist Radical Right in Europe*, 2007). Radical Right Extremism includes individuals and groups who actively "espouse violence" and "seek the overthrow of liberal democracy" entirely (Eatwell 2003, *Ten Theories of the Extreme Right*, 14) rather than those who offer "a critique of the constitutional order without any anti-democratic behaviour or intention" (Carter 2005, *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?*, 22). Those with such a propensity towards violence and/or anti-system values are historically referred to as the extreme right rather than the radical right, and such individuals and groups range from non-violent anti-Islam groups to a range of formally constituted neo-fascist and neo-Nazi political parties that inspire terrorist action, as well as lone-actor terrorists.

² Boutilier, A, 'CSIS highlights white supremacist threat ahead of radical Islam', *The Star*, 15 March 2015, online at: <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2015/03/15/csis-highlights-white-supremacist-threat-ahead-of-radical-islam.html>.

³ Habib, J, 'Far-Right Extremist Groups and Hate Crime are Growing in Canada', *CBC News*, 13 July 2019, online at: https://www.cbc.ca/passionateeye/m_features/right-wing-extremist-groups-and-hate-crimes-are-growing-in-canada.

⁴ Cai, W. and Landon, S, 'Attacks by White Extremists Are Growing. So Are Their Connections', *New York Times*, 3 April 2019, online at: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/04/03/world/white-extremist-terrorism-christchurch.html>.

⁵ Wong, J, 'Royal Canadian Legion issues directive after Soldiers of Odin event held at Alberta legion', *GlobalNews.ca*, 4 May 2019, online at: <https://globalnews.ca/news/5240573/royal-canadian-legion-soldiers-of-odin-grande-prairie/>.

⁶ Perry, B, Email Correspondence with Author via Email, Leeds, UK.

⁷ Trading Economics, 'Canada Terrorism Index', online at: <https://tradingeconomics.com/canada/terrorism-index>.

Zooming out a bit and looking at the Canadian radical right scene in general, it is of significant interest how loose and diverse the movement is compared to other national contexts. For example, recent estimates suggest that there are around 130 groups active within Canada's radical right milieu.⁸ Such a multiplicity of groups is linked to a broader lack of commitment to professed ideologies, the short shelf life of most groups (in 2015, one study pegged this at typically no more than a few months) and the high level of turnover of members within (and also between) the various movements.⁹ Prior to the rise of more anti-Muslim protest and vigilantism, only the KKK, Church of the Creator, and Aryan Nations/Aryan Guard organizations used to be the most stable actors within this extremist milieu, with these more established radical right groups "staging rallies against antiracists, disseminating xenophobic fliers, and engaging in an array of violent and deadly activities"¹⁰ Of present concern, then, is the inherent instability of Canada's radical right extremist scene; this in-

stability highlights an existing threat around the possibility of lone-actor perpetrated violence.¹¹

This country report therefore focuses on street protest, groupuscular¹² and influencer¹³ forms of radical right extremism in Canada at this time of volatility. The first part of this report surveys the activities of 17 key radical right extremist groups and the narratives that they propagate at the present moment. Using these case studies, the second part will then suggest guidance around the use of counter-narratives that can be posed in relation to Canadian radical right extremist narratives. The next section focuses on existing counter-narrative campaigns. Finally, the report concludes with further recommendations for practitioners when conducting campaigns to counteract these messages in the Canadian context as practitioners and policymakers make sense of increased political violence in Canada over recent years.

⁸ Barbara Perry & Ryan Scrivens, 'Right Wing Extremism in Canada: An Environmental Scan,' *Public Safety Canada*, 2016, online at: <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scrnt/cntr-trrrsm/r-nd-flght-182/knshk/ctlg/dtts-cn.aspx?i=116>, & Habib, J. 'Far-Right Extremist Groups and Hate Crime are Growing in Canada', *CBC News*, 13 July 2019, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/passionateeye/m/features/right-wing-extremist-groups-and-hate-crimes-are-growing-in-canada>.

⁹ Barbara Perry & Ryan Scrivens, 'Uneasy Alliances: A Look at the Right-Wing Extremist Movement in Canada', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39:9, 2016, 819-841, DOI: [10.1080/1057610X.2016.1139375](https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1139375).

¹⁰ Ibid, 820, 828.

¹¹ Boutilier (2015), Op Cit.

¹² Here, 'Groupuscules' are defined as tiny, often neo-Nazi, bands of radical right extremists that establish a milieu with reference points that stretch out internationally as well as into the past (Jackson 2014, *National Action and National Socialism for the 21st Century*, 101).

¹³ Here, 'influencers' refer to individual radical right activists who cultivate an online presence in order to disseminate nativist, authoritarian and populist message, and drive followership.



PART ONE RADICAL RIGHT EXTREMIST GROUPS AND NARRATIVES IN CANADA

ASCENDANT ANTI-MUSLIM POPULISM & PERSISTENT ETHNO-NATIONALISM

With little in the way of a thriving electoral radical right extremist base, anti-Islam protest vigilante groups, neo-Nazi protest movements and alt-right influencers have revived radical right extremist activism in Canada over the past half-decade. Commonly focused in the provinces of Quebec, Alberta, and British Columbia,¹⁴ each modality mobilises around a common set of anti-Muslim populist, ethno-nationalist, anti-semitic and

anti-government narratives. Moreover, each movement is increasingly attracting an older, middle-aged cadre of activists attracted to anti-government grievances in particular.¹⁵ Below is a list of radical right extremist groups and organisations that represent Canada's "loose" and "diverse" radical right extremist scene at the present time¹⁶ (broken down according to organisation type, ideology, and narrative structure).

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¹⁴ Barbara Perry & Ryan Scrivens, 'Uneasy Alliances: A Look at the Right-Wing Extremist Movement in Canada', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39:9, 2016, P824. DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2016.1139375.

¹⁵ This was noted by one Canada-based scholar and one Canada-based practitioner consulted for this report (both suggesting that the average age of those joining themselves to radical right extremist groups is increasing (Galloway, B. (February 2020). Comments to Author Via Skype. Leeds, UK & Perry, B. (May 2020) Comments to Author Via Email. Leeds, UK)).

¹⁶ Barbara Perry & Ryan Scrivens, 'Right Wing Extremism in Canada: An Environmental Scan,' *Public Safety Canada*, 2016, online at: <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scrct/cntr-trrrsm/r-nd-flght-182/knshk/ctlg/dtls-en.aspx?i=116> & Barbara Perry & Ryan Scrivens, *Right-Wing Extremism in Canada*, London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019, P5.

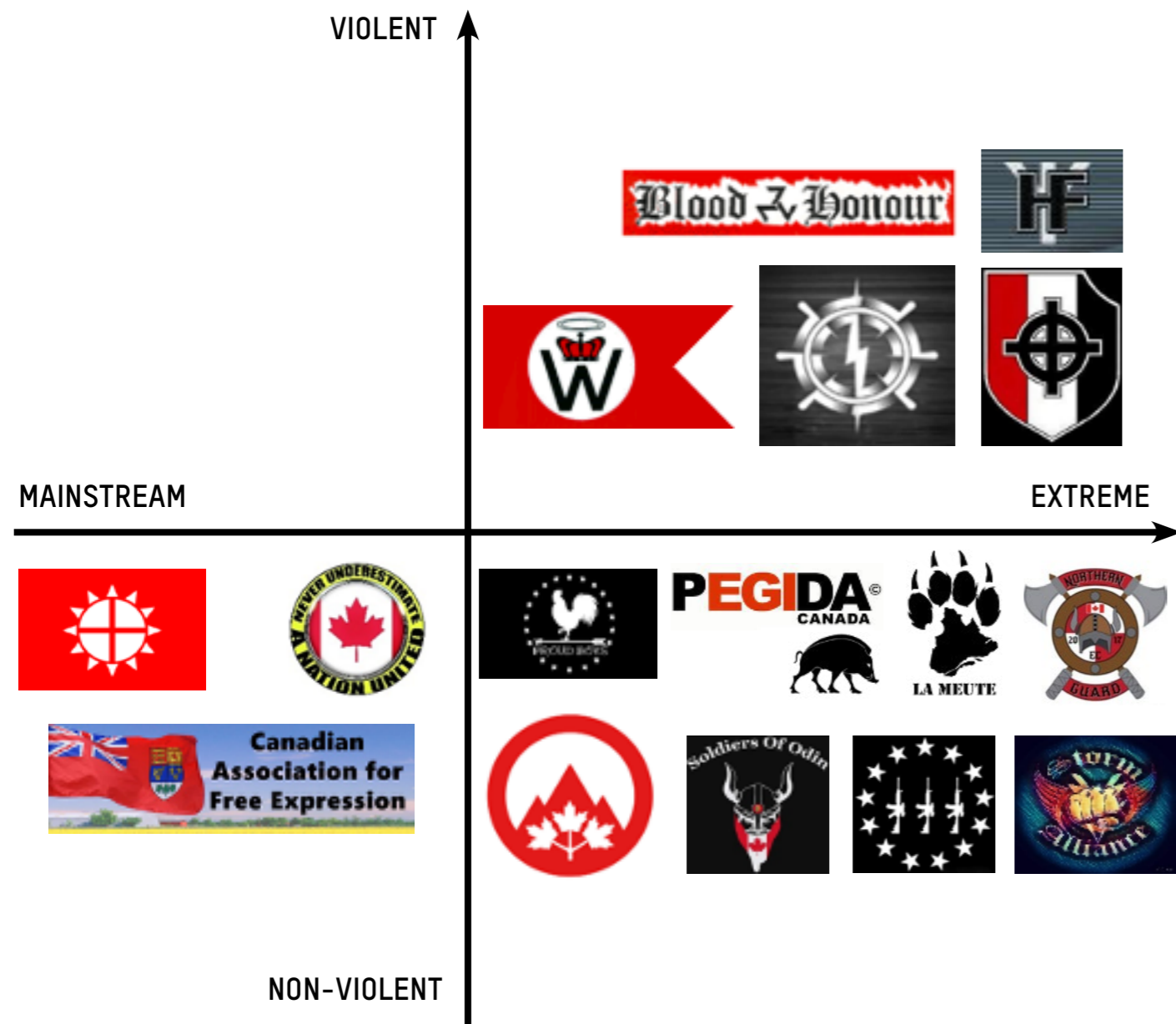


FIGURE 2 Overview of Canada's Radical Right Extremist Groups

(Horizontal Axis: Mainstreamness of Narratives¹⁷, Vertical Axis: Incidence of Violence¹⁸)

¹⁷ Here, 'mainstreamness' can be measured by the adoption of moderate narratives (usually involving a broad issue agenda, anti-establishment populism and electoralism) compared to clearly extreme, esoteric positions and modus operandi (e.g. street activism and terrorism) taken by fringe groups (De Lange, Akkerman and Rooduijn, Right-Wing Populist Parties in Western Europe, 2016).

¹⁸ Here, 'violence' is measured as part of the narrative logics within a group and its mode of activism. Whilst EDL and DFLA activists have been prone to violence and violent rhetoric, the dominant trend within these groups has been toward non-violent forms of rhetoric and activism, whilst in more Neo-Nazi groups (e.g. National Action, Order of the 9 Angles and Misanthropic Division), there has been more overt trends of violent activism; perpetrated on outsiders and group members.

TABLE 1: Overview of Canada Radical Right Extremist Narratives




EXTREMIST NARRATIVE	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
Anti-Establishment Sentiment	Here, 'Anti-Establishment Sentiment' is defined as a sustained critique of political, media and business elites, often dressed up in conspiratorial language.	"We seek to help fellow Canadians in need... with a 'no one left behind' motto." (Storm Alliance)
Anti-Multicultural Sentiment	Here, 'Anti-Multicultural Sentiment' is defined as a sustained critique of policies seen as promoting ethnic diversity and inter-cultural understanding.	"Multiculturalism – A Case of Multiple Personality Disorder." (CAFE)
Anti-Muslim Populism	Here, 'Anti-Muslim Populism' is defined as a fusion of anti-Muslim hatred and populist forms of nationalism, including tropes around Islamisation and negative depictions of Islam.	"PEGIDA is AGAINST allowing parallel societies in our midst, such as Sharia law, Sharia police, etc." (PEGIDA Canada)
Anti-Semitism	Here, 'Anti-Semitism' is defined as expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment, including anti-Zionist positions.	"Even the Europeanized Jews are now in charge of the mild racists (cowardly bigots), if you judge those President Trump and cuckservative sites like Briebart [sic]." (Nationalist Party of Canada)
Autochtonism	Here, 'Autochtonism' is defined as a desire (either real or imagined) of being native to a region (Merriam-Webster, <i>Autochtonism</i> , 2020, online at: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/autochthonism)	"We believe in the self-determination of peoples, in their independence and their right to be in the majority on their lands." (Atalante Québec)
Chauvinism	Here, 'Chauvinism' is defined as actual or performative forms of violent masculinity, often in connection with ideas of virility and racial purity.	"We're a <i>brotherhood</i> ... A man who runs a women's gang, or the opposite, does not work." (Northern Guard)

Civilisationism	Here, 'Civilisationism' is defined as an allegiance to a set of norms beyond the nation state where the Judeo-Christian 'West' is privileged over the (often essentialised) Muslim 'East' (Brubaker, <i>Between Nationalism and Civilizationism</i> , 2017, online at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01419870.2017.1294700).	"PEGIDA is FOR preserving and protecting our Christian-Judeo based culture." (PEGIDA Canada)
Ethno-Nationalism	Here, 'Ethno-Nationalism' is defined as the unanimity of the nation and a (white) ethnic in-group, with immigration by non-white groups seen as an endangerment of this monist ideal.	"Between the allowing illegal aliens in this country and giving them the ability to vote and drive, [...] and demonising everything anything that has to do with European culture [...] we as Soldiers of Odin realize that it is time to take back our streets, provinces and country." (SoO Canada)
Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory	Here, the 'Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory' refers to the writings of Renaud Camus and the belief in a demographic replacement of native Europeans by non-European migrants, deemed to be facilitated by ruling elites.	"We can see the demographic replacement of Old Stock Canadians happening before our eyes. We're one of the last generations of men and women who can change the tides, and that's exactly what we intend on doing." (ID Canada)
Identitarianism	According to José Pedro Zúquete (<i>The Identitarians</i> , 2018), Identitarians are a "quickly growing ethno-cultural transnational movement that, in diverse forms, originated in France and Italy and has spread into southern, central, and northern Europe [as well as North America]."	"732 [A.D.] Generation Identitaire." (An excerpt from a banner unfurled in 2012 by Quebec Identitaire's namesake in Poitiers, France, referring to the year in which the Frankish king Charles Martel turned back the invading Moors.)
Islamophobia	Here, 'Islamophobia' is defined as "anti-Muslim hatred [...] motivated by hostility or bias towards people perceived to be Muslim." (Feldman & Allchorn, <i>Working Definition of Anti-Muslim Hatred</i> , 2019, online at: https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2019/05/15/a-working-definition-of-anti-muslim-hatred-summary/ .)	"Bonne appétit." (A note left by Québec Identitaire on pigs head outside of the Quebec City mosque in June 2016.)


