

2022-01-20	current.org	https://current.org/2022/01/security-in-covering-right-wing-rallies-is-a-constant-issue-say-frontline-producers/?wallit_nosession=1	United States	5.1 National Security		IMVE (Right)	During field production in Arizona with director Sam Black, the local crew said they would be uncomfortable filming a rally for former President Trump without extra backup and security because they had been threatened over and over, reporter A.C. Thompson said. "This is a constant issue when you're working for PBS or another sort of legacy media outlet or non-right-wing media outlet covering these issues," he said.
2022-01-21	france24.com	https://www.france24.com/en/europe/20220121-weekly-protests-against-mandatory-vaccination-increase-in-germany	Germany	5.1 National Security			In Germany, more and more anti-vaxxers are joining an increasing number of demonstrations in cities across the country. Mandatory vaccination scheduled for introduction in March is mobilising opponents of the jab as well as those in favour of the move. With a parliamentary debate on the plan set for next week, there's a fear that anti-vaxxers will become more radical. "Mandatory vaccination will add fuel to the fire," said Dr
2022-01-21	Policy Options	https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/january-2022/anti-lockdown-mobilization-far-right-canada/	Canada	5.1 National Security			In a recent report, we note that some of the protestors are those who are frustrated with the impact that public health measures have had on their lives, livelihood and businesses, while many others are figures associated with the far-right, anti-immigrant and anti-government movements. As such, there is concern about the heightened risk of political violence, as well as what the future of this movement may be.
2022-01-23	rabble.ca	https://rabble.ca/political-action/online-campaign-for-rolling-truck-blockades-to-protest-vaccine-mandates-linked-to-right-wing-separatist-groups/	Canada	5.1 National Security			An online fundraising campaign organized by a person associated with the Maverick Party and other western separatist causes now indicates it has raised over \$2 million in the week to bankroll highway disruptions by truckers angry at Ottawa for imposing a vaccine mandate on cross-border essential workers. The "Freedom Convoy 2022" campaign's GoFundMe page showed donations of \$2,450,160 at 3:00 p.m. EST on Sunday. The fundraising goal has been increased to \$3 million. In a statement Saturday, the Canadian Trucking Alliance said it "does not support and strongly disapproves of any protests on public roadways, highways, and bridges. CTA believes such actions – especially those that interfere with public safety – are not how disagreements with government policies should be expressed."
2022-01-24	Salon	https://www.salon.com/2022/01/24/inurrection-by-other-means-the-far-right-is-using-anti-vaxx-sentiment-to-radicalize/	United States	5.1 National Security		IMVE (Right)	The "Defeat the Mandates" rally on Sunday in Washington D.C. was not exactly the blockbuster event, size-wise, organizers had hoped to turn out. The event's planners had predicted 20,000 people, but more reasonable estimates suggested it was fewer than half that who actually showed. But despite the paltry turnout, the event was deeply troubling to experts who monitor the far-right. The tone and tenor of the occasion were so hyperbolic and self-aggrandizing, creating exactly the sort of conditions that will further radicalize ordinary Republicans and stoke more right-wing violence.
2022-01-24	blogto.com	https://www.blogto.com/city/2022/01/anti-vaccine-anti-lockdown-protests-toronto/	Canada				Toronto was hit with a wave of protests over the weekend, the latest in a series of demonstrations that have been occurring since the first public health restrictions took effect in early 2020. Many — including far-right anti-vaccine groups — continue to protest the ongoing health measures even as their expiration nears.

2022-01-26	first news	https://www.thefirstnews.com/article/man-sentenced-for-preparing-anti-islamic-terrorist-attack-in-poland-27495	Poland	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Man arrested in Poland for planning attack targeting Muslims
2022-01-26	daily beast	https://www.thedailybeast.com/dhs-warns-that-right-wing-extremists-could-attack-power-grid	US	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	media reporting indicates a DHS report highlights RWE may want to target power grid
2022-01-28	Toronto Star	https://www.infomedia.gc.ca/ps-sp/fr/2022/1/28/242567459	Canada				(The Toronto Star) Canada's hate problem is reaching new heights, but its justice system has failed to dissuade prolific purveyors of hate and discrimination who repeatedly target vulnerable groups, an Investigative Journalism Bureau/Toronto Star investigation has found.
2022-01-28	Al-Jazeera	https://www.ajazeera.com/news/2022/1/28/very-scary-austria-says-anti-vax-covid-activists-cross-borders	Austria; Europe	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Some activists who reject COVID-19 vaccines and anti-coronavirus measures are crossing borders to join protests where extremist ideology is being spread, Austria's new domestic intelligence chief told the AFP news agency, calling the trend "very scary". Foreign activists are travelling to Austria – where COVID vaccines will become mandatory next month – to demonstrate and hold "network meetings with their partners, right-wing extremists". There are "a lot of people threatening ... critical infrastructure at the moment", including the media, health facilities and politicians, he said.
2022-01-28	Global News	https://globalnews.ca/video/8544169/protest-convoy-nearing-ottawa-sparks-concerns-over-possible-extremist-violence/	Canada	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Security worries are rising in Ottawa ahead of the fast-approaching truck convoy, as their demands to end vaccine mandates spiral into a hostile movement. As Jeff Semple reports, there are concerns the far-right extremist groups latching onto the protest could possibly incite violence in the capital.
2022-01-28	The Guardian	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jan/28/leaked-online-chats-white-nationalist-patriot-front	United States	5.1 National Security			Leaked chats of the US white supremacist group Patriot Front have revealed the day-to-day organizing of a far-right gang desperate for new members as it seeks a higher profile in the US with provocative public marches. The chat logs reveal a group of men struggling to expand membership and being harangued by their leadership to maintain physical fitness, show up to events and contribute financially to the cause of white supremacy – all with limited success. It also shows how the group uses social media to make itself seem larger than it is. The group was responsible for 80% of the white supremacist propaganda incidents tracked by the Anti-Defamation League in 2020.
2022-01-30	lawfareblog.com	https://www.lawfareblog.com/germanys-white-supremacist-problem%E2%80%94and-what-it-means-united-states	Germany	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	ANALYSIS: The German government's reluctance to name white supremacy as a structural problem has led to a focus on a small number of bona fide Nazis while ignoring far more common institutions and practices that also contribute to harm, aggression and violence against Jewish people and people of color. In other words, this reluctance both exceptionalizes white supremacy's most extreme manifestations and minimizes more routine white supremacist practices that enable extremism.

2022-02-01	Winnipeg Free Press	https://www.infomedia.gc.ca/ps-sp/fr/2022/2/1/242634301	Canada				Police were called Friday, after an angry, maskless man yelling obscenities about COVID-19 vaccination requirements barged into the St. James constituency office of NDP MLA Adrien Sala
2022-02-01	Southern Poverty Law Center	https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2022/02/01/one-five-patriot-front-applicants-claim-military-ties	United States	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Roughly one in five applicants to the white supremacist group Patriot Front claimed to hold current or former military status, according to leaked documents reviewed by Hatewatch.
2022-02-01	theconversation.com	https://theconversation.com/freedom-convoy-rolls-through-ottawa-encouraging-the-participation-of-canadas-far-right-175902	Canada				Members of the Canadian far-right have been present in both organizing and participating in the convoy, and their participation is troubling. The "freedom convoy" is just one iteration of how the far-right can and does mobilize willing participants into their movements under the guise of moral freedoms and rights.
2022-02-01	Montreal Gazette	https://montrealgazette.com/news/new-study-sheds-light-on-quebec-conspiracy-theorists-during-pandemic	Canada			IMVE (Right)	Researchers say the pandemic has given conspiracy theorists an opportunity to "make alliances in order to advance their political agendas."
2022-02-01	Calgary Herald	https://calgaryherald.com/news/local-news/rcmp-enforcement-possible-as-coutts-border-blockade-reaches-fourth-day	Canada				Violence broke out at an illegal blockade at the Coutts port of entry Tuesday after RCMP moved to begin enforcement action against participants, according to Premier Jason Kenney. "I've received reports in the last hour of people aligned with the protesters assaulting RCMP officers, including one instance of trying to ram members of the RCMP, later leading to a collision with a civilian vehicle," said Kenney
2022-02-01	CBC	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/two-charged-weekend-protests-ottawa-1.6336086	Canada				On Sunday, police charged 37-year-old Andre J. Lacasse of Ottawa with carrying a weapon to a public meeting. Matthew Dorken is charged with mischief under \$5,000. In addition to the two arrests, police say there are currently 13 active investigations. There were also eight complaints to the protest-specific hotline police set up, with three being investigated by the police's Hate and Bias Crime Unit.
2022-02-03	The Guardian	https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/feb/03/california-county-controlled-by-militia-group	United States	5.1 National Security			On Tuesday, voters ousted Moty, handing control of the Shasta county board of supervisors to a group aligned with local militia members. The election followed nearly two years of threats and increasing hostility toward the longtime supervisor and his moderate colleagues in response to pandemic health restrictions. It highlights a phenomenon that extends far beyond the region, as experts warn the pandemic and eroding trust in US institutions has fueled extremism in local politics and hostility against officials that could reshape governments from school boards to county supervisors to Congress

2022-02-03	zdnet.com	https://www.zdnet.com/article/3d-printed-guns-underground-markets-bomb-manuals-police-crackdown-continues/	Europe	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism		In Europe, bomb manuals are now a hot topic for law enforcement. On February 1, Europol brought together agencies from France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and the UK under a "Referral Action Day" to wipe out dangerous content online. Specifically, Europol says that "content on explosive chemical precursors" – in other words, instruction manuals for the creation of explosives – was targeted under an anti-terrorism action. In total, 563 pieces of content on 106 websites were the subject of a referral for voluntary removal by online service providers. The content may become a subject of the European platform for takedown of illegal content online
2022-02-04	Al-Jazeera	https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2022/2/4/the-war-on-gender-an-unholy-east-west-crusade	Europe	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	ANALYSIS: The European Parliamentary Forum for Sexual and Reproductive Rights (EPF), a network of pro-rights European parliamentarians, claims Christian religious extremists from the US, Russia and Europe have been working to roll back human rights in Europe since 2013 through a coordinating platform known as Agenda Europe. The EPF has identified \$707m spent between 2009 and 2018 (PDF) by NGOs and conservative think-tanks from the US, oligarchs and government agencies from Russia, and private foundations and transnational NGO alliances in Europe.
2022-02-04	Global News	https://globalnews.ca/news/8593700/freedom-convoy-truckers-financing-gofundme-risk/	Canada	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Canadians ought to be worried about whether crowdfunding websites could be used to finance hate groups and other extremist organizations, financial crime and security experts warn. online crowdfunding campaigns have raised concerns about money laundering and something known as "threat financing" – a secretive form of fund transfers in which nefarious actors receive the money they need to carry out campaigns that can be harmful to national security.
2022-02-06	politico.com	https://www.politico.com/news/2022/02/06/ottawa-truckers-convoy-galvanizes-far-right-worldwide-00006080	Canada; United States	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Analysis from the Institute for Strategic Dialogue found multiple U.S. right-wing groups, including those associated with the Tea Party Movement and others opposing U.S. vaccine mandates, had donated to the now-defunct GoFundMe page supporting the "freedom convoy", as well as similar groups from Europe and Australia. That international backing, in part, was driven by several U.S.-focused white supremacist channels on Telegram, which had repeatedly shared a link to the GoFundMe page. A new page linked to the Canadian protests has already raised more than \$2.1 million
2022-02-07	Department of Homeland Security	https://www.dhs.gov/ntas/advisory-national-terrorism-advisory-system-bulletin-february-07-2022	United States	5.1 National Security		IMVE (Right)	Secretary of Homeland Security Alejandro N. Mayorkas issued a National Terrorism Advisory System (NTAS) Bulletin regarding the continued heightened threat environment across the United States. "The United States remains in a heightened threat environment fueled by several factors, including an online environment filled with false or misleading narratives and conspiracy theories, and other forms of mis- dis- and mal information (MDMI) introduced and/or amplified by foreign and domestic threat actors.

2022-02-08	The Guardian	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/08/canada-ottawa-trucker-protest-extremist-qanon-neo-nazi	Canada				IMVE (Right)	ANALYSIS: The so-called "freedom convoy" was the brainchild of James Bauder, an admitted conspiracy theorist who has endorsed the QAnon movement and called Covid-19 "the biggest political scam in history. Other organizers joined Bauder, including Chris Barber, a Saskatchewan trucker who was fined \$14,000 in October for violating provincial public health measures; Tamara Lich, an activist for a fringe political party advocating that western Canada should become an independent state; Benjamin Dichter, who has warned of the "growing Islamization of Canada"; and Pat King, an anti-government agitator who has repeatedly called for Trudeau to be arrested.
2022-02-08	The Guardian	https://www.theguardian.com/global/2022/feb/07/pofundme-criticism-pulling-funding-ottawa-protests	Canada				IMVE (Right)	The protestors migrated their fundraising to GiveSendGo, a self-proclaimed Christian crowdfunding site that in the past has hosted fundraisers for far-right groups including members of the Proud Boys and participants in the 6 January Capitol riots.
2022-02-09	CBC	https://www.cbc.ca/news/ottawa-truck-protest-convoy-us-1.6343784	Canada; World				IMVE (Right)	ANALYSIS: The truck blockade in Ottawa has gone international, inspiring talk of copycat events in the U.S. and beyond. There are now pandemic-related truck convoys planned in all 27 European capitals, New Zealand and elsewhere in the U.S., as right-wing American social media channels buzz with chatter of convoys to Washington. Much of the protest lingo in Ottawa appears copied and pasted from the U.S. political vocabulary, with participants referring to themselves as "patriots" and "We the People" who "hold the line" — and international donations have flowed in. Jessica Davis, a former federal official in financial intelligence, said there are no rules requiring foreign donors to a crowdfunding site to disclose their real identity. "We have no idea [who they are]," she said. "There's literally no identity verification."
2022-02-09	BBC	https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-60314091	New Zealand				IMVE (Right)	Inspired by large anti-vaccine rallies in Canada, hundreds of Kiwis arrived on Tuesday to stage new protests against vaccine mandates and other Covid rules. Protesters adopted the name "Convoy for Freedom" and blocked streets in the capital Wellington. But by Wednesday, their numbers had dwindled to the dozens.
2022-02-09	CTV News	https://www.cnews.ca/politics/liberals-propose-to-expand-trucker-convoy-fundraising-probe-into-study-on-ideologically-motivated-extremism-1.5775150	Canada; United States	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism		IMVE (Right)	Liberal MP Taleeb Noormohamed has proposed to expand the House public safety and national security committee's study of the Freedom Convoy's fundraising efforts to include a study on the rise of ideologically-motivated extremism. Meanwhile at the House foreign affairs committee, NDP MP Heather McPherson is expected to table a motion to invite U.S. Ambassador to Canada David Cohen to appear to answer questions about American influence in the movement.

2022-02-10	CBC	https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/convoy-protest-vaccine-ottawa-1.6345889	Canada; World				<p>Hundreds of the GoFundMe donations to the truck convoy protest came from donors who said they were located outside of Canada, according to an analysis of data collected by CBC News. The analysis of a sample of more than 6,600 comments made on the GoFundMe crowdfunding page before it was shut down shows that 573 donations amounting to more than \$33,378 came from people who said they were located abroad. More than half of those donors - 322 - said they were located in the United States. Collectively, American donors contributed \$21,101 - 63.2 per cent of the money donated by people who said they were located outside of Canada.</p>
2022-02-10	CBC	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/convoy-protesters-police-tactical-knowledge-1.6345854	Canada				<p>Michael Kempa, a University of Ottawa criminology professor, says the convoy's policing and military expertise can be seen in the co-ordination of its downtown occupation. The leadership team for the protesters calling themselves the Freedom Convoy includes: Daniel Bulford, a former RCMP officer; Tom Quiggin, a former military intelligence officer who also worked with the RCMP; Tom Marazzo, an ex-military officer who, according to his LinkedIn profile, served in the Canadian Forces for 25 years</p>
2022-02-10	PBS	https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/close-to-20-bomb-threats-have-targeted-hbcus-this-month-students-say-they-want-more-safety-measures	United States	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	<p>Nearly 20 HBCUs in five states and the District of Columbia received bomb threats since Feb. 1. "These are acts of terrorism. The fact that they haven't led to an explosion, thank God, does not change the fact that these are acts of terrorism," Southern Poverty Law Center chief of staff Lecia Brooks said Tuesday. The FBI identified six "tech-savvy" juveniles as people of interest in the latest threats, adding that they appeared to have racist motivations.</p>
2022-02-10	huffpost.com	https://www.huffpost.com/entry/patriot-front-white-supremacist-group-hate-crime-vandalism_n_620293abe4b0725faad01783	United States	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	<p>previously centered on promoting the group's name and image by posting stickers and flyers in hundreds of cities and towns, projecting a strength and breadth not always matched by the group's actual numbers, its focus recently has turned toward the explicit targeting of the Black Lives Matter movement.</p>
2022-02-11	CBC	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/windsor/windsor-ambassador-bridge-blockade-fifth-day-1.6347766	Canada; United States				<p>Paul Alexander, a former Trump administration official, has been in Ottawa for days to participate in the protests against vaccine mandates and other COVID-19 measures in what he describes as a personal mission.</p>
2022-02-11	The Guardian	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/10/canada-truckers-protest-mindset-intelligence-reports	Canada				<p>Leaders of the Ottawa "Freedom Convoy" protest have warned fellow protesters that the risk of violence is growing, amid speculation the police may move to disperse the nearly two-week occupation of Canada's capital. Daily "intelligence reports" compiled by protest leaders and seen by the Guardian - as well as public comments by the organisers - have grown increasingly alarmist in recent days.</p>
2022-02-13	CBC	https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/special-forces-investigation-protest-1.6350458	Canada				<p>Two members of the military's elite special forces unit are under investigation for their alleged involvement in the convoy protest in Ottawa, according to a statement from the Department of National Defence.</p>

2022-02-14	hilltimes.com	https://www.hilltimes.com/2022/02/14/many-players-behind-truckers-convoy-protest-hillier-says-50-people-in-various-control-rooms-or-war-rooms-in-hotels-around-the-city/344025	Canada				A list of the different actors involved in Ottawa's "Freedom" Convoy. Many of the main organizers of the ongoing occupation of downtown Ottawa that has sparked other blockades to pop up around the country have links to other far-right movements and a history of resisting COVID-19 restrictions.
2022-02-14	The Guardian	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/14/french-covid-freedom-convoy-heads-for-brussels-despite-police-warning	France; Belgium				Hundreds of vehicles taking part in France's so-called freedom convoy were heading for Brussels on Monday, despite warnings they would be prevented from entering the Belgian capital. The French convoy, inspired by the movement that has paralysed Ottawa in Canada, has brought together those opposed to the vaccine pass, gilets jaunes (yellow vests), and anti-government protesters angered at energy price rises.
2022-02-14	The Guardian	https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/feb/14/us-freedom-convoy-canada-covid-vaccine	United States				The effort to launch an American "freedom convoy", inspired by the Canadian truckers who have shut down parts of Ottawa for several weeks initially to protest vaccine mandates, is taking shape in a somewhat haphazard fashion. At least three national organizations, and a constellation of regional ones, say they will depart for Washington in early March.
2022-02-14	Calgary Herald	https://calgaryherald.com/news/local-news/mounties-arrest-11-armed-militant-protesters-at-coutts-blockade	Canada				The Alberta RCMP arrested 13 protesters described as being part of a "criminal organization" at an illegal blockade at the Coutts border crossing, after finding they had access to a cache of guns, armour and ammunition.
2022-02-14	buzzfeed.com	https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/paulmcleod/ottawa-protest-vaccine-mandate-trucker-camp	Canada				ANALYSIS: Backed by donations of cash and supplies, the anti-vaccine mandate protesters have created an off-book supply chain to keep hundreds or thousands of people clothed and fed indefinitely. They do this with the help of a separate site — a parking lot full of vehicles and tents — that serves as a sort of supply depot and logistics center. Staged next to a baseball park on Coventry Road, a few miles east of downtown, it is essentially sanctioned by the city. Police have abandoned hopes of removing protesters for now and are adopting a strategy of containing and keeping watch.
2022-02-15	ABC news	https://abcnews.go.com/US/wireStory/report-conspiracy-theorists-fuel-bump-extremist-killings-82900165	United States	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Newer strains of far-right movements fueled by conspiracy theories, misogyny and anti-vaccine proponents contributed to a modest rise in killings by domestic extremists in the United States last year, according to a report released Tuesday by a Jewish civil rights group.
2022-02-16	MacLean's	https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/the-coutts-blockade-and-controlling-the-narrative/	Canada				ANALYSIS: Monday's RCMP seizure of a massive cache of weapons and arrest of 13 people apparently cast a pall over the Coutts blockade. "We were always here peacefully and to control that narrative, we wanted to leave peacefully," Marco Van Huigenbos, an organizer and town councillor in nearby Fort Macleod, told the Toronto Star. That's why they left. To control the narrative.