Militarism	Here, 'Militarism' is defined as the pursuit of "maintaining a strong military organization in aggressive preparedness for [a real or imagined] war." (Collins, <i>Militarism</i> , 2020, online at: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/militarism .)	"You cannot have our Life our Liberty or our Property without a fight. We are the Last Line of Defence." (III%ers)
Neo-Fascism	Here, 'neo-fascism' is used to describe an ultra-nationalist ideology that adheres to the concept of palingenesis, or the idea that the nation is reborn after a time of moral decadence and decay (Griffin, <i>The Nature of Fascism</i> , 1991).	"What we want is to create the new Nation, the new society. In short, a new social order which would not be based on material gains, but on the sense of sacrifice, heroism, honor and the common good." (Atalante Québec)
Neo-Nazism	Here, 'neo-Nazism' is defined as the adherence to the ideology of national socialism post-Hitler, including rejections of left liberalism and right-wing conservatism.	"We are Guardians of the White Aryan Race, and as guardians we focus our lives and efforts towards fighting for the freedoms, future and survival of our children and beautiful people." (Aryan Guard)
Neo-Paganism	Here, 'Neo-Paganism' is defined as a secular religion that rejects Christianity for the worship of Hitler and Norse Gods.	"I pluck the beard of your Christian 'god', And hack open his worm-eaten skull." (Church of the Creator)
Pro-Gun Sentiments	Here, 'Pro-Gun Sentiment' is seen as strident views in favour of gun ownership and limited government interference in the affairs of gun owners.	"We love our guns." (Proud Boys Canada)
Ultra-Nationalism	Here, 'Ultra-Nationalism' refers to an extreme loyalty or devotion to the nation, which is usually at the exclusion of others (Collins, <i>Ultra-Nationalism</i> , 2019, online at: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/ultranationalism).	"It is also the goal of the Blood and Honour movement to unite those people with a legitimate interest in securing the future of our European cultural identity under one common banner." (Blood & Honour Canada)

Vigilantism	Here, 'Vigilantism' is defined as a set of tactics involving direct action stunts and street patrols that are designed to intimidate and 'Other' minority populations.	"We are the eyes and ears of the police in places that the police cannot always be." (SoO Canada)
White Supremacism	Here, 'White Supremacism' is defined as a belief in white dominance over people of other backgrounds. It is often connected to beliefs about 'white endangerment' and 'white genocide' conspiracy theories.	"No longer will we be silent as the Canadian government treats Whites as second class citizens. The Heritage Front opposes anti-White Employment "Equity." (Heritage Front)

VIOLENT AND EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN CANADA

		
ATALANTE-QUEBEC	ARYAN GUARD	CHURCH OF THE CREATOR
LEADER Raphaël Lévesque	LEADER Kyle McKee	LEADER George Burdi
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP Unknown
IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY
Ultra-Nationalism	Neo-Nazism	Neo-Nazism
Neo-Fascism	Anti-Semitism	Neo-Paganism
Autochonism	White Supremacism	White Supremacism

VIOLENT AND EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN CANADA




HERITAGE FONT

LEADERS
Wolfgang Droege
Gerry Lincoln
Grant Bristow
James Scott Dawson

MEMBERSHIP
Less than 10 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- Neo-Nazism
- Anti-Semitism
- White Supremacism



BLOOD AND HONOUR (CLUB 28)

LEADER
Kyle McKee

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown (100 est.)

IDEOLOGY

- Neo-Nazism
- Anti-Semitism
- Ultra-Nationalism



ATALANTE-QUEBEC

LEADER
Raphaël Lévesque

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- Ultra-Nationalism
- Neo-Fascism
- Autochonism

DESCRIPTION

Formed in Quebec in 2016, Atalante says it advocates an “identity policy for community, sports, cultural and intellectual purposes.” Its members parade regularly in the streets of Quebec, in particular to call for the “remigration” of Quebec’s cultural communities, that is, the return of immigrants to their countries of origin.¹⁹ Their activities include but are not limited to ‘flyering’, banner drops, participating in anti-immigrant rallies (alongside SoO Quebec), and providing food to the homeless in Quebec.²⁰ Perhaps of most concern are Atalante’s links to intimidation and violent forms of activism. In May 2018, for example, Atalante activists stormed the Montréal offices of VICE magazine and cited unfavourable coverage by one of its journalists, tossing leaflets and clown noses around the online news magazines offices.²¹ Moreover, Atalante Montréal organizer Shawn Beauvais-MacDonald was among a number of Canadian radical right extremists involved in violence at the 2017 Charlottesville ‘Unite the Right’ rally²², to an extent to which some Quebec-based anti-fascist groups allege a connection between his presence and the death of counter-protestor Heather Heyer.²³ At the time of writing in January 2020, Atalante Quebec has 6,725 Facebook, 180 Twitter, and 57 Instagram followers.

NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

Ultra-Nationalism:
“Only the Nation can synthesize between a territory, a people, its culture, its history and its national conscience.”
-An excerpt from Atalante’s Home Page.²⁴

Neo-Fascism:
“What we want is to create the new Nation, the new society. In short, a new social order which would not be based on material gains, but on the sense of sacrifice, heroism, honor and the common good.”
-An excerpt from Atalante’s Mission Statement.²⁵

Autochonism:
“We believe in the self-determination of peoples, in their independence and their right to be in the majority on their lands.”
- An excerpt from Atalante’s website Home Page.²⁶

¹⁹ Coutu, S, ‘The far right and the antifas promise an eventful summer’, *VICE News*, 18 May 2018, Online at: https://www.vice.com/fr_ca/article/zm8xay/lextreme-droit-et-les-antifas-se-promettent-un-ete-mouvemente.

²⁰ Anti-Racist Canada, ‘Who Are Atalante? A Deep Dive Into A Quebec Hate Group’, 5 December 2019, online at: <http://anti-racistcanada.blogspot.com/2019/12/who-are-atalante-deep-dive-into-quebec.html>.

²¹ Coutu, S, ‘Far-Right Extremists Stormed the VICE Office in Montréal’, *VICE News*, 24 March 2018, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/neckpk/far-right-extremists-stormed-the-vice-office-in-montreal.


²² Coutu, S, ‘We talked to a Quebecer who joined the white supremacist rally in Charlottesville’, *VICE News*, 18 August 2017, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/8xmknk/we-talked-to-a-quebecer-who-joined-the-white-supremacist-rally-in-charlottesville.


²³ Anti-Racist Canada, ‘Who Are Atalante? A Deep Dive Into A Quebec Hate Group’, 5 December 2019, online at: <http://anti-racistcanada.blogspot.com/2019/12/who-are-atalante-deep-dive-into-quebec.html>.

²⁴ Atalante Website, ‘Accueil’ Home Page, online at: <http://www.atalantequebec.com/?fbclid=IwAR1ZivCkBxt76903G2dZLC8FfEj2HsRzPuEU0Pk2faHd32NvGWR-yOzSK80>.

²⁵ Atalante Website, ‘Mission’ Page, online at: <http://www.atalantequebec.com/a-propos/mission/>.

²⁶ Atalante Website, ‘Accueil’ Home Page, Op Cit.

DESCRIPTION	
	<p>Founded in 2006 in Calgary by a young neo-Nazi, Kyle McKee, protests in 2007, 2008, and 2009 as well as an accusation of pipe bombing have firmly placed the Aryan Guard on Canada's radical right extremist map. Coming to prominence initially for its anti-immigration 'flyering' campaign in early 2007,²⁷ the group quickly became the most notorious neo-Nazi group in Canada following their first White Pride March that took place in downtown Calgary in August of that year.²⁸ Using White Pride CDs to recruit youth and becoming more visible through their public marches, more than 40 Aryan Guard supporters turned up again with flags in downtown Calgary proclaiming "White Pride Worldwide."²⁹ Finally, on 21st March 2009, the group held its last publicly recorded rally in Calgary, at which 60 Aryan Guard members violently confronted a group of 400 counter protesters.³⁰ After a pipe bomb was planted outside the home of a rival gang member, an arrest warrant for Kyle McKee was issued and he was later deemed guilty of the possession of bomb marking materials (though not of planting the bomb itself). After this accusation and subsequent legal action, the group later renamed itself 'Blood and Honour' before ultimate proscription in June 2019.³¹</p>
ARYAN GUARD	
LEADER Kyle McKee	
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	
NARRATIVE EXAMPLES	
IDEOLOGY	
Neo-Nazism	<p>Neo-Nazism: "We are Guardians of the White Aryan Race, and as guardians we focus our lives and efforts towards fighting for the freedoms, future and survival of our children and beautiful people." <i>-An excerpt from Aryan Guard Canada's 'Mission Statement' Page.³²</i></p>
Anti-Semitism	<p>Anti-Semitism: "Kill Jews." <i>-Words tattooed on the shins of Aryan Guard Canada's leader, Kyle McKee.³³</i></p>
White Supremacism	<p>White Supremacism: "Our agenda is simple - the 14 Words: 'We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children.' <i>-An excerpt from Aryan Guard Canada's 'Mission Statement' Page, which quotes a phrase that is popular among white supremacists globally.³⁴</i></p>

DESCRIPTION	
	<p>Founded in the US among white supremacists in 1973 by Ben Klassen, the Canadian branch of the Church of the Creator has seen a fusion with the white power music scene in the country. Formed by the founder of the white supremacist band, RaHoWa, George Burdi became the leader of the Canadian chapter, and he in turn pushed the white power scene across the country as a critique of Christianity.³⁵ Moreover, in the early 1990's Burdi organized Church of the Creator paramilitary training with a former member of the Canadian Forces Airborne regiment. In 1993 six homes belonging to members of the Church of the Creator were raided, guns seized and three members of the group were arrested.³⁶ Such violent potential was typified in the same year after the (same) three Church of the Creator members violently kidnaped a young activist from rival Canadian neo-Nazi group, Heritage Front on suspicion of stealing the group's computer containing lists of activists and names of other neo-Nazis in the Canadian military.³⁷ Arrested in 1997 for non-payment of taxes, Burdi exited the movement.³⁸ Today, the Creativity Movement still exists in Canada but on a smaller scale, where its Toronto chapter features links to a number of international radical right extremist groups, including the British Nationalist Party (BNP), and American Creativity groups.³⁹</p>
CHURCH OF THE CREATOR	
LEADER George Burdi	
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	
NARRATIVE EXAMPLES	
IDEOLOGY	
Neo-Nazism	<p>Neo-Nazism: "...might was right when German troops, Poured down through Paris way, It's the gospel of the ancient world. And the logic of today." <i>-Lyrics from RaHoWA song, named 'Might is Right'.⁴⁰</i></p>
Neo-Paganism	<p>Neo-Paganism: "I pluck the beard of your Christian "god", And hack open his worm-eaten skull..." <i>-Lyrics from RaHoWA song, named 'God is Dead'.⁴¹</i></p>
White Supremacism	<p>White Supremacism: "Our race is our religion, it's our reason and our creed; No cowards linger in our ranks, no weaklings make us bleed." <i>-Lyrics from RaHoWA song, named 'RaHoWa'.⁴²</i></p>

²⁷ Street Church, 'City officials let neo-Nazis march without a permit', 3 April 2009, online at: <https://www.streetchurch.ca/news/press-coverage/city-officials-let-neo-nazis-march-without-a-permit/>.

²⁸ Gundlock, B, 'A New Look at Calgary's Neo-Nazi Movement', *VICE News*, 12 March 201, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/exkmvz/a-new-look-at-calgarys-neo-nazi-movement.

²⁹ Komarrnicki, J, 'Anti-racists clash with Aryan Guard', *The Gazette*, 21 March 2008, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080323050210/http://www.canada.com/montrealgazette/news/story.html?id=d80a966a-c835-456a-8021-ed04c1ebcdd3&k=5402>.

³⁰ Aryan Guard, 'March 21st - Aryan Guard Hosts White Pride March', 2007, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20070929082946/http://www.aryanguard.org/>.

³¹ Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies, 'Aryan Guard', 2018, online at: https://casisyancouver.ca/1_19_fifth-generation-warfare.html/rwc-group-database/aryan-guard/.

³² Aryan Guard Website, 'Mission Statement' Page, September 2007, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20070929082946/http://www.aryanguard.org/>.