2022-02-16	Calgary Herald	https://calgaryherald.com/news/local-news/some-arrested-at-coutts-border-protest-have-white-supremacist-links-activists-feds	Canada	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Anti-hate activists say there are troubling indications that some of those accused of a murder conspiracy linked to the Coutts border blockade are white supremacist extremists who pose a growing threat to Canadians. What grabbed the attention of anti-racism activists were patches attached to the two sets of body armour seized by Mounties. One of them displayed the word 'infidel' with Arabic script translating to kaffir — a logo worn by white supremacists and Islamophobes. A patch on another armoured vest sports the so-called diabolon crest that's been linked to extreme right-wing anti-government groups
2022-02-17	saltwire.com	https://www.saltwire.com/atlantic-canada/news/anti-hate-group-links-patches-on-tactical-vest-seized-in-coutts-to-group-founded-by-nova-scotian-100694259/	Canada	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	A tactical vest seized by police this week near the Coutts, Alta., blockade bears the flag of a neo-fascist group founded by Jeremy MacKenzie, a Nova Scotian who allegedly pointed a gun at another man's head last month while drunk on whisky in Cape Breton. Alberta RCMP announced they had charged four people with conspiracy to commit murder, including a man named Chris Lysak. Lysak, who is from Lethbridge, is one of MacKenzie's known associates, Simons said. He's met, worked out and trained with MacKenzie before, she said, noting MacKenzie has referred to Lysak on social media as Diabolon's head of security.
2022-02-17	northweststar.com.au	https://www.northweststar.com.au/story/7624632/us-neo-nazi-group-listed-as-terror-organisation/?cs=9676	Australia	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Home Affairs Minister Karen Andrews on Thursday announced the Nationalist Social Order, also known as Atomwaffen Division, would become the third far-right group added to the list, joining The Base and Sonnenkrieg Division.
2022-02-19	theverge.com	https://www.theverge.com/2022/2/19/22941291/facebook-canada-trucker-convoy-gofundme-groups-viral-sharing	Canada; United States				An analysis of the "Freedom" convoy's origins and online transnational linkages. NOTE: Based on Facebook metrics, the core of the Freedom Convoy was never really anything more than a small collection of local conspiracy theorists who were then suddenly given a megaphone by America's powerful right-wing disinformation machine.
2022-02-21	saltwire.com	https://www.saltwire.com/newfoundland-labrador/news/canada/the-transatlantic-network-connecting-frances-freedom-convoy-to-canada-100696124/	Canada; France			IMVE (Right)	Reuters has found some of the loudest online voices coordinating France's convoy have direct links with Cossette-Trudel and other Canadians, revealing a network of connections between "anti-vaxx" and right-wing groups in the two countries.
2022-02-21	thehill.com	https://thehill.com/homenews/state-watch/595154-1-dead-5-hurt-in-shooting-at-protest-in-portland-park	United States	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	A fatal shooting on Saturday during a protest against police in Portland, Ore., left one woman dead and five others injured. A man approached a small group of women, according to the Times, and yelled that they were "violent terrorists" and reportedly used vulgar language. He reportedly said that they were responsible for the violence in the city.

2022-02-22	National Post	https://www.infomedia.gc.ca/ps-sp/fr/2022/2/22/243058031	Canada	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Canada's violent political extremists eagerly welcomed COVID-19 as a gift, newly released documents show: a handy "opportunity to promote disinformation" and a recruiting tool, wrapped up in the guise of protecting "freedom." "Violent extremists, both ideologically and religiously motivated, have exploited the pandemic and government response measures, capitalizing on public fear, distrust and socioeconomic unrest to boost radicalization efforts and incite violence," CSIS wrote in December of 2020.
2022-02-23	wkyc.com	https://www.wkyc.com/article/news/local/columbus-man-2-others-plead-guilty-plot-to-attack-nations-power-grids/530-12cb5b34-3750-4d8b-9eb5-ccb66aea377e	United States	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Three men pleaded guilty on Wednesday to a domestic terrorism crime that involved plans to attack power grids throughout the nation. The release details an elaborate plan between the three to attack the nation's substations with powerful rifles in an effort to "cost the government millions of dollars." In doing so, the three men allegedly aimed to cause civil unrest and a race war, potentially inducing "the next Great Depression."
2022-02-25	vice.com	https://www.vice.com/en/article/wxd7zn/us-extremists-putin-nicholas-fuentes	Ukraine crisis; United States	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine Wednesday night, far-right personalities have declared Russia a beacon of anti-wokeism and Putin a strong ethnonationalist. In their minds, Ukraine is just a corrupt pawn in a vast "globalist" conspiracy.
2022-02-28	The New York Times	https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/28/world/europe/germany-covid-far-right-protests.html	Germany	5.1 National Security	5.1.1 Terrorism	IMVE (Right)	In the former Communist East Germany, security officials worry that a long-running movement against Covid restrictions is merging with the far-right and becoming an incubator of political violence
2022-03-01	CBC	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/zeiger-nec-nazi-recruiter-trial-day-on-1.6367956	Canada			IMVE (Right)	The hate-propaganda case against an alleged neo-Nazi known online as Zeiger hinges on a single article published on a website called the Daily Stormer on Jan. 23, 2017. Gabriel Sohler-Chaput pleaded not guilty to a
2022-03-01	vice.com	https://www.vice.com/en/article/xgd73j/ukraine-neo-nazi-battalion-azov-bullets-pig-fat-chechen-russia	Ukraine crisis			IMVE (Right)	Ukraine's Azov Battalion Is Greasing Bullets in Pig Fat for Russia's Muslim Soldiers
2022-03-01	Al-Jazeera	https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/1/who-are-the-azov-regiment	Ukraine crisis			IMVE (Right)	A profile of the Azov battalion (origins, funding, ideology, alleged war crimes)
2022-03-01	US Treasury	https://home.treasury.gov/news/press-releases/py0619	United States	5.2 Transnational and Serious Orga	5.2.2 Money Laundering	IMVE (Right)	The U.S. Department of the Treasury issued the 2022 National Risk Assessments (NRAs) on Money Laundering (NMLRA), Terrorist Financing (NTFRA) and Proliferation Financing (NPFRA). These documents highlight the most significant illicit finance threats, vulnerabilities, and risks facing the United States. The 2022 NTFRA analyzes for the first time the funding methods that support domestic violent extremists (DVE). While many DVE attacks are self-funded, DVE networks may raise funds through solicitations to supporters, commercial ventures, or criminal activity.

2022-03-03	The Guardian	https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/03/white-supremacist-propaganda-anti-defamation-league	United States			IMVE (Right)	<p>The propagation of white supremacist propaganda in the United States remained at historically high levels in 2021 despite a small recent dip, a new study from the Anti-Defamation League has revealed. The highest levels of propaganda activity occurred in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Texas, Massachusetts, Washington, Maryland and New York. There were also more actual events being held by extremist groups. Three groups – Patriot Front, New Jersey European Heritage Association (NJEHA) and Folkish Resistance Movement (FRM) – were found to be responsible for 91% of all propaganda activity.</p>
2022-03-04	Time	https://time.com/6150317/givesendgo-trucker-convoy-canada-profits/	Canada, United States			IMVE (Right)	<p>GiveSendGo has leaned into controversy, gaining hundreds of thousands of new donors by positioning themselves as an alternative to “authoritarian Big Tech” companies. Wells still describes GiveSendGo as a nonpartisan platform. “We’re not siding with one political ideology over the other,” he says. Yet roughly 75% of the funds raised for the 74 GiveSendGo campaigns that have brought in more than \$100,000 have gone to controversial right-wing causes. The platform appears to have received more than \$640,000 in “gift” donations from supporters of the “Freedom Convoy 2022” campaign and a similar “Adopt a Trucker” effort</p>

Scott, Matthew

From: Little, Kristen
Sent: June 8, 2022 2:57 PM
To: Morawiec, Garrett; Chen, Ashley; Kruk, James; Piamonte, Kandi; Larson, Nathan; Warden, Andrew
Subject: AntiHate Piece on Diagonon - Posted June 8

FYI

<https://www.accresearch.org/reports-1/the-diagonon-movement-and-militant-accelerationism>
https://www.antihate.ca/diagonon_movement_militant_accelerationism

Kristen Little
Intelligence Analyst
RCMP Ideologically Motivated Criminal Intelligence Team (IMCIT)
Kristen.little@rcmp-grc.gc.ca

Scott, Matthew

From: Chen, Ashley
Sent: February 17, 2022 10:32 AM
To: Kruk, James
Subject: CIG reports saved

Hey James, do you keep the CIG reports saved in your inbox? G asked me to locate any CIG reports mentioning MACKENZIE and other members of DIAGOLON in Ottawa. I delete the CIG reports once I've read and forwarded them to you so searching through them is not easy right now... if you still have them saved in your inbox and can search for DIAGOLON or MACKENZIE, can you direct me with the CIG Update #s?

Thanks,
AC

Ashley Chen

Intelligence Analyst / Analyste de renseignements
Ideologically Motivated Criminal Intelligence Team (IMCIT)
National Intelligence / Centre national du renseignement
Federal Policing / Police fédérale
Royal Canadian Mounted Police / Gendarmerie royale du Canada
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Scott, Matthew

From:
Sent: June 29, 2022 2:25 PM
To:
Subject: CSIS AOSE - Report of 5 May's Expert Briefing / SCRS LRCI - Rapport de la présentation du 5 mai
Attachments: Understanding the White Supremacist Threat Today - CSIS AOSE - 5 May 2022.pdf; Comprendre la menace associée au mouvement suprémaciste blanc - SCRS LRCI - 5 mai 2022.pdf

Good day,

Please find attached the report (English and French) from our May 5th Expert Briefing.

Thank you,

Bonjour,

Veillez trouver ci-joint le rapport (anglais et français) de notre présentation du 5 mai 2022.

Merci,

CSIS - Academic Outreach & Stakeholder Engagement (AOSE)
SCRS - Liaison-recherche & collaboration avec les intervenants (LRCI)



ACADEMIC OUTREACH AND STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT



Understanding the White Supremacist Threat Today¹

An open-source-based assessment commissioned
under the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS)
Academic Outreach and Stakeholder Engagement program
Ottawa, 5 May 2022

What to keep in mind

- The white supremacist movement is a top counterterrorism concern in the United States and in many other countries.
- Compared with jihadist terrorism, white supremacist violence is often more connected to broader political disputes, magnifying its impact.
- The movement is increasingly globalized, with ideas and models for action appearing in one country and spreading rapidly to others.
- Much of the movement coordinates on social media, exploiting this relatively new technology to recruit, spread propaganda, and fundraise.
- The white supremacist movement has many weaknesses, including a lack of sanctuary, poor operational capacity, and limited public support.
- More energetic government and technology company efforts, some of which are already occurring, can exploit the movement's weaknesses and make it far less dangerous.

The White Supremacist movement

The white supremacist movement has eclipsed jihadism as a top counterterrorism concern in the United States and many other countries in recent years, becoming a truly global threat. Attacks like the mass shootings at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand in March 2019, the shooting spree at a Walmart in El Paso in August 2019, and the June 2021 pickup truck ramming that killed four members of a Muslim family in Ontario demonstrated the danger that violent white supremacists pose to people around the world even as the threat from Al Qaeda, the Islamic State (IS), and like-minded groups declined.

In March 2021, FBI Director, Christopher Wray testified that racially and ethnically motivated extremists, particularly white supremacists, pose the most dangerous terrorism threat to the United States—an assessment shared by other US intelligence and security officials². Prominent terrorism scholars like Bruce Hoffman and Seth Jones also share this concern³.

In addition to high profile attacks, white supremacist violence seems more connected to politics. The overlap with anti-government extremism, events like the 6 January 2021 US Capitol insurrection, and the often-racist rhetoric of leading political figures reinforce a perception that white supremacists are on the rise. In addition, many of these groups and the movement as a whole coordinate on social media, exploiting this relatively new technology to recruit and spread propaganda and giving their ideas a seeming ubiquity.

This concern about white supremacists is overdue, as is the need to address it, but

the threat can also be exaggerated. Despite the legitimate concerns raised after the harrowing attacks of 2019, the United States has not seen a major white supremacist terrorist attack since then⁴ (as of April 2022). The white supremacist movement can be deadly, but it also has many weaknesses, including a lack of sanctuary and limited public support. More energetic government and technology company efforts, some of which are already occurring, can exploit the movement's weaknesses and make it far less dangerous.

The Danger of Violent White Supremacism

As white supremacists lost power and support in the post-civil rights era, increasingly they came to see white dominance as lost and the white race as existentially threatened. They claimed that a rising tide of non-whites—controlled and orchestrated by Jews—was working to engineer the actual extinction of the white race. The government, once seen as an ally that bolstered segregation and other forms of white dominance, now became an enemy that spied on, arrested, and prosecuted white supremacists. By the 2010s, most hard-core white supremacists thought of themselves as fighting to prevent what some termed “white genocide”⁵. This “cornered rat” version of white supremacist ideology has helped propel many to violence ranging from lesser hate crimes to acts of terrorism and murder.

According to terrorism tracking data from the Anti-Defamation League (ADL)'s H.E.A.T. Map, right-wing extremists (of all types) in the United States engaged in 98 terrorist incidents from 2011 through December

2020⁶. Of those, white supremacists alone were responsible for 40 terrorist plots or attacks⁷.

White supremacists have been responsible for a large proportion of extremist murders in the United States. According to the ADL's report "Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2020", white supremacists were responsible for 53 percent of the 17 domestic extremist-related murders in the United States in 2020. In 2019, they were responsible for 81 percent of 42 such killings. Over the previous 10 years, white supremacists committed 77 percent of all right-wing extremist-related murders and 58 percent of the 430 total extremist-related murders (including left-wing and domestic Islamist-related killings)⁸. There is no denying that white supremacists pose a very real threat of violence.

Making the white supremacist threat more complex is its overlap with other forms of extremism. Such overlap is hardly new: since the 1980s at least, white supremacy and anti-government extremism mixed in many ways⁹. However, greater globalization and the advent of social media have put all this on steroids, enabling white supremacists to engage with extremists of all stripes. This has led to many strange bedfellows, with white supremacists overlapping with the anti-vaccine movement, praising the anti-technology Unabomber, and embracing ideas from the so-called manosphere¹⁰.

The Canadian "Freedom Convoy" in early 2022, involved white supremacists, conspiracy theorists, and anti-government extremists, among others—a confusing but increasingly common mix of extremists¹¹.

During its four years in office, the Trump administration increased public fears of white supremacist violence because of its perceived toleration, and at times even encouragement, of white supremacism. President Trump's rhetoric matched some white supremacist talking points, playing down police violence against Black people¹², calling Mexican immigrants "rapists", declaring COVID-19 to be a "Chinese virus", and telling Black and other minority members of Congress to "go back" to their home countries, among many other remarks¹³. When violence occurred, as it did during a 2017 "Unite the Right" rally in Charlottesville, Virginia organized by white supremacists, Trump opined that their ranks included "very fine people"¹⁴.

Regardless of whether President Trump truly supported white supremacists or was simply trolling his critics, the perception that Trump is a racist is quite strong, with a 2020 poll finding that half of Americans saw him as one¹⁵. Senior DHS officials in the Trump administration modified intelligence reports to play down the white supremacist threat¹⁶. These perceptions and actions have created anxiety among many that Trump gave white supremacists greater freedom to act, in contrast to his predecessors of both parties who sought to clamp down on them.

Social media allows both groups and individuals to quickly, and cheaply, spread their messages. The technologies involved are simple to use, and members can quickly trade best practices, ranging from how to set up a virtual private network to how to use more anonymous email accounts. On social media platforms, individuals can upload videos and manifestos, communicate with friends and admirers,

and otherwise build an organization and spread their cause—all for free.

Terrorists, like extremists of all sorts, also enjoy social media because they can create their own narratives. For years, national newspapers, network news, and other traditional media acted as gatekeepers: even though terrorists depended on the media for publicity, coverage of their actions was usually negative. Today, white supremacists can take a world event, such as the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests following the murder of George Floyd, and frame it as left-wing and Black violence run amok.

Although the white supremacist movement has always had global aspects, social media puts all of this on steroids. White supremacist watcher Heidi Beirich observed that when she began watching this community in the late 1990s, concerns were local: Mexican immigrants in the US Southwest, Jews in the Northeast, and so on. Now, there is more of a shared narrative focusing on white genocide and the Great Replacement, with believers all around the globe adhering to, and building up, the message. The broader misogyny of the movement, skepticism about COVID-19 vaccines, and even QAnon conspiracy theories all show up in multiple countries, although the specific emphasis on particular themes often varies by country and region¹⁷.

The violent fringe of white supremacy regularly interacts with the broader right-wing and white supremacist online ecosystem, including alt-right figures who claim they are merely true conservatives and “alt-lite” figures who revel in mocking liberals. They use jokes and sarcasm to

lampoon the social justice community, feminists, and other supposed villains—and they have flourished. As one extremist noted several years ago, “I am not sure the left understands the monumental ass-whupping being dished out to them on YouTube”¹⁸.

In Canada, this globalized radical community is a two-way street. Cries like “Make Canada Great Again” and the presence of Confederate flags at rallies show how trends from the United States head north, and US citizens played a major role in funding the Freedom Convoy. Canadian white supremacist influencers like Lauren Southern and Stefan Molyneux, in turn, inspire hatred in the United States and other English-speaking countries¹⁹. Given the close personal and professional networks that connect the United States and Canada, there are also shared organizations and operational efforts: Canadian army reservist Patrik Mathews was a member of The Base, a US-origin neo-Nazi group, and trained to do attacks in the United States²⁰. Many of the other groups that have been active in Canada in recent years, such as the Soldiers of Odin, Combat 18, and the Russian Imperial Movement, are imports from other countries with white supremacist problems.

Russia adds another wild card. Russia, often acting through entities with only loose ties to the regime, backs an array of ties to right-wing extremists, including white supremacists, in Europe and to a lesser extent the United States. In addition, through its propaganda outlets and on social media, Russia has tried to polarize Western societies, encouraging radicalization²¹. Given the heightened tensions due to Russia’s invasion of Ukraine,

it is possible that Moscow will step up its support.

The Weaknesses of the White Supremacist Movement

Despite the many legitimate concerns over white supremacy, it is important to remember that the white supremacist movement itself suffers from numerous problems that diminish its appeal and weaken its capacity to use violence.

Lack of public support

Public support for white supremacy is still low, and support for violence is lower still. In the 1960s, the American Nazi Party foundered because it was never able to attract significant members to its ranks, and membership in Ku Klux Klan groups, which surged as a reaction to the civil rights movement, has been declining for decades. Violent groups and individuals active in the 1980s and 1990s like The Order and Timothy McVeigh hoped their attacks would spark a massive sympathetic response. This never happened. In contrast to Europe—where, due in part to parliamentary systems with proportional representation, parties with extreme views like Golden Dawn in Greece and the Alternative for Germany have at times had a significant presence in national parliaments after running on openly anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant platforms—no white supremacist group active in the United States today has a significant political presence at a national or even state level. Racism, anti-Semitism, anti-immigrant sentiment, and other white supremacist beliefs remain strong, though thankfully they are less mainstream than they were

decades ago. Although racism remains manifest in numerous ways ranging from policing, to medical care, to job discrimination, the long-term picture is more positive, with views of intermarriage, Black political leadership, and similar issues improving²² and white recognition of racism and police mistreatment of African-Americans growing²³.

Although white supremacists may seek to use violence to “wake up” white Americans to the dangers of non-whites and Jews, such a clarion call usually fails. Often white supremacists cannot even convince large segments of their own movement of the desirability of violence. The case of white supremacist Dylann Roof is instructive. After Dylann Roof committed his shooting spree at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston in 2015, some white supremacists praised him, but others frowned upon the attack²⁴, largely because they thought it made the victims seem sympathetic and would be used by the authorities to crack down on themselves and the movement as a whole. White supremacist violence can, indeed, inspire more white supremacist violence, but it does not seem to change public opinion, which in all of these cases was repelled and angered by the blood spilled by white supremacist killers. Meanwhile, the attention garnered by accelerationist white supremacist groups such as Atomwaffen and The Base have simply led to a major law enforcement crackdown on them²⁵.

Overt white supremacist parties have had at best limited success in democratic countries. In the United States and Canada, open white supremacists have not won elections. Even parties like the People’s

Party of Canada, which would claim it is not white supremacist but promotes a strong anti-immigrant platform, failed to win any seats in the 2021 election, although it did win 5 percent of the vote. In France and several European countries, however, anti-immigrant parties have done well in elections.

No Sanctuaries for White Supremacist Violence

Terrorist groups and movements tend to prosper in lawless or semi-lawless areas where governments are non-existent or too weak to take down such groups²⁶. In recent years, we have seen such groups thrive in places like Syria, Somalia, and Afghanistan. Absent government toleration or incapacity, terrorist groups will typically be dismantled sooner or later by governments and law enforcement.

White supremacists in the United States, however, do not enjoy the equivalent of an ethnic homeland or part of the country where they are particularly strong. In the Jim Crow-era South, the sympathies of local authorities often firmly rested with white supremacists willing to use violence to oppose the cause of civil rights activists, making prosecutions difficult or impossible. This sympathy has been gone for decades. Today, the deep South is no longer a major center of white supremacist violence. In fact, white supremacist violence tends to be found in states roughly in proportion to population²⁷. This can be read as bad news—“they are everywhere”—but it also means there are few areas of particular strength and influence; white supremacists today are spread thinly across a large country. They have little ability to hinder

law enforcement’s ability to receive tips and develop informants, or to investigate and prosecute them. Charges are regularly brought forward, witnesses are typically willing to testify, and juries are generally willing to convict. In a few places, local law enforcement may be sympathetic to or tolerant of white extremists²⁸, and it is vital to ensure that such officers are detected and fired.