³³ Southern Poverty Law Centre, 'Aryan Guard Marches on Calgary', Intelligence Report, Summer Issue, 29 May 2009, online at: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2009/aryan-guard-marches-calgary>.

³⁴ Aryan Guard Website, 'Mission Statement' Page, September 2007, Op Cit.

³⁵ Perry, B. & Scrivens, R, *Right-Wing Extremism in Canada*, London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019, PP. 26 & 174.

³⁶ Ibid, P. 188.

³⁷ Ibid.

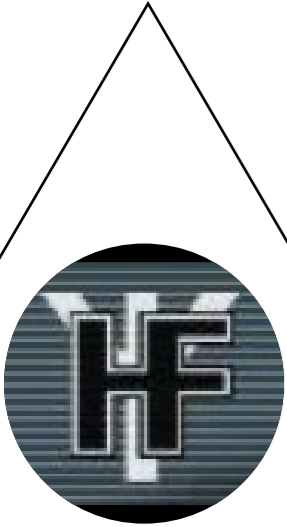
³⁸ Michael, G., 'RAHOWA! A History of the World Church of the Creator', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 18(4), 2007, 561-583.

³⁹ Barbara Perry & Ryan Scrivens, 'Uneasy Alliances: A Look at the Right-Wing Extremist Movement in Canada', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39:9, 2016, 827, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2016.1139375.


⁴⁰ RaHoWa, 'Might is Right', Cult of the Holy War Album, 1995, lyrics online at: <http://www.darklyrics.com/lyrics/rahowa/cultoftheholylwar.html#9>.

⁴¹ RaHoWa, 'Might is Right', Cult of the Holy War Album, 1995, lyrics online at: <http://www.darklyrics.com/lyrics/rahowa/cultoftheholylwar.html#11>.

⁴² RaHoWa, 'RaHoWa', Cult of the Holy War Album, 1995, lyrics online at: <http://www.darklyrics.com/lyrics/rahowa/cultoftheholylwar.html#10>.



DESCRIPTION	
HERITAGE FONT	<p>Founded in 1989 by four former members of the neo-Nazi Nationalist Party of Canada, Heritage Front was a key part of Canada's white nationalist subcultural milieu until it was disbanded in 2005. Engaged in maintaining a telephone propaganda line, organising white power music concerts and other white supremacist cultural events, the group offered a platform for prominent radical right extremist ideologues and Holocaust Deniers in Canada, including Thomas Metzger and David Irving.⁴³ More worrying for law enforcement and public officials, however, was the trail of violence left behind by the organisation, with riots and violent assaults frequently following its music events. In 1993, for example, a riot broke out on Parliament Hill in Ottawa after a concert by George Burdi's rock band, Ra-HoWa (code for "Racial Holy War").⁴⁴ In the same year, a Heritage Front 'hanger on', attacked a 45-year-old Tamil refugee in Toronto, which left the victim brain damaged and partially paralysed.⁴⁵ After an attack on an Anti-Racist Action headquarters in 1993 and the ensuing legal action,⁴⁶ the group's founding leader was forced to step down and subsequently entered into abeyance after the largely unsuccessful leadership of fellow neo-Nazi, Marc Lemire.⁴⁷</p>
LEADERS	<p>Wolfgang Droege Gerry Lincoln Grant Bristow James Scott Dawson</p>
MEMBERSHIP	<p>Less than 10</p>
IDEOLOGY	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p> <p>Neo-Nazism: "I remember as a child, my one brother David showing me books on the topic of the Third Reich. I saw a strong, loyal and faithful country, built with strong, loyal and faithful families." <i>-An excerpt from Heritage Front's December 1997 Newsletter.⁴⁸</i></p> <p>Anti-Semitism: "We do not consider Jewish people to be Euro-Canadians, because they are not descended from Europe" <i>-An excerpt from Heritage Front website 'FAQs' page.⁴⁹</i></p> <p>White Supremacism: "No longer will we be silent as the Canadian government treats Whites as second class citizens. The Heritage Front opposes anti-White Employment 'Equity'" <i>-An excerpt from Heritage Front website homepage.⁵⁰</i></p>



DESCRIPTION	
BLOOD AND HONOUR (CLUB 28)	<p>Formed in late 2009 after the collapse of Aryan Guard, Blood and Honour (B&H) emerged onto Canada's radical right extremist scene around the time of the imprisonment of its leader, Kyle McKee. Performing several rallies and white power rock concerts during the late 2000s and early 2010s, it was famed for its violent activities whilst taking to the streets, putting up pro-white flyers, fighting with antiracists, and attempting to intimidate minorities.⁵¹ Indeed, police referred to McKee as a "micro-führer" with the group organising an annual white pride march in its native Calgary.⁵² Despite a relatively large attendance at such marches (100 in 2011), its activities started to tail off in the mid-2010s as a result of increasing arrests and police clampdowns on the movement.⁵³ The final major setback for the group was the Canadian Government's decision to place the group on a list of proscribed terrorist entities in June 2019, the government citing the group's involvement in domestic violent actions and murders (as well as other such acts in countries outside of North America) as key determinants for the decision.⁵⁴ Disputing the effectiveness of such bans, several agencies pointed out at the time that the group still had an online presence with its own website and profile on VK, a Russian social media site popular among radical right extremists.⁵⁵ In addition, practitioners in Canada have noted a displacement effect, post-ban, which has seen a shift of activists from B&H to various neo-völkisch and racist skinhead groups, including Asatru Folk Assembly and Canadian Hammerskins (who have a page on the international Hammerskins website).⁵⁶</p>
LEADER	<p>Kyle McKee</p>
MEMBERSHIP	<p>Unknown (100 est.)</p>
IDEOLOGY	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p> <p>Neo-Nazism: "NSDAP [Swastika] & 'Waffen SS'" <i>-Slogans written on Christmas stockings owned by Kyle McKee, Blood and Honour Canada's former leader.⁵⁷</i></p> <p>Anti-Semitism: "Kill Jews." <i>-Words tattooed on the shins of Aryan Guard Canada's leader, Kyle McKee.⁵⁸</i></p> <p>Ultra-Nationalism: "It is also the goal of the Blood and Honour movement to unite those people with a legitimate interest in securing the future of our European cultural identity under one common banner." <i>-An excerpt of statement on Blood & Honour Canada's Home page.⁵⁹</i></p>

⁴³ RaHoWa, 'Might is Right', Cult of the Holy War Album, 1995, lyrics online at: <http://www.darklyrics.com/lyrics/rahowa/cultoftheholylwar.html#11>.

⁴⁴ RaHoWa, 'RoHoWa', Cult of the Holy War Album, 1995, lyrics online at: <http://www.darklyrics.com/lyrics/rahowa/cultoftheholylwar.html#10>.

⁴⁵ Romney, L., 'Metzger Seized by Canadian Authorities After Speech', *Los Angeles Times*, 30 June 1992, online at: <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-06-30-me-1437-story.html>. & FPP, 'Witness Statement of Warren Kinsella', 21 January 1999, online at: <http://www.fpp.co.uk/Legal/Penguin/witness/KinsellaPrivileged.html>.

⁴⁶ Farnsworth, C.H., 'Head of Detroit White Supremacist Group Faces Trial in Canada', *New York Times*, 24 March 1995, online at: <https://www.nytimes.com/1995/03/24/us/head-of-detroit-white-supremacist-group-faces-trial-in-canada.html>.

⁴⁷ Perry, B. & Scrivens, R., *Right-Wing Extremism in Canada*, London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019, P. 189.

⁴⁸ *Security Intelligence Committee Review*, 'The Heritage Front Affair: Report to the Solicitor General of Canada', 9 December 1994, online at: <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/lbr/archives/jl%2086.s4%20s43%201994-eng.pdf>, P.22.

⁴⁹ Brean, J., 'Scrutinizing the human rights machine', *National Post*, 22 March 2008, online at: <https://archive.is/20080324231719/http://www.nationalpost.com/news/story.html?id=391873>.

⁵⁰ Lemke, S.L., 'The Whole Rotten Stinking Story that I Never had the Chance to Tell', *The HF Report*, December 1997, online at: https://wayback.archive-it.org/227/20060324205049/http://www.heritagefront.com/reports/hf_report_dec97.html.

⁵¹ Lamoureux, M., 'Canada Adds Far-Right Groups to Terror Watch List for First Time', *VICE News*, 26 June 2019, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/8x-z77k/canada-adds-far-right-groups-to-terror-watch-list-for-first-time.

⁵² Wingrove, J., 'Calgary's in-your-face neo-Nazis take to the streets', *The Globe and Mail*, 18 March 2011, online at: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/calgarys-in-your-face-neo-nazis-take-to-the-streets/article573162/>.

⁵³ See a facsimile version of Canada's Blood & Honour blog for more details of events: <http://canadianbloodandhonour.blogspot.com/>.

⁵⁴ Bell, S., 'Canada adds neo-Nazi groups Blood & Honour, Combat 18 to list of terror organizations', *Global News*, 26 June 2019, online at: <https://globalnews.ca/news/5432851/canada-adds-neo-nazi-groups-blood-honour-and-combat-18-to-list-of-terror-organizations/>.

⁵⁵ Counter Extremism Project, 'Extremist Content Online: Blood & Honour and Combat 18 Maintain Online Presence', 1 July 2019, online at: <https://www.counter-extremism.com/press/extremist-content-online-blood-honour-and-combat-18-maintain-online-presence/> & 'White Pride World Wide' VK Group, online at: <https://vk.com/wppw1488o>.

⁵⁶ Galloway, B. (February 2020) Op Cit.

⁵⁷ Wingrove, J., Op Cit.




⁵⁸ Southern Poverty Law Centre, 29 May 2009, Op Cit.

⁵⁹ *Blood and Honour* Canada Website, 'Home' Page, February 2011, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110213043345/http://www.28canada.org/indexx.html>.



NON-VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN CANADA


NON-VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN CANADA

			
PEGIDA CANADA	SOLDIERS OF ODIN (SOO) CANADA	STORM ALLIANCE	NORTHERN GUARD
LEADER Jean-François Asgard	LEADER Joel Angott	LEADER David Tregget	LEADER Nick Gallant
MEMBERSHIP 30-40 (est.)	MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP 60-70	MEMBERSHIP Unknown
IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY
Anti-Muslim Populism	Anti-Muslim Populism	Ultra-Nationalism	Ultra-Nationalism
Eurabia Conspiracy Theories	Ethno-Nationalism	Identitarianism	Chauvinism
Civilisationism	Vigilantism	Anti-Establishment Sentiments	Anti-Establishment

		
LA MEUTE	III%ERS	QUÉBEC IDENTITAIRE
LEADERS Patrick Beaudry Eric Corvus Sylvain Maikan	LEADER Kazimir Nowlin	LEADER Unknown
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP 150-200 (est.)	MEMBERSHIP Less than 5-10 (est.)
IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY
Anti-Muslim Populism	Anti-Muslim Populism	Ethno-Nationalism
Identitarianism	Militarism	Anti-Muslim Populism
Anti-Establishment Sentiments	Pro-Gun Sentiments	Identitarianism

NON-VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN CANADA

	
PROUD BOYS (CANADA)	ID CANADA
LEADER Unknown	LEADER Unknown
MEMBERSHIP Under 30	FOLLOWERSHIP 1,809 (1,400 Twitter, 261 Gab, 148 YouTube)
IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY
Ethno-Nationalism	Identitarianism
Chauvinism	Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory
Pro-Gun Sentiments	Ethno-Nationalism

	DESCRIPTION
PEGIDA CANADA	<p>Formed in January 2015 “by citizens concerned about the increasing Islamization of our western cultures” after the Charlie Hebdo attacks, PEGIDA Canada (based on the same German acronym standing for “Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West”) claims to have five chapters in Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, and New Brunswick. Whilst early national demonstrations were largely unsuccessful, the persistence, frequency and online followership of the protest group has been sizeable when compared with a number of other international chapters of the protest organisation which entered into abeyance shortly after formation. Organising monthly protests in Ontario on a similar basis to its root organisation in Dresden, Germany, small groups of activists have been the norm, with demonstrators largely outnumbered by a large anti-fascist presence.⁶¹ More of concern has been calls for action by the group in November 2015 for its activists to target mosques.⁶² This led to the German chapter of PEGIDA disassociating itself from the Canadian chapter, despite also drawing on themes of the incompatibility of Islam with Western values.⁶³ The group has a sizeable online presence, which as of January 2020, stands at over 38,400 Facebook, 1,293 Twitter, 290 Gab, and 38 VK follows.</p>
LEADER Jean-François Asgard	
MEMBERSHIP 30-40 (est). ⁶⁰	
IDEOLOGY	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
Anti-Muslim Populism	<p>Anti-Muslim Populism: “PEGIDA is AGAINST allowing parallel societies in our midst, such as Sharia law, Sharia police, etc.” <i>-An excerpt from PEGIDA Canada’s founding principles.</i>⁶⁴</p>
Eurabia Conspiracy Theories	<p>Eurabia Conspiracy Theories: “Islam [is] becoming entrenched in our legal system.” <i>-A post by PEGIDA Canada on the alt-tech platform Gab.</i>⁶⁵</p>
Civilisationism	<p>Civilisationism: “PEGIDA is FOR preserving and protecting our Christian-Judeo based culture.” <i>-An excerpt from PEGIDA Canada’s founding principles page.</i>⁶⁶</p>

⁶⁰ London Free Press, ‘Another anti-Islam protest by Pegida Canada results in assault charge’, 29 October 2017, online at: <https://lfp.com/2017/10/28/anti-hate-protesters-drown-out-small-group-of-pegida-canada-supporters-at-rainy-city-hall-rally-saturday/wcm/ad24aa37-9e2a-c783-4038-60dd5e0cd190>.

⁶¹ For reports of PEGIDA Canada’s initial and subsequent protests, see: Linderman, T., ‘PEGIDA Québec cancels march after anti-racist groups convene’, *CBC News*, 28 March 2015, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/pegida-qu%C3%A9bec-cancels-march-after-anti-racist-groups-convene-1.3013592>; London Free Press, ‘Another anti-Islam protest by Pegida Canada results in assault charge’, 29 October 2017, online at: <https://lfp.com/2017/10/28/anti-hate-protesters-drown-out-small-group-of-pegida-canada-supporters-at-rainy-city-hall-rally-saturday/wcm/ad24aa37-9e2a-c783-4038-60dd5e0cd190>; & Moore, R., ‘Hundreds blocked small far-right crowd from spreading hateful message in Toronto’, *The National Observer*, 24 March 2019, online at: <https://www.nationalobserver.com/2019/03/24/news/hundreds-blocked-small-far-right-crowd-spreading-hateful-message-toronto>.

⁶² Hope Not Hate, ‘Pegida Network’, online at: <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/research/islamophobia-hub/profiles/anti-muslim-street-protest-movements/pegida-network/#9>.


⁶³ Barbara Perry & Ryan Scrivens, ‘Uneasy Alliances: A Look at the Right-Wing Extremist Movement in Canada’, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39:9, 2016, 827, DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2016.1139375.

⁶⁴ PEGIDA Canada Website, ‘About Us’ Page, online at: <https://pegidacanada.webs.com/about>.

⁶⁵ PEGIDA Canada, ‘Islam becoming entrenched in our legal system’, Gab Post, online at: <https://gab.com/Pegida/posts/102803618489515195>.

⁶⁶ PEGIDA Canada Website, ‘About Us’ Page, Op Cit.

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">SOLDIERS OF ODIN (SOO) CANADA</p>	<p>Formed as a local chapter of the similarly named Finnish anti-minority vigilante group in 2016, Soldiers of Odin (SoO) Canada has had a turbulent gestation and development when compared with other groups on the Canadian radical right extremist scene. In May 2017, for example, the Quebec chapter of the group broke off from the main Canadian vehicle amid disputes over whether to stay aligned with the more overtly racially nationalist Finnish chapter.⁶⁷ Engaged in street patrols, park clean-ups and homeless initiatives, the group is known for its street patrols and spreading anti-Muslim rhetoric across its social media pages.⁶⁸ For example, the Soldiers of Odin Canada's (now defunct) Facebook page includes posts such as there is "No Maple Leaf in Islam" and "we will not change our laws, traditions and culture to suit Islam."⁶⁹ Moreover, in January 2019, Ty Hunt, of the SoO Canada offshoot "The Clann Northern Alberta Infidel Division", entered Edmonton's Al Rashid Mosque in order to confront worshippers. Whilst neither as active nor as prevalent as was previously the case, the now splintered nature of SoO Canada is nevertheless a significant security concern, especially when we consider the potential solo-actor threat that potentially lies therein.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADER Joel Angott</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP Unknown</p>	<p>Anti-Muslim Populism: "We don't care if Muslims are here. That's not what we're saying. We're not saying stop immigration. That's nothing to do with what we're saying at all. But Shariah law is scary stuff." <i>-An excerpt from speech by President of Hamilton's Soldiers of Odin, Russ Bingham, branch on 28th March 2017.⁷⁰</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	<p>Ethno-Nationalism: "Between the [sic] allowing of illegal aliens into this country and giving them the ability to vote and drive, [...] and demonizing anything that has to do with European culture [...] we as Soldiers of Odin realize that it is time to take back our streets, provinces, and country." <i>-An excerpt from Soldiers of Odin Canada Bylaws.⁷¹</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Anti-Muslim Populism</p>	<p>Vigilantism: "We are the eyes and ears of the police in places that the police cannot always be." <i>-An excerpt from Soldiers of Odin Canada Bylaws.⁷²</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Ethno-Nationalism</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Vigilantism</p>	

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">STORM ALLIANCE</p>	<p>Started in December 2016 by the founder of SoO's Quebec chapter, David Tregget, Storm Alliance has staged several small-scale protests actively opposing the Canadian Government's stance on refugees and asylum, with the group likening such policies and their multicultural emphasis as "collective suicide."⁷³ Engaging in direct-action stunts reminiscent of identitarian movements in Europe, in May 2018 Storm Alliance organised a rally at Saint-Bernard-de-Lacolle border to high-light movements of asylum seekers at the US-Canadian border.⁷⁴ Moreover, the group has been known to take its direct action stunts directly to policymakers. For example, one pair of Storm Alliance activists were recently arrested for calling for the Canadian Prime Minister to be "shot in the forehead."⁷⁵ Moreover, another set of activists attended a town hall event put on by the Prime Minister in Quebec City, with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police standing between Storm Alliance activists and the main audience.⁷⁶ Whilst small (with only 1,439 Facebook followers), the violent nature of their rhetoric and direct action modus operandi should concern policymakers.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADER David Tregget</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP 60-70</p>	<p>Ultra-Nationalism: "Our sole mission is to preserve the rights of the people and Canadian culture." <i>-An excerpt from Storm Alliance's Facebook Group.⁷⁷</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	<p>Identitarianism: "We aim to protect and save the Canadian values that have helped shape Canada into the wonderful Country it is today." <i>-An excerpt from Storm Alliance's Facebook Group.⁷⁸</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Ultra-Nationalism</p>	<p>Anti-Establishment Sentiments: "We seek to help fellow Canadians in need [...] with a no one left behind' motto." <i>-An excerpt from Storm Alliance's Facebook Group.⁷⁹</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Identitarianism</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Anti-Establishment Sentiments</p>	

⁶⁷ Bell, S., 'Soldiers of Odin splinter in Canada over 'racist agenda' of far-right group's leadership in Finland', *The National Post*, 1 May 2017, online at: <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/soldiers-of-odin-splinter-in-canada-over-racist-agenda-of-far-right-groups-leadership-in-finland>.

⁶⁸ Bridge Team Initiative, 'Factsheet: Soldiers of Odin', Bridge Website, 9 March 2019. online at: <https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-soldiers-of-odin/>.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Craggs, S., 'Sons of Odin doing park and street patrols - a presence not welcomed by everyone', *CBC News*, 9 June 2017, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/sons-of-odin-hamilton-1.4152874>.

⁷¹ Lamoureux, M., 'Soldiers of Canada Bylaws', Scribd, April 2016, online at: <https://www.scribd.com/doc/308890496/Soldiers-Of-Odin-Canada-Bylaws-docx>.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Tasker, J.P., 'Members of far-right Storm Alliance attend Trudeau's town hall in Quebec City', *CBC News*, 18 January 2018, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-town-hall-quebec-city-1.4493562>.

⁷⁴ Olivier, A., 'Immigration protesters and counter-protesters rally near Lacolle border', *Global News*, 19 May 2018, online at: <https://globalnews.ca/news/4220246/immigration-protests-lacolle-border-quebec/>.


⁷⁵ Rowe, D.J., 'Two Quebecers linked to ultra-nationalist group arrested for allegedly threatening Trudeau, Muslims', *CTV News*, 21 December 2019, online at: <https://montreal.ctvnews.ca/two-quebecers-linked-to-ultra-nationalist-group-arrested-for-allegedly-threatening-trudeau-muslims-1.4739996>.

⁷⁶ Tasker, J.P., 'Members of far-right Storm Alliance attend Trudeau's town hall in Quebec City', *CBC News*, 18 January 2018, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/trudeau-town-hall-quebec-city-1.4493562>.

⁷⁷ *Storm Alliance*, 'About this Group', Public Facebook Group, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/327944747605034/about/#>.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p> <p>Formed in May 2017, the Northern Guard is a male-only right-wing extremist group that claims to “defend [Canada] against its internal enemies.”⁸⁰ Primarily active in Eastern Canada, the group was a direct result of a split within the Quebec chapter of SoO Canada over the issue of female leadership.⁸¹ Pointing to its low offline membership, the Northern Guard has largely relied on attending rallies with other radical right groups (such as the Soldiers of Odin, Le Meute, The Proud Boys, and the 3%ers) in order to amplify its reach. Main issues of mobilisation that the Northern Guard have attached themselves to include Canada’s joining of the UN Global Compact on Migration and protest at the government’s handling of the Kinder Morgan pipeline.⁸² Attempts at mainstreaming by the group have been largely unsuccessful, with negative media reports emerging of the group’s links with a punk rock concert and the leader of the People’s Party of Canada, Maxime Bernier.⁸³ Most concerning, however, are the group’s links with members of the Canadian Armed Forces⁸⁴ and its adherence to the QAnon Conspiracy Theory.⁸⁵ (QAnon is a conspiracy theory started by the American alt-right on 4Chan, which postulates a supposed secret plot by the “deep state” against U.S. President Trump.) Northern Guard’s Facebook followership stands at 917, as of 14th January 2020.⁸⁶</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">NORTHERN GUARD</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADER</p> <p>Nick Gallant</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p> <p>Ultra-Nationalism: “I’d be running them n****s the f**k over if I was there.” <i>- A comment posted on the Northern Guard’s closed Facebook group page.⁸⁷</i></p> <p>Chauvinism: “We’re a brotherhood [...] A man who runs a women’s gang, or the opposite, does not work.” <i>-A comment by (former) Northern Guard Quebec and Ontario Spokesperson, Eric Brazeau, in September 2017.⁸⁸</i></p> <p>Anti-Establishment Sentiments: “Our mission is to uphold the constitution, protect our Charter of Rights and protect our Canadian citizens from threats both foreign and domestic.” <i>-An excerpt from ‘About Us’ Page of Northern Guard’s (now defunct) website.⁸⁹</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP</p> <p>Unknown</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Ultra-Nationalism</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Chauvinism</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Anti-Establishment Sentiments</p>	

⁸⁰ Coutu, S., ‘Canada’s Newest Ultra-Nationalist Group Plans Show of Force’, *VICE News*, 7 September 2017, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/yww8ab/canadas-newest-ultra-nationalist-group-plans-show-of-force.

⁸¹ Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies, ‘Northern Guard’, 2019, online at: https://casivancouver.ca/1_19_fifth-generation-warfare.html/rwe-group-database/northern-guard/.

⁸² Canadian Anti-Hate Network, ‘Large coalition of far-right, anti-Muslim groups in Ottawa this weekend’, 4 December 2018, online at: <https://www.antihate.ca/large-coalition-of-far-right-anti-muslim-groups-in-ottawa-this-weekend/> & Issawi, H., ‘Yellow-vest movement offers inroads to extremist elements, and the convoy to Ottawa is no different’, *The Star*, 20 February 2019, online at: <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2019/02/20/yellow-vest-movement-offers-inroads-to-extremist-elements-and-the-convoy-to-ottawa-is-no-different.html>.

⁸³ Ferreras, J., ‘Maxime Bernier poses with Northern Guard, one flashing apparent ‘white power’ sign.’ *Global News*, 9 July 2019, online at: <https://globalnews.ca/news/5473923/maxime-bernier-northern-guard-white-power-sign/> & Lamoureux, M., ‘How a Twitter Campaign Took Down an ‘Ultra-Nationalistic’ Music Festival’, *Vice News*, 2nd July 2019, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/597ecq/how-a-twitter-campaign-took-down-an-ultra-nationalistic-music-festival.

⁸⁴ Anti-Racist Canada, ‘Suspected Active Military Member of Northern Guard’, 6 July 2019, online at: <http://anti-racistcanada.blogspot.com/2019/07/suspected-active-military-member-of.html>.


⁸⁵ Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies, ‘Northern Guard’, 2019, online at: https://casivancouver.ca/1_19_fifth-generation-warfare.html/rwe-group-database/northern-guard/.

⁸⁶ Facebook, ‘The Northern Guard National Page,’ online at: https://www.facebook.com/groups/757386051096790/?epa=SEARCH_BOX.

⁸⁷ Anti-Racist Canada, ‘Part I: Northern Guard Feel Press Misrepresented Them... So Let’s Get To Know Them Better’, 13 September 2017, online at: <http://anti-racistcanada.blogspot.com/2017/09/part-i-northern-guard-feel-press.html>.

⁸⁸ Coutu, S., ‘Canada’s Newest Ultra-Nationalist Group Plans Show of Force’, *VICE News*, 7 September 2017, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/yww8ab/canadas-newest-ultra-nationalist-group-plans-show-of-force.

⁸⁹ Northern Guard Website, ‘About Us’, August 2018, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180827150048/https://thenorthernguard.com/about-us/>.