For nearly a half-century, some white supremacist groups and “thinkers” ranging from Richard Butler to Harold Covington have promoted the idea of white supremacists moving to the Pacific Northwest—already a very white part of the country—in order to create a breakaway white supremacist republic (the so-called “Republic of Diagonon” appears to be a joking/not-joking variant of this that includes much of Canada). Such efforts have never had any success, even at a local political level. In some remote parts of some states, white supremacists have at times enjoyed a degree of autonomy, but this has been a function of isolation rather than demographic clout.

Limited Capacity

American white supremacists—like most American extremists of whatever stripe—are best categorized as having grand ambitions but limited capacity. White supremacist groups tend to be small, poorly organized, and broke²⁹. Moreover, as noted above, because white supremacists have no sanctuaries to shelter them from law enforcement, white supremacist organizations that form for the purpose of committing terrorist acts, or which develop such a purpose, are typically quickly

dismantled. Unlike Americans linked to IS or Al Qaeda during these groups' heydays, white supremacists cannot draw on groups that have a strong presence overseas.

As a result, most white supremacist terrorist incidents in the US are not committed by organized groups but rather by lone actors or small, informal cells—something that further limits their capabilities. Such “leaderless” groups are a difficult challenge for law enforcement and intelligence³⁰. However, the individuals themselves are often poorly trained and unable to conduct sophisticated attacks.

Like all Americans, white supremacists have easy access to firearms, but skills like bomb-making are not common within the white supremacist movement, a fact demonstrated by the occasional explosive mishap³¹. White supremacists have come up with many grandiose terrorist plots over the years that they had little ability to realize.

It is true that some low-capability white supremacist terrorists abandon grandiose plans in favour of something simpler but just as deadly, like engaging in a shooting spree. The most lethal attacks, such as shootings in Charleston, Christchurch, Pittsburgh, and El Paso, all involved individuals who used readily available guns. This stands in contrast to more lethal, and more sophisticated, operations like the 9/11 attacks or less complex but still comparatively difficult bombings like the 1995 Oklahoma City attack led by the anti-government extremist Timothy McVeigh. Some white supremacist attacks are simply targets of opportunity and involved little or no planning: a person of colour or other minority background may be assaulted or

killed simply because they were in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Such operations are horrible and, as recent shooters have demonstrated, can be quite lethal. Nevertheless, they are a step down from bombings of transportation targets, as Al Qaeda did in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005, killing 193 and 52 innocent people respectively, or coordinated shooting and suicide bombing attacks, as IS did in Paris in 2015 and Brussels in 2016, killing 130 and 32 innocent people respectively. White supremacists in the United States have so far not demonstrated an ability to launch complex, multifaceted, or simultaneous attacks.

Moreover, the lack of skills and resources among white supremacists have rendered them particularly vulnerable to sting operations, perhaps law enforcement's most potent tool in fighting domestic terrorism. In a typical sting operation, an informant or undercover officer purports to offer the subject some means, such as explosives or weapons that they seek in order to carry out their plans. A subject who goes through with such a deal can be arrested.

Civil Society Inhibits Effectiveness

A number of different types of institutions and many areas of society are willing to work, and often willing to work together, to combat white supremacy. In the United States this includes large anti-extremism organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center, as well as numerous similar but smaller or more regional organizations such as the Montana Human Rights Network,

which dedicate much of their time to tracking and exposing extremists such as white supremacists, educating the general public about them, and helping law enforcement or others combat the problems they cause. Occasionally, their information can even help initiate terrorism investigations³².

Such civil society groups can also, with their many allies in the civil rights community, put pressure on businesses ranging from credit card companies to social media platforms to refuse to allow white supremacists and other extremists to exploit their services and platforms. “Deplatforming” white supremacists—e.g., denying them free and easy use of social media and other platforms for recruiting, networking, organizing, and plotting—is a difficult task but one that nevertheless inhibits all of their activities, including white supremacist violence.

Divided Over Priorities and Targeting

Terrorists have the greatest impact when they have the power to modulate their use of violence. This entails focusing on key enemies and targets while managing the public backlash against their bloodshed and trying to force the government into an overreaction. Groups ranging from the IRA to Al Qaeda have sought strategically to control the violence done in their group’s name, often issuing detailed targeting guidelines³³, and establishing procedures to distinguish between attacks done by the group and those done by sympathizers that the group itself might reject.

White supremacists hate Blacks, Jews, Muslims, Hispanics, Asian-Americans,

immigrants in general, the LGBTQ community, and the left as a whole, as well as many governmental and nongovernmental institutions. Their mixing with QAnon, anti-government extremists, Incels and the manosphere, and other parts of the hate community gives them even more enemies. This enemies’ list gives white supremacists a vast reservoir of grievances from which to tap, and makes for a target-rich environment, but it also makes it hard for them to prioritize and focus their limited resources to achieve specific goals. White supremacists attack all these targets, but they find it hard to modulate their violence due to the decentralization of the movement and the fact that so much of its violence comes from lone actors and informal cells rather than organized groups. If individual activists, on their own, decide which target to attack, they will do so based on personal preferences and local convenience.

As a result, it is harder for them to instil fear into one particular community or to overstretch the system, which some of their thinkers believe would bring about its collapse. They also unite a range of communities against themselves that would otherwise not necessarily see one another as natural allies. Finally, such attacks may prompt a government crackdown when members of the movement as a whole are not prepared for it.

Social Media Vulnerabilities

For all their promise, new technologies can be costly for extremists. Older organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, already in decline, have proved far less social media savvy than other white supremacist organizations and

alt-right figures. This reordering has furthered the decentralization of an already fragmented movement: There are very few organized violent white supremacist groups of any consequence today.

As a result, many would be recruits have no place to train, operations are usually amateurish, and many of the movement's strategies for victory are fanciful to the point of delusional. At times, absurdity results. One neo-Nazi Feuerkrieg Division "commander" from Estonia, for instance, turned out to be a 13-year-old boy whose anonymity online enabled him to play a major role in the organization³⁴.

Perhaps most important, it is easy for the FBI and civil society organizations like the Southern Poverty Law Center to infiltrate the movement—after all, as Peter Steiner's now-famous 1993 New Yorker cartoon presciently noted, "On the internet, nobody knows you are a dog"³⁵. Even encrypted platforms are vulnerable, as informants may pass information to the government. German intelligence, for example, was able to monitor WhatsApp despite white supremacist groups believing its encryption protected them³⁶.

Despite legitimate fears about online radicalization, the real world—and its interaction with the online sphere—still plays the most important role in radicalization. Acquiring some hard skills, such as handling explosives, is facilitated by in-person instruction. Even more important, without discounting the reality of online relationships, in-person ones tend to be stronger and more sustained.

Better Counterterrorism

Intelligence services and law enforcement can exploit white supremacists' many weaknesses and otherwise make these groups and networks far less dangerous. White supremacist recruiting, at least in its initial stages, is usually done openly, often via social media. This allows intelligence and police officials as well as concerned civil society members to identify recruiters and follow potential radicals. Some networks can be identified even in their earliest stages if there are enough interested eyes and ears.

The criminal backgrounds of many white supremacists are another vulnerability. Local police and sheriffs often learn of a problem when white supremacists deal drugs, abuse their spouses, or otherwise commit crimes—and these crimes give the government more leverage when they want the white supremacists to become informants and reveal their fellow radicals. Because they do not enjoy a haven, white supremacists have few places to hide once the government is trying to monitor them. All this, of course, requires that the government actually be looking.

Constant public pressure on groups and the movement also matters to ensure that technology and financial companies deplatform them. These companies often have ambiguous terms-of-service, enabling them to avoid action when they want but also to act decisively if necessary. Public embarrassment is often more effective than law enforcement pressure in getting companies to deplatform white supremacists: after the "Unite the Right" rally Charlottesville in 2017 led to the death of a counter protester and otherwise

tarnished the white supremacist movement and its “alt-right” associates, once-*laissez faire* companies like PayPal became far more aggressive.

The international ties of the movement, though weak compared with some Islamist extremist movements, are also a vulnerability, albeit a limited one³⁷. In April 2020, the United States for the first time designated a white supremacist organization, the Russian Imperial Movement, as a foreign terrorist organization³⁸. Canada is far ahead of the United States in this area, designating far more right-wing groups such as Blood & Honour, Atomwaffen Division, The Base, the Proud Boys, and individuals like James Mason³⁹. Such designation makes any material support—a broad term—illegal and also engages a host of intelligence actors like the National Security Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency, which traditionally have not focused on white supremacist groups. As with the Islamic State or Al Qaeda, individuals who provide even a small amount of money to a designated foreign group or individual can be prosecuted on terrorism charges.

The second order effects can be even more important. Social media and financial companies will shun anyone who has potential ties with such a group or person, denying them resources. This is both a potential source for prosecuting white supremacists and a way to ensure that further international ties are limited. However, white supremacists in the United States are less connected to overseas groups than are jihadists. Moreover, many

of the most dangerous white supremacists in recent years are not affiliated with any organized group.

One of the most important changes is one of the easiest—ending the sense that white supremacy is tolerated from on high. From 2017-2021, the Trump administration sent ambiguous signals toward the broader movement, at times seemingly reluctantly condemning it but also defending causes it champions, like the preservation of Confederate statues and military bases named after Confederate generals and promoting conspiracy theories related to immigrants. It also rhetorically labelled enemies of the movement, such as Black Lives Matter and Antifa, as terrorist organizations, creating confusion and false equivalence. And, of course, on the 6 January 2021, the President incited an array of right-wing groups, including some with white supremacist leanings, to storm the US Capitol and stop what he falsely claimed was a stolen election.

Resources and rhetoric have changed under the Biden administration. High-level support for cracking down on white supremacist violence will ensure that resources are in place to fight white supremacists, that agencies know their roles, and that more mainstream groups that are critical of immigration or otherwise share some concerns of white supremacists know they must reject the violent haters in their ranks.

¹ This report draws on several of my previously published works. They include *Spreading Hate: The Global Rise of White Supremacist Terrorism* (Oxford, 2022); "Identifying and exploiting the weaknesses in the white supremacist movement" (co-authored with Mark Pitcavage), Brookings (April 2021), <https://www.brookings.edu/research/identifying-and-exploiting-the-weaknesses-of-the-white-supremacists-movement/>; "Counterterrorism and Modern White Supremacy", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2021): 1-28; and "When Hate Goes Viral", *ForeignPolicy.com*, 23 March 2022, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/23/white-supremacist-terrorism-social-media-internet/>.