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p> <p>Founded in September 2015 in French-speaking Quebec, La Meute (or “the Wolf Pack” in French) was started by two ex-members of the Canadian Armed Forces, Éric Venne and Patrick Beaudry, and adheres to fairly strident anti-Islam and anti-immigrant viewpoints.⁹⁰ Engaged in a number of protests and political actions against Quebec’s Liberal Party, La Meute’s main form of activism has been political campaigning, with specific campaigns against hate speech (i.e. Quebec’s Bill 59) and for a bill banning face coverings (i.e. Quebec’s Bill 62).⁹¹ Forming just after the election of Justin Trudeau and a perceived rise in immigration, its online followership blossomed.⁹² (For example, La Meute purportedly boasted a membership of more than 40,000 people for its own secret Facebook group. Investigative reports have suggested, however, that this is overinflated.⁹³) Furthermore, it is the content of posts on such groups that has gained most attention, with numerous references to the Muslim prophet Mohammed as a “paedophile” and “rapist.”⁹⁴ Moreover, it has also been discovered that La Meute has been active in recruiting Canadian Forces soldiers to its cause, with 75 found to be part of the group’s private Facebook page.⁹⁵ Splinters evident in December 2017 and June 2019 suggest that the group is largely in decline,⁹⁶ the group claiming half the number of members of its public Facebook group than at its height in 2017.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">LA MEUTE</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADERS</p> <p>Patrick Beaudry Eric Corvus Sylvain Maikan</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p> <p>Anti-Muslim Populism: “Islam is misogynist, homophobic, racist, anti-Semitism and violent.” <i>-A post by a member of La Meute’s public Facebook Page.⁹⁷</i></p> <p>Identitarianism: “The Pack is made up of patriots who want to keep the gains that have made their country and their nation a reference on a global level, such as their culture (Canadian and Quebecois) and their way of life [...] La Meute does not believe in Canadian multiculturalism.” <i>-An excerpt from founding statement posted on La Meute’s website homepage.⁹⁸</i></p> <p>Anti-Establishment Sentiments: “The pack is a citizen group that campaigns for the defense of freedom of expression and democracy.” <i>-An excerpt from ‘description’ section of La Meute’s public Facebook page.⁹⁹</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP</p> <p>Unknown</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Anti-Muslim Populism</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Identitarianism</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Anti-Establishment Sentiments</p>	

⁹⁰ Radio Canada, ‘43 000 membres pour le groupe d’extrême droite la Meute’, 6 December 2016, online at: <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1004095/43-000-membres-pour-le-groupe-dextreme-droite-la-meute>.

⁹¹ See: La Meute, ‘Nos Actions’ Web Page, 2020, online at: <https://www.lameute-officiel.org/nos-actions-1>.

⁹² Anti-Muslim Populist and Anti-Trudeau Sentiment have been noted as particular rallying points for online conversations by the Canadian radical right. See: Davey, J., Hart, M., & Guerin, C., ‘An Online Environmental Scan of Right-Wing Extremism in Canada’, London: Institute for Strategic Dialogue, online at: <https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/An-Online-Environmental-Scan-of-Right-wing-Extremism-in-Canada-ISD.pdf>. P5.

⁹³ Noël, B., ‘La Meute: The Illusions and Delusions of Quebec’s ‘Largest’ Right-Wing Group’, *VICE News*, 6 January 2017, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/d7pmk7/la-meute-the-illusions-and-delusions-of-quebecs-largest-right-wing-group.

⁹⁴ Patriquin, M., ‘How a far-right movement is getting a free ride in Quebec media’, *iPolitics*, 28 November 2017, online at: <https://ipolitics.ca/2017/11/28/far-right-movement-getting-free-ride-quebec-media/>.


⁹⁵ CBC News, ‘“We have to be neutral”: Canadian Forces warn members affiliated with radical groups’, 4 October 2017, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-military-warns-members-joining-groups-la-meute-1.4327085>.


⁹⁶ Lamoureux, M., ‘In the End, a Quebec Far-Right Group’s Biggest Enemy Was Themselves’, *Vice News*, 20 June 2019, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/d3nekz/in-the-end-la-meute-quebec-far-right-groups-biggest-enemy-was-themselves.

⁹⁷ La Meute Publique, ‘The Wolf, the sheep and the immersion by the veil’, Post on Facebook Group, 21 January 2020, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/942237742559979/permalink/2594659713984432/>.

⁹⁸ La Meute Website, ‘Accueil’ Home Page, online at: <https://www.lameute-officiel.org/accueil>.

⁹⁹ La Meute Publique, ‘Description’ Section, Public Facebook Group, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/942237742559979/>.

	
III%ERS	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p> <p>Formed in March 2016 and named after the popular American myth that three percent of the population fought the War of Independence, the III%ers are perhaps the most concerning group on the Canadian radical right extremist scene at the present moment. Heavily armed and ready for “war” on Canadian soil, III%ers have attended a number of radical right rallies and engaged in their own military-style trainings, and acted as a “security detail” for a controversial anti-Islam speaker, with the group seeing themselves as the “guardians of Canada.”¹⁰¹ Largely concentrated in Alberta, Ontario and Quebec, investigations a year after the formation of the group found a rapid escalation from virulently anti-Islam posturing online to the offline monitoring of mosques, claims of buying land (reminiscent of other radical right extremist groups founding their own ethno-states), and plans for creating smoke and flash bombs.¹⁰² While the group’s voluntarism and attendance at rallies is reminiscent of other Canadian radical right extremist groups, so-called ‘threepers’ are unique to Canada in being a “prepper” militia-style survivalist group, whose standing orders deliberately incite violence.¹⁰³ The Three Percenters are the Canadian chapter of a similar but more established US-based anti-government militia group who attended the 2017 ‘Unite the Right’ Rally.¹⁰⁴</p>
LEADER Kazimir Nowlint	
MEMBERSHIP 150-200 (est.) ¹⁰⁰	
IDEOLOGY	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p>
Anti-Muslim Populism	<p>Anti-Muslim Populism: “We dislike Islam and the Muslims.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-Comments by (former) leader of the Canadian III%ers, Beau Welling.¹⁰⁵</i></p>
Militarism	<p>Militarism: “You cannot have our Life our Liberty or our Property without a fight. We are the Last Line of Defence.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-An excerpt from Three Percenters of Alberta Mission Statement.¹⁰⁶</i></p>
Pro-Gun Sentiments	<p>Pro-Gun Sentiments: “I have no problem with vigorous background checks on firearms. While we’re at it do the same for immigration and voter ID.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-A meme shared on III%er Canada’s open community Facebook page.¹⁰⁷</i></p>

	
QUÉBEC IDENTITAIRE	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p> <p>Starting its main wave of activism in 2014 and adopting a similar name and symbolology to the French radical right extremist group, Bloc Identitaire, Québec Identitaire arose as a form of cumulative extremism in response to the 2014 Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu ramming attack and the 2014 shootings at Parliament Hill in Ottawa. In November 2014, the group vandalized several mosques in Quebec and left paper leaflets with a written message in Québécois French “Islam hors de chez moi” (“Islam out of my country”).¹⁰⁸ Moreover, in June 2016, the group left a pig’s head outside of the Quebec City mosque, with a note “Bonne appétit” attached to it.¹⁰⁹ More recently, Canada’s public broadcaster CBC unearthed two police reports of public incitement to hatred in which Québec Identitaire is named,¹¹⁰ a significant charge in Canada’s criminal code that can procure a sentence of up to two years in prison.¹¹¹ Compared to other radical right extremist groups in Canada, however, the activities of the group have been sporadic and (since the June 2016 incident) it seems to the group has virtually gone into abeyance.</p>
LEADER Unknown	
MEMBERSHIP Less than 5-10 (est.)	
IDEOLOGY	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p>
Ethno-Nationalism	<p>Ethno-Nationalism: “Islam out of my country.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-An excerpt from leaflets left outside of several, vandalized mosques in Quebec in November 2014.¹¹²</i></p>
Anti-Muslim Populism	<p>Islamophobia: “Bonne appétit.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-A note left on pigs head outside of the Quebec City mosque in June 2016.¹¹³</i></p>
Identitarianism	<p>Identitarianism: “732 [A.D.] Generation Identitaire.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-An excerpt from a banner unfurled in 2012 by Québec Identitaire’s namesake in Poitiers, France, referring to the year in which the Frankish king Charles Martel turned back the invading Moors.¹¹⁴</i></p>

¹⁰⁰ This is based on reported figures of the Alberta chapter with figures likely to be higher.

¹⁰¹ Facebook, ‘The III%ers Community’ Page, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/III%OECCommunity/>.

¹⁰² Lamoureux, M., ‘The Birth of Canada’s Armed, Anti-Islamic ‘Patriot’ Group’, *Vice News*, 14 June 2017, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/new9wd/the-birth-of-canadas-armed-anti-islamic-patriot-group.

¹⁰³ *Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies*, ‘The Three Percent (III%)’, 2019, online at: https://casivancouver.ca/1_19_fifth-generation-warfare.html/rwc-group-database/the-three-percent-iii/.

¹⁰⁴ Hutter, K., ‘Three Percenters are Canada’s ‘most dangerous’ extremist group, say some experts’, *CBC News*, 10 May 2018, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/three-percenters-canada-1.4647199>.

¹⁰⁵ Lamoureux, M., Op Cit., 14 June 2017.

¹⁰⁶ Hutter, K., Op Cit., 10 May 2018.

¹⁰⁷ III%ers of Alberta Facebook Page, ‘Story’ Section, online at: https://www.facebook.com/pg/III%OECCommunity/about/?ref=page_internal.

¹⁰⁸ *CBC News*, ‘Quebec City, St-Jean-sur-Richelieu mosques vandalized’, 10 November 2014, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-city-st-jean-sur-richelieu-mosques-vandalized-1.2829698>.

¹⁰⁹ *CBC News*, ‘Pig’s head left outside Quebec City mosque with ‘bon appétit’ note’, 19 June 2016, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/pig-head-mosque-quebec-city-1.3642883>.


¹¹⁰ Ibid.


¹¹¹ Government of Canada, ‘Criminal Code (R.S.C., 1985, c. C-46)’, 2019, online at: <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-46/section-319.html>.

¹¹² *CBC News*, Op Cit., 10 November 2014.

¹¹³ *CBC News*, Op Cit., 19 June 2016.

¹¹⁴ *Southern Poverty Law Center*, ‘American Racists Work to Spread ‘Identitarian’ Ideology’, online at: <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2015/10/12/american-racists-work-spread-%E2%80%99identitarian%E2%80%99-ideology>.

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">PROUD BOYS (CANADA)</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADER Unknown</p>	<p>Founded in 2017 as a Canadian chapter of the US-based group, Proud Boys Canada has been a marginal presence in the offline space since its founding when compared to its US-based parent group. Its main manifestation was to disrupt an indigenous Mi'kmaq Canada Day gathering in Halifax, Nova Scotia in July 2017, with five men wearing black polo shirts with yellow piping claiming to be members of a “Western chauvinist” organisation.¹¹⁵ After the event, it was found that the five were Canadian Forces members and were subsequently removed from duties and training. Four of the five resumed their duties under probation at the end of August 2017. The fifth member left the Forces of his own accord. No charges were laid against them. This development (again) shows a worrying overlap between radical right extremists and the military in Canada. It should also be noted that Proud Boys founder Gavin McInnes is of Canadian extraction.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP Under 30.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Ethno-Nationalism</p>	<p>Ethno-Nationalism: “We are western chauvinists who refuse to apologise for creating the modern world.” <i>-An excerpt from image that appeared on the Proud Boys Canadian Chapters Facebook page.¹¹⁶</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Chauvinism</p>	<p>Chauvinism: “We venerate the housewife.” <i>-An excerpt from image that appeared on the Proud Boys Canadian Chapters Facebook page.¹¹⁷</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Pro-Gun Sentiments</p>	<p>Pro-Gun Sentiments: “We love our guns.” <i>-An excerpt from image that appeared on the Proud Boys Canadian Chapters Facebook page.¹¹⁸</i></p>

	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">ID CANADA</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">LEADER Unknown</p>	<p>Starting in 2014 under the name of Generation ID Canada, ID Canada set itself up in 2018 “as a response to Canada’s decaying identity, increased third-world immigration and the prevalence of anti-European sentiments in this country.”¹²⁰ Mainly engaged in publicity stunts and ‘posting’ campaigns, the group has attracted international notoriety when donations by the Christchurch attacker were linked to European chapters of the group.¹²¹ Claiming to have over nine chapters in several Canadian provinces, it is reckoned that the group only has a handful of members in one or two major centres across Canada.¹²² Indeed, their most prominent actions have been a publicity stunt in Toronto in January 2019 involving the unfurling of a banner reading “Defend Your Freedoms, Defend Your Identity”¹²³, and campaigning for white nationalist Faith Goldy’s 2018 Mayoral bid.¹²⁴</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">MEMBERSHIP 1,809 (1,400 Twitter, 261 Gab, 148 YouTube)¹¹⁹</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">IDEOLOGY</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">Identitarianism</p>	<p>Identitarianism: “Identitarians discern themselves in terms of ancestors, people and nation.” <i>-An excerpt from ‘What is an Identitarian’ Section of ID Canada Homepage.¹²⁵</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory</p>	<p>Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory: “We can see the demographic replacement of Old Stock Canadians happening before our eyes. We’re one of the last generations of men and women who can change the tides, and that’s exactly what we intend on doing.” <i>-An excerpt from ‘ID Canada’s History’ Section of ID Canada Homepage.¹²⁶</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Ethno-Nationalism</p>	<p>Ethno-Nationalism: “Our campaigns and energy aspire to nothing less than a rediscovery and renewed love for our nation and its founding people.” <i>-An excerpt from ‘ID Canada’s Role’ Section of ID Canada Homepage.¹²⁷</i></p>

¹¹⁵ CBC Radio, ‘Who are the Proud Boys who disrupted an Indigenous event on Canada Day?’, 7 July 2017, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/asithappens/as-it-happens-tuesday-edition-1.4189447/who-are-the-proud-boys-who-disrupted-an-indigenous-event-on-canada-day-1.4189450>.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ These figures were collected from ID Canada social media accounts on 10 January 2020.

¹²⁰ ID Canada Website, ‘Home’ Page, online at: <https://bit.ly/2T1EY63>.

¹²¹ Lamoureux, M, ‘Christchurch Shooting Suspect Donated to a Far-Right Group Active in Canada’, *Vice News*, 27 March 2019, online at: https://www.vice.com/en_ca/article/vbwaq9/christchurch-shooting-suspect-donated-to-a-far-right-group-active-in-canada.

¹²² Hope Not Hate, ‘Generation Identity Network’, online at: <https://www.hopenothate.org.uk/research/islamophobia-hub/profiles/anti-muslim-street-protest-movements/generation-identity-network/#14>.

¹²³ ID Canada, ‘ID Canada: Defend Your Freedoms, Defend Your Identity’, YouTube, 27 March 2019, online at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6sn5jphM9so>.

¹²⁴ *PressProgress*, ‘Russian Propaganda Networks Are Promoting White Nationalist Faith Goldy’s Run for Toronto Mayor’, 22 October 2018, online at: <https://pressprogress.ca/russian-propaganda-networks-are-promoting-white-nationalist-faith-goldys-run-for-toronto-mayor/>.


¹²⁵ ID Canada Website, ‘Home’ Page, Op Cit.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

NON-VIOLENT & MAINSTREAM RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN CANADA

		
NATIONALIST PARTY OF CANADA	CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR FREE EXPRESSION	YELLOW VESTS CANADA
LEADER Don Andrews	LEADER Paul Fromm	LEADERS Tyler Malenfant Charles Russell Kelly Kamaleddine
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP Unknown	MEMBERSHIP 103,245 (102,390 Facebook, 768 Twitter, 87 Instagram)
IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY
Ethno-Nationalism	White Supremacism	Ethno-Nationalism
Anti-Semitism	Anti-Multicultural Sentiment	Anti-Establishment
Anti-Multicultural Sentiment	Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory	Autochonism

	DESCRIPTION
NATIONALIST PARTY OF CANADA	Founded in 1977 by Don Andrews (born Vilim Zlomislic), the Nationalist Party of Canada aims to promote the “maintenance of European Heritage and Culture in Canada.” From 1977 to 1985, the party published the Nationalist Report, which ceased publication when Andrews and Party Secretary Robert Smith were convicted under the Criminal Code for promoting hatred. ¹²⁸ In 1986, Andrews and Smith endorsed Holocaust denier Jim Keegstra’s bid to lead the Social Credit Party of Canada. ¹²⁹ Key campaigns over the years have included a European Heritage Week and the replacement of worn-out Canadian flags as well as contesting elections in Toronto. On the latter count, the party has had a relatively small impact, securing less than one percent of votes cast. 2006 was the last year the party ran for elected office.
LEADER Don Andrews	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	Ethno-Nationalism: “As for God, if one exists, then God blessed the white race with its racists, who are for the poor and against anti-white self-loathers.” <i>-An excerpt from Don Andrews article on Nationalist Party homepage.¹³⁰</i>
IDEOLOGY	Anti-Semitism: “Even the Europeanized Jews are now in charge of the mild racists (cowardly big-ots), if you judge those President Trump and cuckservative sites like Briebart [sic].” <i>-An excerpt from Don Andrews article on Nationalist Party homepage.¹³¹</i>
Ethno-Nationalism	Anti-Multicultural Sentiment: “That’s our new multicult [sic] Toronto, with criminals, taking over a major Canadian city, like cities in the US now in their grip.” <i>-An excerpt from Don Andrews article on Nationalist Party homepage.¹³²</i>
Anti-Semitism	
Anti-Multicultural Sentiment	


¹²⁸ Drew Fagan, “Not guilty plea entered 2 publishers deny promoting hatred”, *Globe and Mail*, 17 September 1985, P19.

¹²⁹ Stanley Oziewicz, “Evangelist wins Socred leadership, attacked as a racist by Keegstra”, *Globe and Mail*, 23 June 1986, A1.

¹³⁰ Andrews, D., ‘Anyone Who Pushes The Left/Right Terminology is Dividing The White Race’, *NPC Editorial*, online at: <http://natparty.com/>.

¹³¹ Andrews, D., ‘Nature Says All White Nationalists Are Heroes’, *NPC Editorial*, online at: <http://natparty.com/>.

¹³² Andrews, D., ‘Jews and Blacks are Getting The Attention They Don’t Want or Need’, *NPC Editorial*, online at: <http://natparty.com/>.

	DESCRIPTION
CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR FREE EXPRESSION	<p>Started in 1981, the Canadian Association for Free Expression (CAFE) styles itself as being “dedicated to Free Speech, Immigration Reform, and Restoring Political Sanity.”¹³³ Started in Ontario, CAFE publishes its Free Speech Monitor ten times a year. Mainly a defence vehicle for characters on the Canadian and international extremist radical right, CAFE have previously campaigned for the release of Holocaust deniers Ernst Zündel and David Irving, and private citizen Brad Love who faced charges for racially-motivated criminal harassment.¹³⁴ Moreover, on 23 November 2007, Ontario Superior Court Justice Monique Métiévier ruled that Fromm and CAFE had libelled a human rights lawyer, Richard Warman, and ordered them to pay \$30,000 in damages and to post full retractions within ten days on all the websites on which the defamatory comments were posted. Judging from recent postings on CAFE’s website, there are worrying overlaps between the group’s narratives and that of the radical right, with articles warning of Muslim invasion and cultural Marxism among other familiar targets.¹³⁵</p>
LEADER Paul Fromm	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	<p>Anti-Muslim Populism: “So, now protesting the genocide of our own people is seen by the thought police as ‘hate.’”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-An excerpt from an article on CAFE’s website complaining at the removal of a poster – reading read “Diversity = White Genocide.”¹³⁶</i></p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>White Supremacism</p>
Anti-Multicultural Sentiment	<p>Anti-Multiculturalism: “Multiculturalism – A Case of Multiple Personality Disorder.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-An excerpt from an article on CAFE’s website on Multiculturalism.¹³⁷</i></p>
Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory	<p>Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory: “So, You Think Norway is Part of the ‘Free World’: Moslems Invade but ‘Security’ Police Arrest & Deport White Nationalist Author.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-An excerpt from an article on CAFE’s website on arrest of Norwegian white nationalist speaker.¹³⁸</i></p>

¹³³ CAFE, ‘Open Letter to Canadian Government RE: CBSA Modern-day Book Burning’, 21 January 2020, online at: <http://cafe.nfshost.com/> & CAFE, ‘Canada’s Cultural Marxist Tyranny: Political Prisoner Dr. James Sears Sentenced to One Year for “Hate Speech”’, 26 August 2019, online at: <http://cafe.nfshost.com/?p=3193#comment-1905>.

¹³⁴ CBC News, ‘Ernst Zundel sentenced to 5 years for Holocaust denial’, 15 February 2007, online at: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/ernst-zundel-sentenced-to-5-years-for-holocaust-denial-1.659372>; FPP, ‘Confidential Report by Bernie Farber of the Canadian Jewish Congress on a 1986 lecture tour by David Irving’, 8 January 1999, online at: <http://www.fpp.co.uk/Canada/CJC/Farber040486.html>; & Canadian Press, ‘Brad Love Charged In ‘Racially Motivated’ Harassment, Police Say’, *Huffington Post*, 15 July 2013, online at: <https://bit.ly/38tstsq>.

¹³⁵ CAFE, ‘So, You Think Norway is Part of the “Free World”: Moslems Invade but “Security” Police Arrest & Deport White Nationalist Author’, 19 January 2020, online at: <http://cafe.nfshost.com/?p=3510>.

¹³⁶ CAFE Website, ‘Twitter Reports “Diversity = White Genocide” Banner Removed By Cops in Mississauga’, 11 September 2015, online at: <http://cafe.nfshost.com/?p=919>.

¹³⁷ Haynes, R., ‘Multiculturalism – A Case of Multiple Personality Disorder’, CAFE Website, 13 August 2016, online at: <http://cafe.nfshost.com/?p=1339>.

¹³⁸ CAFE Website, ‘So, You Think Norway is Part of the “Free World”: Moslems Invade but “Security” Police Arrest & Deport White Nationalist Author’, 19 January 2020, online at: <http://cafe.nfshost.com/?p=3510>.

	DESCRIPTION
YELLOW VESTS CANADA	<p>Started in December 2018 as a Canadian-based chapter of the Gilets-Jaune protests in France, Yellow Vests Canada aims to mobilise against carbon taxes, Canada’s adoption of the UN Migration Pact, and for Canada’s Trans Mountain Pipeline.¹⁴⁰ Organised by Tyler Malenfant, Charles Russell, Kelly Kamaledine, the radical right extremist element of the movement became apparent early on in the movement’s gestation as a key concern for policymakers and members of the public. In particular, a controversial event in February 2019 known as the ‘United We Roll’ truck convoy attracted several Yellow Vests participants to the grounds of Parliament Hill in Ottawa.¹⁴¹ This event saw radical right extremists speaking alongside mainstream conservatives. Most problematic about the Canadian Yellow Vests movement are not the issues they stand on per se but the mainstreaming of conspiratorial, extremist narratives, and radicalisation potential for ordinary citizens¹⁴², with posts depicting violent threats against Muslims, fringe conspiracy theories and even rape.¹⁴³ A January 2019 interview with the group’s administrator, Tyler Malenfant, for example, revealed belief in a conspiracy that Facebook is part of the recent media “bail-out,” effectively functioning as an arm of state propaganda.¹⁴⁴</p>
LEADERS Tyler Malenfant Charles Russell Kelly Kamaledine	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP 103,245 (102,390 Facebook, 768 Twitter, 87 Instagram) ¹³⁹	<p>Ethno-Nationalism: “Calling his own people white nationalist as if it’s Sin is saying he is a superficial racist.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-A post by Yellow Vests Canada propagating white racism tropes.¹⁴⁵</i></p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>Ethno-Nationalism</p>
Ethno-Nationalism	<p>Islamophobia: “We are Canadian Patriots who refuse to allow this country to walk down the path of Tyranny.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-An excerpt from ‘description’ section of Yellow Vests Canada Facebook group aims¹⁴⁶</i></p>
Anti-Establishment	<p>Identitarianism: “our country’s politicians [...] have the audacity to sell out OUR country’s sovereignty over to the Globalist UN and their Tyrannical policies.”</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-An excerpt from ‘description’ section of Yellow Vests Canada Facebook group aims.¹⁴⁷</i></p>
Autochtonism	

¹³⁹ This is based on figures collected from Yellow Vests Canada Social Media accounts in January 2020.

¹⁴⁰ Yellow Vest Canada, Facebook Public Group, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/565213087274651/>.

¹⁴¹ Crosbie, D, ‘The Far-Right Grassroots Movement Taking Over Canada’, *Canadaland Show*, 28 January 2019, online at: <https://www.canadalandshow.com/far-right-yellow-vests-taking-over-canada/>.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Yellow Vests Uncovered, ‘Thread: Islam is not a Race’, *Twitter*, 11 April 2019, online at: <https://twitter.com/VestsCanada/status/1116443250745925638> & Crosbie, D, ‘The Far-Right Grassroots Movement Taking Over Canada’, *Canadaland Show*, 28 January 2019, online at: <https://www.canadalandshow.com/far-right-yellow-vests-taking-over-canada/>.

¹⁴⁴ Crosbie (2019), Op Cit.

¹⁴⁵ Yellow Vests Uncovered, Op Cit, 11 April 2019.

¹⁴⁶ Yellow Vest Canada, ‘Description’ Section, Facebook Public Group, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/565213087274651/>.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

SUMMARY

With a loose and organisationally unstable movement of protest movements, groupuscules and influencers, radical right activism in Canada paints a worrying picture in terms of violent extremism perpetrated by the groups themselves and solo actors. While they disseminate violent rhetoric on core ethno-nationalist, traditionalist and anti-semitic concerns, which is, similar to comparable groups across the globe, it is interesting to note more extreme forms of anti-Muslim and anti-government sentiment present as well. Added to this, we have identitarian groups and their conspiratorial narratives around a great replacement joining the fold over the past five years.

Drawing upon the above extremist actor profiles in Canada, these narratives can perhaps be helpfully condensed into the following country-specific positions:

1. **Ethno-Nationalist Narrative:** Majority ethnic identities are under threat from Asian migration and indigenous Canadians, elites are complicit in a ‘white genocide’, and all this will invariably end in a ‘race war’ or a ‘great replacement’ of Canadian-born whites.
2. **Anti-semitic Narrative:** Native citizens feel powerless amidst the forces of globalisation, Canadian Jews are part of a globalist corporate media and banking elite, and we must get rid of this non-European people group.
3. **Anti-Muslim Populist Narrative:** National & cultural identities are under threat because of Islam, cultural Marxist elites have been complicit, and all this will end in ‘clash of civilisations’.
4. **Anti-Government Narrative:** Canada’s federal government has too much power, especially in Ottawa. Since their role is to ostensibly to keep ‘the people’ down, we need to rise up against them and impose a new “strong state.”¹⁴⁸
5. **‘Traditional Values’ Narrative:** Canadian society is under threat of moral collapse due to a movement away from heteronormative familial and sexual relations, we need to restore or preserve values and practices that are part of the idealized historical heritage of the nation or ethnic community.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ This was noted by one practitioner (Galloway, February 2020) engaged with the Canadian radical right scene as a strong emerging narrative, with Canada’s current Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, a particular target of some groups’ grievances.

¹⁴⁹ Perliger, A, ‘Challenges from the Sidelines: Understanding America’s Violent Far-Right’, CTC at Westpoint, November 2012, online at: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2013/01/ChallengersFromtheSidelines.pdf>. P. 17.