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LIAISON-RECHERCHE ET COLLABORATION AVEC LES INTERVENANTS



Comprendre la menace associée au mouvement suprémaciste blanc¹

Évaluation fondée sur des sources ouvertes commandée dans le cadre du Programme de liaison-recherche et de collaboration avec les intervenants du Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité (SCRS)
Ottawa, le 5 mai 2022

Points à retenir

- Le mouvement suprémaciste blanc est une des principales sources de préoccupation terroriste aux États-Unis et dans bien d'autres pays.
- Comparée à celle qui est attribuable au terrorisme djihadiste, la violence associée au mouvement suprémaciste blanc est souvent plus étroitement liée à des clivages politiques généraux, ce qui en accentue l'impact.
- Le mouvement se mondialise de plus en plus : les idées et les modèles incitant à passer à l'acte qui apparaissent dans un pays se propagent rapidement à d'autres.
- Le mouvement se coordonne en grande partie sur les médias sociaux, tire parti cette technologie relativement nouvelle à des fins de recrutement, de propagande et de collecte de fonds.
- Le mouvement suprémaciste blanc a de nombreux points faibles, notamment l'absence de refuge pour ses adeptes, des moyens opérationnels médiocres et un soutien limité de la population.
- Le gouvernement et les sociétés de technologie peuvent prendre des mesures plus énergiques, dont certaines sont déjà appliquées, pour exploiter des failles du mouvement et le rendre beaucoup moins dangereux.

Le mouvement suprémaciste blanc

Au cours des dernières années, le mouvement suprémaciste blanc s'est imposé comme la principale source de préoccupation terroriste aux États-Unis et dans bien d'autres pays, à la place du djihadisme, et est devenu une menace véritablement mondiale. Des attaques comme les fusillades meurtrières perpétrées en mars 2019 à deux mosquées à Christchurch, en Nouvelle-Zélande, la tuerie commise en août 2019 dans un Walmart à El Paso (Texas) et l'attaque au camion-bélier dans laquelle quatre membres d'une famille musulmane ont trouvé la mort à London (Ontario), en juin 2021, montrent le danger que les suprémacistes blancs violents représentent pour la population partout sur la planète, alors que la menace que font peser al-Qaïda, l'État islamique et des groupes de même tendance s'est estompée.

En mars 2021, le directeur du FBI, Christopher Wray, a affirmé dans un témoignage que la menace terroriste la plus redoutable pour les États-Unis provenait des extrémistes défendant des idées relatives à la race et à l'origine ethnique, en particulier des suprémacistes blancs. D'autres dirigeants de l'appareil américain de la sécurité et du renseignement² partagent cette analyse. Des experts en terrorisme renommés, comme Bruce Hoffman et Seth Jones, nourrissent les mêmes craintes³.

Outre qu'elle engendre des attentats à grand retentissement, la violence du mouvement suprémaciste blanc semble plus étroitement liée à la politique. Ses points communs avec l'extrémisme antigouvernemental, divers événements

comme l'assaut contre le Capitole des États-Unis le 6 janvier 2021 et les discours souvent racistes de certaines figures politiques de premier plan renforcent l'impression que le suprémacisme blanc a le vent en poupe. De plus, bon nombre de ces groupes et l'ensemble du mouvement se coordonnent sur les médias sociaux, exploitant cette technologie relativement nouvelle à des fins de recrutement et de propagande, ce qui laisse croire que leurs idées sont partout.

Il y a certes longtemps qu'on aurait dû se préoccuper du suprématisme blanc et le combattre, mais on exagère la menace qui y est associée. Même si les attaques perturbantes de 2019 ont soulevé des craintes légitimes, il reste qu'en date d'avril 2022, les États-Unis n'avaient depuis été le théâtre d'aucun attentat terroriste majeur lié à cette idéologie⁴. Le mouvement suprémaciste blanc peut être meurtrier, mais il a également de nombreuses faiblesses, notamment l'absence de refuge pour ses adeptes et un soutien limité de la population. Le gouvernement et les sociétés de technologie peuvent prendre des mesures plus énergiques, dont certaines sont déjà appliquées, pour exploiter les failles du mouvement et le rendre beaucoup moins dangereux.

Risques de violence associés au suprématisme blanc

Après la période de lutte pour les droits civiques, les suprémacistes blancs ont perdu du pouvoir et des appuis, donc ils en sont venus à estimer que les Blancs ne dominaient plus et que l'existence de la race blanche était menacée. Selon eux, une marée croissante de non-Blancs, dont la

montée serait contrôlée et orchestrée par les juifs, travaillerait à l'extinction pure et simple de la race blanche. Le gouvernement, autrefois considéré comme un allié qui soutenait la ségrégation et d'autres formes d'oppression par les Blancs, serait devenu un ennemi qui espionne les suprémacistes blancs, les arrête et les poursuit en justice. Dans les années 2010, les suprémacistes blancs purs et durs estimaient qu'ils luttent contre ce que certains qualifiaient de « génocide des Blancs »⁵. Cette version de l'idéologie suprémaciste blanche, fondée sur l'idée que le Blanc est acculé, a incité bon nombre de gens à passer à l'acte, la violence ainsi commise allant des délits haineux aux actes terroristes et au meurtre.

D'après les données de surveillance des actes terroristes tirées de la H.E.A.T. Map (carte sur les incidents haineux, extrémistes, antisémites et terroristes) de l'Anti-Defamation League, les extrémistes de droite (tous genres confondus) aux États-Unis sont impliqués dans 98 actes terroristes de 2011 à décembre 2020⁶. Or, à eux seuls, les suprémacistes blancs sont responsables de 40 de ces complots ou attentats terroristes⁷.

Les suprémacistes blancs sont également à l'origine d'une grande partie des assassinats commis par des extrémistes aux États-Unis. Selon le rapport de l'Anti-Defamation League intitulé « Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2020 » (Meurtres et actes extrémistes aux États-Unis en 2020), ils sont les auteurs de 53 % des 17 meurtres à caractère extrémiste perpétrés au pays au cours de l'année visée. En 2019, ils étaient responsables de 81 % des 42 assassinats du genre. Au cours des 10 dernières années, les suprémacistes blancs ont perpétré 77 %

de tous les meurtres liés à l'extrémisme de droite et 58 % des 430 meurtres à caractère extrémiste (nombre qui comprend les meurtres imputables à des extrémistes de gauche et à des islamistes aux États-Unis)⁸. Il ne fait donc aucun doute qu'ils représentent un risque de violence bien réel.

La menace associée au mouvement suprémaciste blanc est d'autant plus complexe que celui-ci a des points communs avec d'autres formes d'extrémisme. Ces points communs n'ont rien de nouveau : depuis les années 1980, voire avant, le suprémacisme blanc et l'extrémisme antigouvernemental sont liés à bien des égards⁹. Cependant, ces affinités ont été fortement exacerbées par l'accélération de la mondialisation et l'avènement des médias sociaux, qui ont permis aux suprémacistes blancs de nouer des relations avec des extrémistes de tous bords. De cette situation sont nées bien des alliances improbables, par exemple des suprémacistes blancs se sont rapprochés des antivaccins, ont chanté les louanges d'Unabomber, qui est contre la technologie, et ont adopté des idées propres à la « manosphère »¹⁰.

Des suprémacistes blancs, des conspirationnistes et des extrémistes antigouvernementaux ont notamment participé au « Convoi de la liberté » organisé au Canada, au début de 2022, formant ainsi un mélange d'extrémistes confus, mais de plus en plus commun¹¹.

Pendant ses quatre années au pouvoir, le gouvernement Trump a intensifié dans la population la crainte de la violence associée au mouvement suprémaciste blanc parce qu'il donnait l'impression de le tolérer,

voire, parfois, de l'encourager. Le président Trump tenait un discours qui rejoignait à certains égards celui des suprémacistes blancs : il a notamment minimisé la violence policière dont sont victimes les personnes noires¹², traité les immigrants mexicains de « violeurs », affirmé que la COVID-19 était un « virus chinois » et exhorté des membres du Congrès noirs ou issus de minorités à « retourner » dans leur pays d'origine¹³. Lorsque des violences ont éclaté, comme cela a été le cas au cours d'un rassemblement sur le thème « Unite the right » (Unissons la droite) organisé à Charlottesville (Virginie), en 2017, par des suprémacistes blancs, il a déclaré qu'il y avait de « très bonnes personnes » dans leurs rangs¹⁴.

Peu importe qu'il ait vraiment soutenu les suprémacistes blancs ou qu'il ait agi pour provoquer ses opposants, l'idée que le président Trump est raciste a la vie dure : selon un sondage réalisé en 2020, la moitié des Américains le considèrent comme tel¹⁵. Sous son gouvernement, des membres haut placés du département de la Sécurité intérieure ont modifié des rapports de renseignement pour minimiser la menace associée à ce mouvement¹⁶. Ses actes et la façon dont il est perçu ont conduit de nombreuses personnes à s'inquiéter qu'il laisse une plus grande latitude aux suprémacistes blancs que ses prédécesseurs des deux partis, qui cherchaient à les paralyser.

Les médias sociaux permettent aux groupes et aux individus de propager leurs messages rapidement et à peu de frais. Les technologies employées sont conviviales et les membres peuvent vite échanger des conseils sur les pratiques exemplaires, qui vont de l'installation d'un réseau privé

virtuel à l'utilisation d'adresses courriel plus anonymes. Sur les médias sociaux, les gens peuvent télécharger des vidéos et des manifestes, communiquer avec des amis et des admirateurs, bâtir une organisation et faire connaître leur cause — le tout, gratuitement.

Les terroristes, comme tous les autres extrémistes, aiment aussi les médias sociaux parce qu'ils peuvent y donner leur propre version des faits. Pendant des années, les journaux nationaux, les réseaux d'information et les autres organes de presse traditionnels veillaient : même si les terroristes comptaient sur les médias pour leur faire de la publicité, leurs actes étaient généralement présentés sous un mauvais jour. Aujourd'hui, les suprémacistes blancs peuvent présenter un événement de l'actualité mondiale, par exemple les manifestations du mouvement Black Lives Matter qui ont suivi en 2020 le meurtre de George Floyd, comme une flambée incontrôlable de violence noire et gauchiste.

Bien que le mouvement suprémaciste blanc ait toujours été mondial à certains égards, les médias sociaux ont décuplé cette tendance. Heidi Beirich, spécialiste de cette communauté, souligne que lorsqu'elle a commencé à la surveiller, à la fin des années 1990, les préoccupations étaient locales : les immigrants mexicains dans le Sud-Ouest des États-Unis, les juifs dans le Nord-Est, et ainsi de suite. Aujourd'hui, il existe un discours plus largement partagé axé sur le génocide des Blancs et sur le « grand remplacement », auquel des gens partout sur la planète adhèrent et qu'ils enrichissent. Le caractère globalement misogyne du mouvement, le scepticisme face aux vaccins contre la COVID-19 et la

théorie du complot de QAnon apparaissent dans de nombreux États, même si l'accent est mis sur différents thèmes selon le pays et la région¹⁷.