PART TWO

RADICAL RIGHT COUNTER-NARRATIVES AND COUNTER-NARRATIVE CAMPAIGNS IN CANADA

03

TAPPING INTO ANTI-MUSLIM POPULIST, ETHNO-NATIONALIST, ANTI-SEMITIC, TRADITIONALIST AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT NARRATIVES

If attempting to construct counter-narratives in order to disrupt, delegitimise and/or devalue the appeal of the above narratives, it is useful to identify what we can call ‘entry points’ within the structure of extremist narratives in order to unpick their veracity, authenticity and believability. Such radical right counter-narratives can be done by breaking down such narratives into their orientation (i.e. who, what, where, how & when), action (i.e. evaluation of orientation) and resolution (i.e. prescribed course of action).¹⁵⁰ Whilst it might be unprofitable to contest the factual veracity of the orientation statement (see p. 6 of the RRCN Expert Workshop Report), both the action and solution sections of the narrative might be more profitably contested. The rationale behind such a technique is that radical right extremists tend to do most harm in how they interpret and offer solutions to what is happening ‘out there’, and how they frame reality. Opinions are also a softer target than facts, and this maps onto how extremists use grievances to add their own ideological ‘twist’ on real world events. Therefore disputing the action and resolution statement are more profitable as it means practitioners are disputing the ideological interpretation of the truth (or factual reality) presented, rather than the reality itself. Below are some key counter-narratives that

could be deployed by Canadian practitioners to respond to these messages, and include the following:

1. **Ethno-Nationalist Counter-Narrative:** Highlight the positive contribution of Asian migrants and Ab-origines to the country’s livelihood and past, acknowledge prejudice but fostering more open viewpoints and a less formulaic or rigid conception of migrants.
2. **Anti-semitic Counter-Narrative:** Scapegoating others for our problems is a very easy thing to do. If Western governments were run by an elite faction of Jewish people, why are there not more Jewish ministers in Government? Nothing in the above argument logically leads to the conclusion that non-Jewish people are being side-lined. It is more likely for the Jewish population to be marginalised than vice versa.
3. **Anti-Muslim Populist Counter-Narrative:** Highlight the positive contribution of Muslims to the country’s livelihood, acknowledge prejudice but foster more open viewpoints and a less formulaic or rigid conception of Islam.

¹⁵⁰ This is a simplified version of a similar schema, laid out in: Labov, W., & Waletzky, J., ‘Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience’, *Journal of Narrative & Life History*, 7(1-4), 1997, 3-38, online at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/jnlh.7.02nar>

4. **Anti-Government Counter-Narrative:** Emphasise democratic legitimacy of domestic institutions. Talk of efficiencies and benefits of the current representative system as well as risks of extra-parliamentary activism.

5. **'Traditional Values' Counter-Narrative:** Stress positive contribution by feminists and LGBT movement to the life of the nation (e.g. greater equality, tolerance and inclusion of diverse viewpoints). Reduce threat perception by stressing allegiances in thought and not division.

Turning from radical right narratives and counter-narratives toward counter-narrative campaigns, we can see that there have been several attempts. These are usually community-based actions with some pockets of best practice emerging in the areas of law enforcement and at government level. Below is a snapshot of some notable recent counter-narrative initiatives which (according to one recent report) necessarily target radical right extremists and potential recruits "where they live."¹⁵¹ In particular, the popularity of Mixed Martial Arts among Canadian radical right extremists has been noted, with one Canadian radical right group, Atalante, running its own fight club.¹⁵²

Moving on to counter-narrative projects per se, the first and earliest recent project of note is Against Violent Extremism (AVE) network's 'Communitas' project. Started in 2014, the goal of Communitas was to strengthen individual and community resilience through social interdependence, active citizenship, dialogue, and youth leadership.¹⁵³ The project spotlighted the needs of various communities and had presences in Montréal, Ottawa, the Greater Toronto Area, London, Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver. Perhaps most notable was the project's focus on dialogue in areas affected by radical right extremism. For example, it developed inter-religious and inter-community initiatives

with among 300+ diverse youth (18-30) from across Canada.¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, an assessment of this project cannot be facilitated at the present time due to the inaccessibility of the project's reports.¹⁵⁵

A second project of note was Extreme Dialogue, a counter-narrative project launched in 2015 by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue. Combining multimedia educational resources with short documentary films, the aim of the project was to develop students' critical thinking skills and resilience to radicalisation, explore shared values, and challenge various types of extremist propaganda and ideologies. The films told the personal stories of people who have been affected by violent extremism and include testimony from former members of extreme groups as well as survivors. Extreme Dialogue began in Canada in 2015, and was also launched in the UK, Germany, and Hungary in 2016 with new films and resources featuring the stories of people from those three countries.

One independent assessment of the initiative showed (whilst extensive press and online dissemination saw successful exposure and coverage) the project was less successful in converting this exposure and coverage into continuing levels of engagement beyond the one-week launch period.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, once paid-for advertising had worn off, the impact was not sustained, as unpaid and organic reach and engagement dropped off. In fairness, however, some of this misfortune was attributable to the platforms selected for the launch of the project videos themselves. As the same report argues, some platforms prohibited targeting advertisements at under 18s.¹⁵⁷ Such an obstacle emphasises the need for those conducting these campaigns to take advantage of technical advertising support offered by technology platforms as well as the need for informal actors to be involved in the organisation of counter-narrative initiatives.

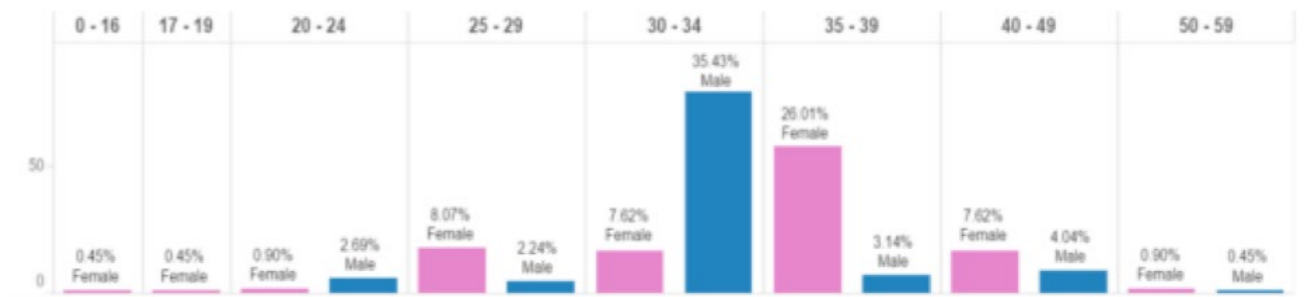


FIGURE 3 Age Range of Twitter Users from the Extreme Dialogue Dashboard¹⁵⁸

A third, more targeted initiative launched in the same year in the UK, USA, and Canada was the Institute for Strategic Dialogue's (ISD) One-to-One programme. A small-scale pilot programme in collaboration with Curtin University, the project used ten former extremists (including five former far-right extremists from North America) to send a direct message to try and start a dialogue and sow initial seeds of doubt around the validity of extremist groups and narratives with 160 individuals considered at risk or already expressing sympathies for extremist organisations.¹⁵⁹ Besides using former extremists, one of the innovations of the project was using highly tailored matching of intervention providers with recipients, for example by focusing

on the age, ideology and gender of recipients. A prototype of a larger Counter Conversations project by ISD, it was also highly successful in engaging individuals compared with standard email marketing campaigns. (For example, over 60% of messages lead to contact and discussion of their extremist beliefs.¹⁶⁰) Again, the main barriers to successful contact and intervention were technological difficulties, with 42 of the 154 profiles identified taken down by Facebook through the course of the project.¹⁶¹ This again stresses the need for counter-narrative campaign providers to work closely with online platforms when designing and executing their interventions (in order to avoid unintended consequences and counter-productive outcomes).

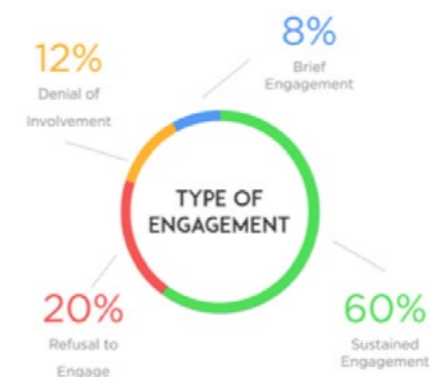


FIGURE 4 Types of Engagement¹⁶²

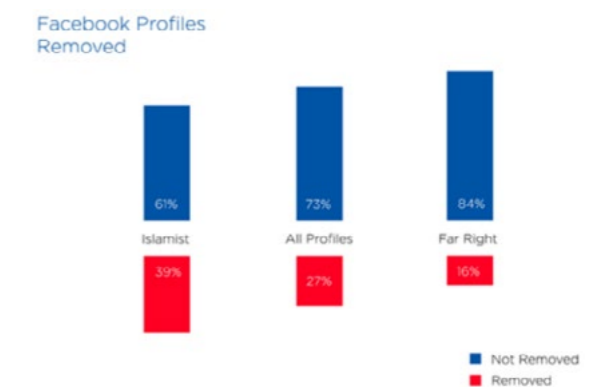


FIGURE 5 Facebook Profiles Removed¹⁶³

¹⁵¹ Barbara Perry & Ryan Scrivens, 'Uneasy Alliances: A Look at the Right-Wing Extremist Movement in Canada', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39:9, 2016, P824. DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2016.1139375.

¹⁵² Zidan, K., 'Fascist fight clubs: how white nationalists use MMA as a recruiting tool', *The Guardian*, 11 September 2011, online at: <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2018/sep/11/far-right-fight-clubs-mma-white-nationalists>.

¹⁵³ Communitas Website, 'Project Concept', 30 June 2014, online at: <http://communitas.ccmw.com/about/>.

¹⁵⁴ Canadian Council of Muslim Women, 'Project Communitas', online at: <https://ccmw.com/project-communitas/>.

¹⁵⁵ Communitas Website, 'Project Reports', 3rd September 2014, online at: <http://communitas.ccmw.com/project-reports/>.

¹⁵⁶ SecDev Foundation, 'Extreme Dialogue: Social Media Target Audience Analysis and Impact Assessments in Support of Countering Violent Extremism', March 2016, online at: <https://bit.ly/37zacr3>.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, P.13.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, P. 23.

¹⁵⁹ Counter-Narrative Toolkit, 'One-to-One: Institute for Strategic Dialogue' Case Study, online at: <http://www.counternarratives.org/html/case-studies-entry?id=25>.

¹⁶⁰ Frenett, R. & Dow, M., 'One to One Online Interventions: A Pilot CVE Methodology', London & Perth: ISD & Curtin University, 2016, P. 14. Online at: https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/One2One_Web_v9.pdf

¹⁶¹ Ibid, P. 21.

¹⁶² Ibid, P. 15.

¹⁶³ Ibid, P. 21.



FIGURE 6 Screen Grab from OSCE video reviewing the Voices Against Extremism Project¹⁶⁷

The fourth reported counter-narrative interventions that we can report on in Canada was a community-based initiative started by students at Simon Fraser University, called Voices Against Extremism (VAE). Launched in September 2016 and backed by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the VAE counter-narrative campaign was aimed at challenging extremist beliefs while simultaneously promoting awareness and education about how issues of extremism impact the community.¹⁶⁴ To this end, the students responsible for VAE decided to build their counter-narrative campaign around the four key pillars of humanization, education, respect, and empowerment.¹⁶⁵ As part of their intervention, students embarked on a video campaign (titled ‘Stories of Resistance’) that interviewed a wide profile of individuals (e.g. refugees, immigrants, law enforcement officials and formers) who had been affected by extremism and solicited their thoughts on community and Canadian identity. During the 14 weeks that it took to design and implement the VAE campaign, the videos relating to the campaign gained significant reach with over 160,000 individuals exposed to the campaign’s content. Moreover, VAE students engaged with nearly 100 elementary school students and 300 members of the public at an art gallery event.¹⁶⁶

Despite this reach, a number of limitations can be noted about this intervention, which targeted both radical right and extreme Islamist ideologies. Firstly, and due to the condensed period of implementation, little is known about the empirical impact of the campaign upon those who engaged with the videos and the extent to which it changed recipients’ attitudes or behaviours. Secondly, it should be noted that reports at the time of the initiative suggested that a majority of individuals involved in offline engagements for the project tended to be people already knowledgeable about the problematic nature of extremism and to some degree active in stopping it. For example, a 2017 article by Logan Macnair and Richard Frank found that attendees at the art gallery event were from law-enforcement, academic, and community-leader backgrounds.¹⁶⁸ Finally, and relatedly, there was also little attempt to measure how the concepts of humanization, education, respect, and empowerment might manifest in those encountering campaign materials, perhaps pointing to a lost measurement opportunity on the part of its creators. All this being said, however, the group of students did remarkably well to reach a wider audience given the time and budget restraints imposed on them, using everyday experiences in an effective way to authentically express how extremism affects individuals, professionals, and wider communities.

¹⁶⁴ Macnair, L. & Frank, R, ‘Voices Against Extremism: A case study of a community-based CVE counter-narrative campaign’, *Journal for Deradicalization*, (10), 2017, P.155.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. P.156.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. P.158.

¹⁶⁷ OSCE, ‘Peer-2-Peer: Voices Against Extremism’, 30 December 2016, online at: <https://www.osce.org/secretariat/291681>.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. P. 159.