La frange violente du mouvement suprémaciste blanc interagit régulièrement avec l'ensemble du milieu en ligne de la droite et de la suprématie blanche, y compris avec des personnalités de la « droite alternative » (« alt-right » en anglais) qui prétendent être de vraies conservatrices, et avec des figures de la « droite alternative » modérée (« alt-lite » en anglais), qui n'aime rien tant que se moquer des libéraux. Tous utilisent des blagues et des sarcasmes pour tourner en ridicule la communauté de la justice sociale, les féministes et autres « méchants » et s'épanouissent sur ce terreau. Comme l'a fait observer un extrémiste il y a plusieurs années : « Je ne suis pas sûr que la gauche imagine l'énorme correction qui lui est infligée sur YouTube¹⁸ ».

Au Canada, la mondialisation de cette communauté n'est pas à sens unique. Les cris du genre « Rendez au Canada sa grandeur » et la présence de drapeaux confédérés lors de manifestations montrent que certaines tendances venues des États-Unis cheminent vers le Nord. En outre, des citoyens américains ont joué un rôle majeur dans le financement du Convoi de la liberté. En retour, des influenceurs suprémacistes blancs du Canada, comme Lauren Southern et Stefan Molyneux, attisent la haine aux États-Unis et dans d'autres pays anglophones¹⁹. Étant donné la proximité entre les réseaux personnels et professionnels américains et canadiens, il existe aussi des organismes et des initiatives opérationnelles communs : le réserviste canadien Patrick Mathews était membre de

The Base, un groupe néonazi d'origine américaine, et s'entraînait en vue de perpétrer des attentats aux États-Unis²⁰. Bon nombre des autres groupes actifs au Canada ces dernières années, comme les Soldats d'Odin, Combat 18 et le Mouvement impérial russe, ont été importés d'autres pays ayant des problèmes causés par les suprémacistes blancs.

Une autre inconnue est attribuable à la Russie. Celle-ci entretient tout un éventail de liens avec des extrémistes de droite, y compris des suprémacistes blancs, en Europe et, dans une moindre mesure, aux États-Unis, souvent par le biais d'organismes qui n'ont que des liens assez lâches avec le régime. En outre, à l'aide de ses organes de propagande et des médias sociaux, Moscou a essayé d'encourager la radicalisation²¹ pour diviser les sociétés occidentales. Compte tenu des tensions découlant de son invasion de l'Ukraine, il est possible qu'elle intensifie ces activités.

Points faibles du mouvement suprémaciste blanc

Bien que le mouvement suprémaciste blanc suscite des inquiétudes légitimes, il est important de se rappeler qu'il souffre de nombreux problèmes qui diminuent son attrait et affaiblissent son potentiel violent.

Manque de soutien par l'opinion publique

La proportion de la population qui est favorable à la suprématie des Blancs est toujours faible, et celle qui est favorable à l'usage de la violence, encore plus. Dans les années 1960, le Parti nazi américain s'est effondré parce qu'il n'a jamais été capable d'attirer un nombre suffisant d'adhérents et

la participation aux groupes du Ku Klu Klan, qui était montée en flèche en réaction au mouvement pour les droits civiques, est en déclin depuis des décennies. Des groupes et des individus violents actifs dans les années 1980 et 1990, comme l'Ordre et Timothy McVeigh, espéraient que leurs attaques déclencheraient une réaction de sympathie massive. Cela ne s'est jamais produit. Si en Europe, en partie à cause de la représentation parlementaire proportionnelle, des partis extrémistes comme Aube dorée en Grèce et Alternative pour l'Allemagne ont été à certaines périodes bien représentés aux parlements nationaux après avoir fait campagne pour défendre des programmes ouvertement opposés aux musulmans et aux immigrants, aucune organisation suprémaciste blanche aux États-Unis n'a aujourd'hui de présence politique significative à l'échelle nationale ou dans un État.

Le racisme, l'antisémitisme et l'opposition aux immigrants demeurent très vivants, comme d'autres croyances suprémacistes blanches, mais sont heureusement moins répandus qu'ils l'étaient il y a des décennies. Bien que le racisme continue de se manifester de multiples façons, notamment dans les interventions policières, les soins médicaux ou la discrimination à l'emploi, les perspectives à long terme sont plus réjouissantes, compte tenu d'améliorations sur le plan notamment des mariages mixtes et du nombre de leaders politiques noirs²² et du fait que les Blancs sont de plus en plus conscients du racisme et de la violence policière dont font l'objet les Afro-Américains²³.

Bien que les suprémacistes blancs puissent tenter de recourir à la violence pour « éveiller » les Américains blancs aux

dangers qui sont liés selon eux aux non-Blancs et aux juifs, un tel signal fonctionne rarement. Souvent, les suprémacistes blancs sont incapables de convaincre ne serait-ce qu'une grande proportion de leurs propres regroupements que la violence est souhaitable. Le cas de Dylann Roof est édifiant. Après que cet homme a commis sa fusillade à l'église méthodiste épiscopale africaine Emanuel, à Charleston, en 2015, certains suprémacistes blancs l'ont félicité, mais d'autres ont vu son geste d'un mauvais œil²⁴ : à leur avis, cette attaque allait susciter de la sympathie pour les victimes et pousser les autorités à réprimer l'ensemble du mouvement, eux compris. Bien que les actes de violence suprémaciste blanche puissent effectivement en engendrer d'autres, le sang versé par les tueurs suprémacistes suscite invariablement le rejet et la colère de l'opinion publique. Si des groupes suprémacistes blancs et accélérationnistes comme Atowaffen et The Base sont parvenus à mieux se faire connaître, cela a surtout eu pour effet d'entraîner une riposte majeure des forces de l'ordre contre eux²⁵.

Dans le meilleur des cas, les partis ouvertement suprémacistes n'ont eu qu'un succès limité dans les pays démocratiques. Aux États-Unis et au Canada, ceux qui s'affichent comme suprémacistes blancs n'ont pas remporté d'élection. Même le Parti populaire du Canada, qui ne se dirait pas suprémaciste, mais défend un programme fortement opposé aux immigrants, n'a gagné aucun siège à l'élection de 2021, bien qu'il ait reçu 5 % des suffrages. En revanche, en France et dans plusieurs autres pays d'Europe, les partis qui luttent contre l'immigration obtiennent de bons résultats aux urnes.

Absence de refuge pour la violence suprémaciste blanche

Les groupes et les mouvements terroristes ont tendance à prospérer dans des zones où aucune loi ne s'applique, ou presque, d'où les gouvernements sont absents, ou bien où ils sont trop faibles pour les combattre²⁶. Au cours des dernières années, de tels groupes ont connu une expansion florissante dans des endroits comme la Syrie, la Somalie et l'Afghanistan. Sans la tolérance ou l'incapacité des autorités, les groupes terroristes sont habituellement démantelés tôt ou tard par les gouvernements et les forces de l'ordre.

Cependant, les suprémacistes blancs aux États-Unis n'ont pas de patrie lointaine, ni de région dans leur pays où ils sont particulièrement puissants. Dans le Sud, sous la ségrégation, les autorités locales penchaient souvent fortement du côté des suprémacistes blancs prêts à s'opposer brutalement à la cause des défenseurs des droits civiques, ce qui rendait toute poursuite difficile, voire impossible. Cette sympathie a disparu depuis des décennies. De nos jours, le Sud profond n'est plus un foyer majeur de violence suprémaciste blanche. En réalité, cette violence est globalement proportionnelle à la population de chaque État²⁷. Cela peut être considéré comme une mauvaise nouvelle (« Ils sont partout! »), mais cela signifie aussi qu'il y a peu de secteurs dans lesquels les suprémacistes blancs ont une vigueur ou une influence particulière. Autrement dit, les suprémacistes blancs sont aujourd'hui saupoudrés sur un vaste territoire. Ils ont peu de moyens d'empêcher les forces de l'ordre de recevoir des tuyaux et de cultiver des informateurs ou d'enquêter sur eux et de les poursuivre. Des accusations sont

régulièrement portées contre eux, des gens sont généralement prêts à témoigner contre eux et les jurys n'hésitent habituellement pas à les condamner. Dans quelques endroits, des membres des forces de l'ordre se montrent peut-être sympathiques ou tolérants vis-à-vis des extrémistes blancs²⁸; le cas échéant, il est essentiel de veiller à ce que les agents concernés soient repérés et renvoyés.

Pendant environ un demi-siècle, certains groupes et « penseurs » du mouvement, allant de Richard Butler à Harold Covington, ont défendu l'idée que les suprémacistes blancs allaient emménager dans le Nord-Ouest du pays, près du Pacifique (une région qui est déjà en grande partie blanche) pour former une république suprémaciste blanche dissidente. (La « République du Diagonon » semble être une variante à demi sérieuse de ce concept qui inclurait une grande partie du Canada.) Ces initiatives n'ont jamais remporté de succès, même sur le plan politique local. Dans des endroits reculés de certains États, les suprémacistes blancs ont parfois bénéficié d'un certain degré d'autonomie, mais cela résultait de leur isolement plutôt que d'une quelconque emprise sur la population.

Des moyens limités

Les suprémacistes blancs américains (comme la plupart des extrémistes américains de tout poil) ont de grandes ambitions, mais peu de moyens. Leurs groupes sont souvent peu nombreux, mal organisés et sans le sou²⁹. De plus, comme indiqué ci-dessus, comme les suprémacistes blancs n'ont pas de refuge où s'abriter des forces de l'ordre, les groupes qui souhaitent planifier des actes terroristes ou auxquels il

viendrait l'idée de le faire sont généralement vite démantelés. À la différence des Américains liés à l'État islamique ou à al-Qaïda aux jours de gloire de ces organisations, les suprémacistes blancs ne peuvent pas compter sur des organisations bien implantées à l'étranger.

En conséquence, la plupart des actes terroristes commis au nom de la suprématie des Blancs aux États-Unis ne le sont pas par des groupes organisés, mais par des personnes agissant seules ou par des petites cellules informelles, ce qui limite davantage leurs moyens. Il est difficile pour les services de police et de renseignement de lutter contre ce genre d'association sans chef³⁰. Cependant, ces personnes sont souvent mal formées et entraînées, donc incapables de perpétrer des attentats complexes.

Comme le reste de la population américaine, les suprémacistes blancs ont facilement accès à des armes à feu, mais peu d'entre eux ont des compétences en fabrication de bombes, comme le démontrent les accidents causés de temps en temps par la manipulation d'explosifs³¹. Au fil des ans, ils ont échafaudé plus d'un projet terroriste grandiose qu'ils n'avaient pas les moyens de concrétiser.