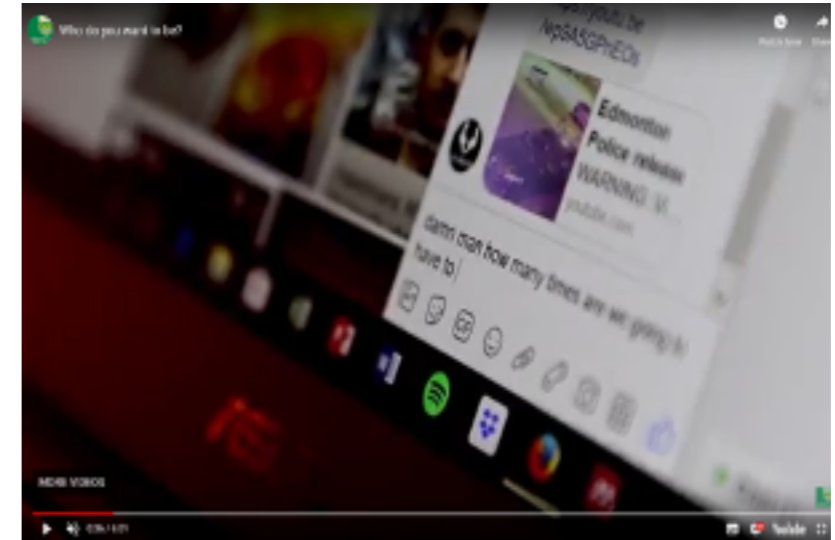


FIGURE 7 Picture of ‘Landscape of Hate’ Project in Action¹⁷²

Another student-led counter-narrative initiative used to combat radical right extremism in the wake of a terror attack in Edmonton, Alberta in 2017 was provided by students at the University of Alberta. Targeting those vulnerable to far-right propaganda, the six minute video (entered into Facebook’s 2017 ‘Peer-to-Peer: Global Digital Challenge’ project) takes the viewer through the process of an individual being groomed into radicalisation as a result of the attack and their realisation of the simplistic and binary narratives of radical right extremists. It then leaves the viewer with the question of “Who do you want to be?”. Using such a question allowed the viewer to make up their mind after sowing a seed of doubt.¹⁶⁹ Providing an example of an alternative narrative, it shows the positive response of minority communities to the attack and their support by mainstream actors. While no independent evaluation has been done of the video and its impact, the overall reach and engagement metrics are promising, with combined views for the short and long form versions of the video pegged at 13,600 along with a number of shares, likes, and comments for the videos posted on ‘Our Alberta[s]’ Facebook page.¹⁷⁰ Despite this traction, it has had a mixed reaction, with the majority of comments on the videos voicing scepticism towards the video’s core message.¹⁷¹

Another community-based project that has tried to take a more creative arts-based and research-led approach to counter-narratives is Concordia University’s SOMEONE (SOcial Media EducatiON Every day) initiative. Launched in April 2016, it is a web-based portal of multimedia materials aimed at preventing hate speech against ethnic minorities and building resilience towards extremism.¹⁷³ The materials are targeted at youth, school and community members, policy officials, as well as the broader Canadian public by focusing on the development of critical thinking and information literacy skills, and encouraging dialogue about how hatred towards minorities is developed in everyday life through social media. One project that has gained particular traction is the ‘Landscape of Hate’ Project that aims to promote a dialogue about how to deal with anti-minority hatred through panel discussions, debates, live art expositions and performance.¹⁷⁴ Since its launch in 2017, the project has put on six events globally, with a wide mixture of artists, researchers, and former extremists taking part. Whilst not specifically focused towards radical right groups themselves, the ‘Landscape of Hate’ Project does spell out the creative potential of using multiple messengers when presenting ethno-nationalist counter-narratives, presenting a plurality of viewpoints and therefore breaking down simplistic binary narratives of ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ that radical right extremists frequently perpetuate.

¹⁶⁹ McMaster, G., ‘Class project questions racist assumptions that can lead to violence’, Organisation for the Prevention of Violence, 5 December 2017, online at: <https://preventviolence.ca/publication/racist-assumptions/>.

¹⁷⁰ Our Alberta Facebook Community Page, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/OurAlberta/>.

¹⁷¹ Our Alberta Facebook Community Page, ‘It’s Not That Simple’ Video, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/OurAlberta/videos/155430945072753/>.

¹⁷² McMaster, G., Op Cit.

¹⁷³ Project Someone Website, ‘About’ Page, online at: <https://projectsomeone.ca/about>.

¹⁷⁴ Project Someone Website, ‘Landscape of Hate’ Project, online at: <https://projectsomeone.ca/landscapeofhate>.



FIGURE 8 Picture of 'Landscape of Hate' Project in Action¹⁷⁵

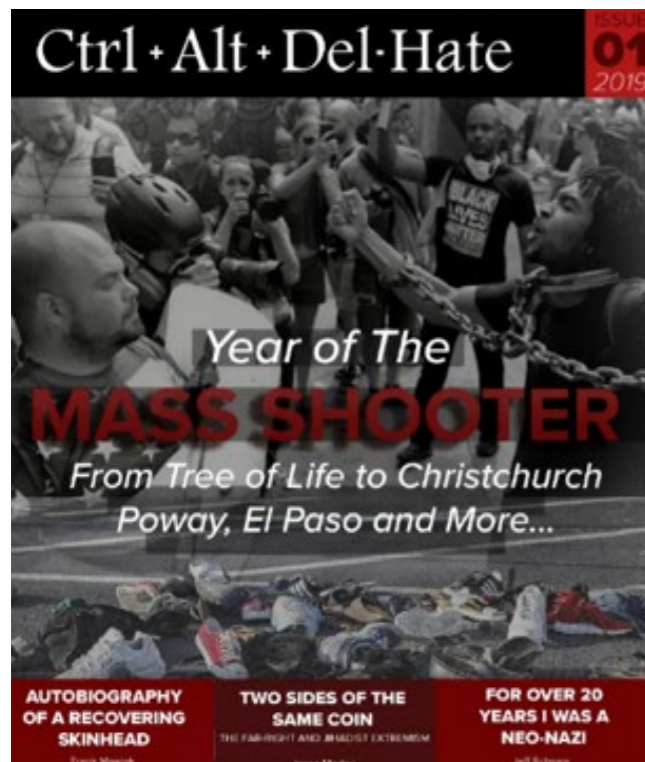


FIGURE 9 Front Cover of the November 2019 Edition of 'Ctrl+Alt+Del-Hate'¹⁷⁷

One final, recent initiative that focuses more on the personal life histories of former radical right extremists in the Canadian context is 'Ctrl+Alt+Del-Hate' (2019). Designed as an e-magazine and part of the www.lightuponlight online ecosystem, the magazines are designed to "provide positive alternatives for those susceptible to or engaged in radical movements." Including testimonies of former violent extremists, survivors of extremist violence and researchers, the magazine also attempts to "prevent interest in extremist ideologies and movements and to provide positive alternatives for those susceptible to or engaged in radical movements." In its first issue of November 2019, for example, the magazine included features with American, Canadian and UK based former radical right extremists (including Brad Galloway of Volksfront and Jeff Schoep of the National Socialist Movement) as well as a hate crime survivor, Hope Hyder. A largely textual outfit, it will be interesting to see how far the reach of the campaign stretches, considering the virality of video-based content on the internet.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This report has tracked Canadian radical right extremist narratives and counter-narratives at a time of increased volatility within the radical right extremist milieu in Canada. Moving from street-based activism into more direct action, vigilante forms of political violence, this report has uncovered the scope of violent lone actor potential within an aging movement that has recently transformed from blood-and-soil racism and into a more coded form of cultural nationalism.¹⁷⁸ It has also highlighted several groups (e.g. Three Percenters, Atalante & Northern Guard) whose narratives paint a concerning threat picture both in terms of potential and actual radicalisation of citizens. Added on to this, we have found specific anti-Muslim populist, ethno-nationalist, anti-government and strong-state narratives that have a deep resonance in the Canadian context, suggesting a wider pool of support than the radical right extremist groups themselves.¹⁷⁹

In response to such volatile circumstances, practitioners would be advised to find ways to interdict spaces and places populated by radical right activists in Canada (both in the online and offline space) using targeted counter-narrative campaigns focusing on the ideological specificities of groups themselves but also the more eclectic grievances voiced by individuals in the online space. Here, it is important to note that several seminal programmes have already attempted to distribute radical right extremist counter-narratives in the Canadian context already. By building Canada-specific counter-narratives into and on top of the Extreme Dialogue, One-to One and Ctrl+Alt+Del-Hate initiatives, it might be possible to disrupt and de-legitimise anti-Muslim populist,

ethno-nationalist, anti-government and strong-state narratives that permeate online echo chambers and filter bubbles. Moreover, by rolling such programmes out at scale in the offline space, it might be possible to inure civil society against the harms of radical right extremism (especially in the diverse contexts of Toronto and Vancouver).

Going forward, therefore, such campaigns need to learn the technological barriers presented by online interventions. Moreover, and when it comes to counter-narratives themselves, it will involve:

1. Highlighting the positive contribution of Asian migrants and Aboriginals to a country's livelihood and to the Canadian nation in the past.
2. Eliminating scapegoating rhetoric in the public sphere, especially when it comes to Jewish and Muslim minorities targeted in radical right extremist campaigns.
3. Emphasising the democratic legitimacy of domestic institutions, and pointing out opportunities for aggrieved citizens to get re-involved in deliberative processes.
4. Stressing the positive contribution by feminists and LGBT movement to the life of the nation, and how such communities have increased the pool of rights for all.

By building on the good practice shown before and recognising the emerging lone-actor threat, Canada will stand a better chance of building resilience and sensitising itself to solo actors that might be at risk of engaging of autodidactic radicalisation in the online space.

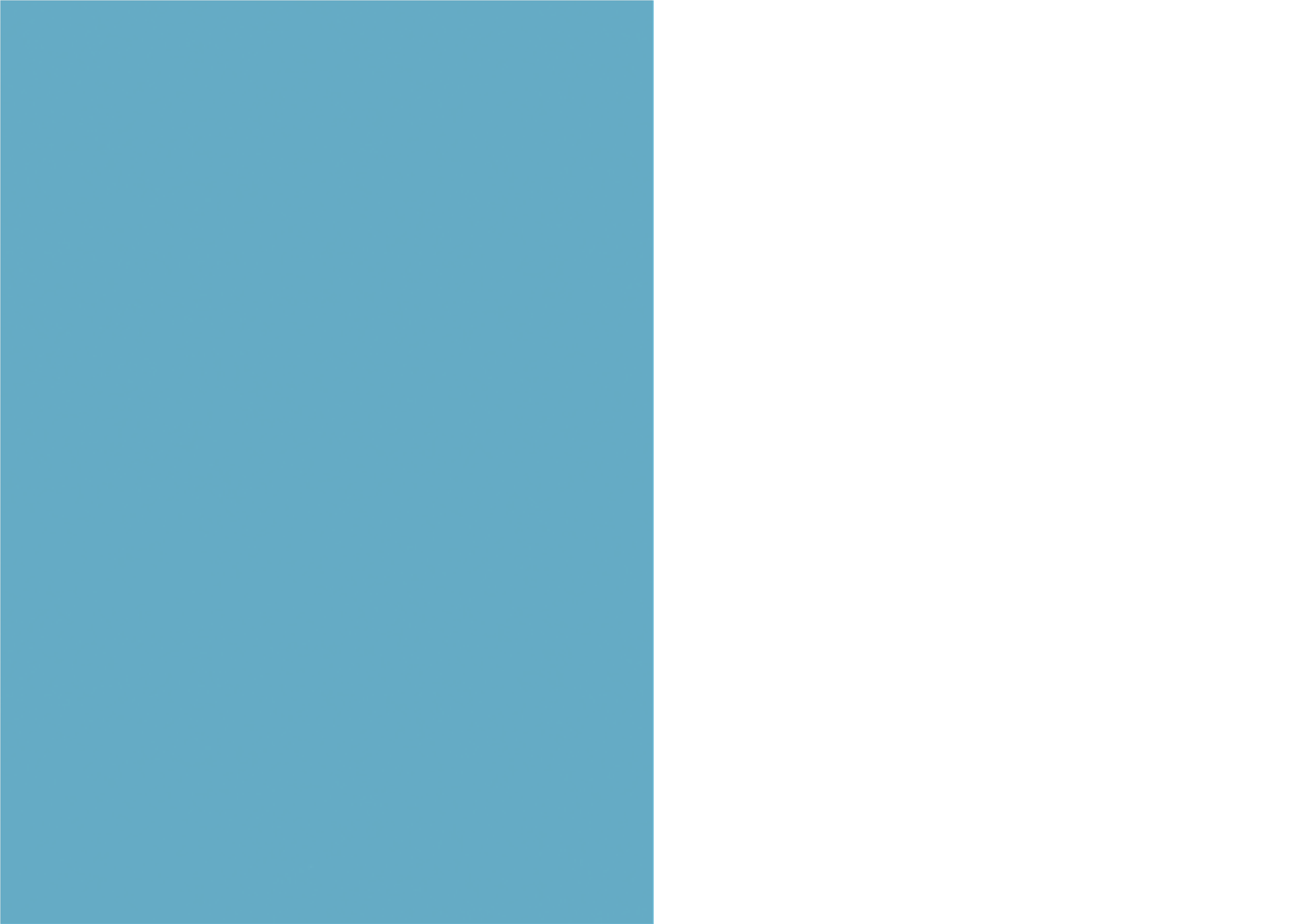
¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ *Light Upon Light*, 'Ctrl+Alt+Del-Hate E-Magazine Issue 01', 1 November 2019, online at: <https://www.scribd.com/document/433021364/Ctrl-Alt-Del-Hate-E-Magazine-Issue-01>.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ At the time of writing in early 2020, anti-pipeline protests were seen as key flashpoint for far-right activism, particularly through the mobilisation of anti-minority and anti-government grievances. See: Gormley, S., 'Could Canada soon face a vigilante problem?', *Maclean's*, 25 February 2020, online at: macleans.ca/opinion/could-canada-soon-face-a-vigilante-problem/.





Hedayah
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