Il est vrai que certains terroristes suprémacistes blancs aux ressources limitées abandonnent leurs plans extravagants au profit de projets plus simples, mais tout aussi meurtriers, comme des fusillades. Les attaques les plus meurtrières, comme celles de Charleston, Christchurch, Pittsburgh et El Paso, ont toutes été commises par des gens qui avaient facilement accès à des armes à feu. Ce genre d'attaque est très différent

d'opérations plus sanglantes et plus complexes, comme l'attentat du 11 Septembre, et d'attentats à la bombe moins spectaculaires, mais relativement élaborés, comme celui qu'a perpétré à Oklahoma City, en 1995, l'extrémiste antigouvernemental Timothy McVeigh. Il arrive que des suprémacistes blancs agissent simplement parce que l'occasion se présente, sans planification ou presque : une personne de couleur ou membre d'une quelconque minorité peut être attaquée ou assassinée juste parce qu'elle était au mauvais endroit, au mauvais moment.

Ces opérations sont horribles et, comme l'ont montré les plus récentes, peuvent faire un grand nombre de victimes. Elles constituent néanmoins un moindre mal par rapport aux attentats à la bombe dans les transports, comme ceux qu'al-Qaïda a commis à Madrid en 2004 et à Londres en 2005, tuant respectivement 193 et 52 innocents, ou comme les fusillades et les attentats suicide coordonnés que l'État islamique a orchestrés à Paris en 2015 et à Bruxelles en 2016, dans lesquels ont péri respectivement 130 et 32 innocents. Les suprémacistes blancs aux États-Unis n'ont pas encore fait la preuve qu'ils étaient capables d'organiser des attentats complexes, multiples et simultanés.

En outre, le manque de compétences et de ressources des suprémacistes blancs les a rendus particulièrement vulnérables aux montages, qui sont peut-être l'outil le plus efficace de lutte contre le terrorisme national dont dispose la police. Un montage consiste généralement pour un informateur ou un agent sous couverture à offrir à la cible les moyens qu'elle recherche pour concrétiser ses projets, comme des

explosifs ou des armes. Toute cible acceptant le marché peut être arrêtée.

Effacité entravée par la société civile

Différents types d'institutions et de nombreux acteurs de la société sont prêts à travailler, souvent en collaboration, pour combattre les tenants de la suprématie des Blancs. Aux États-Unis, cela comprend de grandes organisations de lutte contre l'extrémisme, comme l'Anti-Defamation League et le Southern Poverty Law Center, ainsi que de nombreuses organisations similaires de moindre envergure ou régionales, comme le Montana Human Rights Network, qui consacrent une grande partie de leur temps à surveiller et à démasquer les extrémistes, dont les suprémacistes blancs, à éduquer le grand public à leur sujet et à aider les forces de l'ordre et d'autres intervenants à lutter contre les problèmes qu'ils causent. Il arrive que les informations qu'ils fournissent servent à lancer des enquêtes sur le terrorisme³².

Ces groupes de la société civile peuvent également, avec leurs nombreux alliés dans le milieu des droits civiques, exercer des pressions sur des entreprises allant des sociétés de cartes de crédit à celles qui gèrent des médias sociaux, afin qu'elles refusent leurs services aux suprémacistes blancs et aux autres extrémistes. Il est difficile d'interdire aux suprémacistes blancs d'utiliser un média social ou un autre service gratuit et facile d'accès pour recruter des adhérents, réseauter et organiser des interventions et des complots, mais cela empêche néanmoins toutes leurs activités, y compris la violence.

Division au sujet des priorités et des cibles

Pour maximiser leur impact, les terroristes doivent moduler l'utilisation qu'ils font de la violence. Cela implique de se concentrer sur leurs principaux ennemis et leurs principales cibles tout en gérant l'indignation de la population face aux victimes et en essayant de pousser le gouvernement à réagir de façon trop virulente. Des groupes, allant de l'IRA à al-Qaïda, ont cherché à contrôler de façon stratégique la violence infligée en leur nom, souvent au moyen de directives détaillées sur le choix des cibles³³ et de l'établissement de procédures permettant de distinguer les attentats qu'ils perpétraient de ceux qui étaient le fait de sympathisants et qu'ils pouvaient rejeter.

Les suprémacistes blancs détestent les Noirs, les juifs, les musulmans, les Hispaniques, les Américains d'origine asiatique, les immigrants en général, les membres de la communauté LGBTQ et l'ensemble de la gauche, ainsi que de nombreuses institutions gouvernementales et non gouvernementales. Parce qu'ils frayent avec QAnon, les extrémistes antigouvernementaux, les Incels et les membres de la manosphère, entre autres acteurs du milieu de la haine, la liste de leurs ennemis est particulièrement longue. Ils peuvent donc puiser dans un vaste réservoir de sources de mécontentement et ne manquent pas de cibles potentielles. Cependant, ils ont en revanche du mal à se fixer des priorités et à concentrer leurs ressources limitées sur certains points pour atteindre un objectif précis. Les suprémacistes blancs attaquent toutes ces cibles, mais ont du mal à moduler leur violence parce que leur mouvement est décentralisé et parce qu'une grande partie

de cette violence est le fait de personnes agissant seules et de cellules informelles, plutôt que de groupes organisés. Si les militants choisissent seuls leur cible, ils le feront surtout en fonction de leurs préférences personnelles et de considérations pratiques propres à l'endroit où ils se trouvent.

En conséquence, il est difficile pour les suprémacistes blancs de terroriser une communauté en particulier ou de déborder le système, condition nécessaire pour provoquer son effondrement, selon certains de leurs penseurs. De plus, différentes communautés qui ne se considéraient par ailleurs pas spontanément comme des alliées s'unissent contre eux. Enfin, ce type d'attentat pourrait entraîner une riposte du gouvernement alors que l'ensemble du mouvement n'y est pas préparé.

Failles liées aux médias sociaux

Malgré tout leur potentiel, les nouvelles technologies peuvent avoir un coût pour les extrémistes. Les organisations les plus anciennes comme le Ku Klux Klan, déjà en déclin, se sont montrées beaucoup moins à l'aise avec les médias sociaux que d'autres organisations suprémacistes blanches et figures de la « droite alternative ». Cette redistribution des cartes a accentué la décentralisation d'un mouvement déjà fragmenté : il existe très peu de groupes suprémacistes blancs violents organisés d'envergure aujourd'hui.

En conséquence, de nombreux aspirants suprémacistes n'ont aucun endroit où recevoir une instruction, les opérations ont souvent un caractère amateur et bon nombre des stratégies censées conduire le mouvement à la victoire sont tellement

fantaisistes qu'elles en deviennent illusoires. Cela entraîne parfois des absurdités. Ainsi, un « commandant » néonazi de la Feuerkrieg Division était en fait un garçon estonien de 13 ans auquel son anonymat en ligne permettait de jouer un rôle majeur dans l'organisation³⁴.

Le facteur le plus important, peut-être, est qu'il est facile pour le FBI et les organisations de la société civile, comme le Southern Poverty Law Center, d'infiltrer le mouvement. Après tout, le célèbre dessin publié en 1993 par Peter Steiner le disait déjà : « Sur Internet, personne ne sait que vous êtes un chien »³⁵. Même les services chiffrés sont vulnérables, car des informateurs peuvent transmettre des indications au gouvernement. Par exemple, les services de renseignement allemands ont pu surveiller ce qui se passait sur WhatsApp alors que les groupes suprémacistes blancs concernés se croyaient protégés par le chiffrement garanti par l'application³⁶.

Malgré des craintes légitimes au sujet de la radicalisation en ligne, le monde physique (et ses interactions avec le milieu virtuel) joue toujours un rôle prépondérant dans la radicalisation. Il est plus facile d'acquérir des compétences pratiques, par exemple en manipulation d'explosifs, au cours d'une instruction en personne. Plus important encore, sans nier la réalité des relations en ligne, les liens noués en personne sont généralement plus solides et plus durables.

Moyens de combattre plus efficacement le terrorisme

Les services de renseignement et les forces de l'ordre peuvent exploiter les nombreuses

faiblesses des suprémacistes blancs et utiliser d'autres moyens pour rendre ces groupes et ces réseaux bien moins dangereux. Le recrutement des suprémacistes blancs se fait généralement ouvertement, du moins ses premières étapes, en général sur les médias sociaux. Cela permet aux agents de police et de renseignement ainsi qu'aux membres de la société civile qui s'intéressent à la question de repérer les recruteurs et de suivre les personnes qui risquent de se radicaliser. Il est possible de cerner certains réseaux dès leurs balbutiements si l'on oriente un nombre suffisant d'yeux et d'oreilles vers eux.

Les antécédents criminels de nombreux suprémacistes blancs sont un autre de leurs points faibles. Les agents de la police locale et les shérifs découvrent souvent l'existence d'un problème quand un suprémaciste blanc vend de la drogue, bat sa conjointe ou commet d'autres infractions, et ces infractions donnent au gouvernement des moyens de pression lorsqu'il veut que les suprémacistes blancs deviennent des informateurs et révèlent l'identité de leurs compagnons. Parce qu'ils n'ont pas de refuge, les suprémacistes blancs ont peu d'endroits où se cacher une fois que le gouvernement veut les surveiller. Évidemment, il faut pour cela que celui-ci s'en préoccupe.

La pression constante qu'exerce l'opinion publique sur les groupes et sur le mouvement compte également pour pousser les sociétés technologiques et financières à leur interdire l'accès à leurs services. Ces entreprises ont souvent des conditions d'utilisation ambiguës, ce qui leur permet d'éviter d'agir quand elles ne le souhaitent pas, mais aussi de prendre des

mesures décisives au besoin. Une source d'embarras public est généralement plus efficace que la pression des forces de l'ordre pour amener les entreprises à chasser les suprémacistes blancs : après le décès d'une contre-manifestante au rassemblement « Unite the Right » à Charlottesville, en 2017, qui a terni la réputation du mouvement suprémaciste blanc et de ses collaborateurs de la « droite alternative », des compagnies auparavant laxistes comme PayPal sont devenues beaucoup plus vigilantes.

Ses liens avec l'étranger, bien qu'ils soient tenus par rapport à ceux des groupes extrémistes islamistes, sont également une faiblesse du mouvement, même si elle n'est pas aussi importante que les autres³⁷. En avril 2020, les États-Unis ont pour la première fois de leur histoire inscrit une organisation suprémaciste blanche, le Mouvement impérial russe, sur leur liste des organisations terroristes étrangères³⁸. Le Canada est bien en avance sur les États-Unis dans ce domaine, puisqu'il a ajouté un plus grand nombre de groupes et d'individus de droite à sa propre liste, dont Blood & Honour, Atomwaffen Division, The Base, les Proud Boys et des gens comme James Mason³⁹. Aux États-Unis, l'inscription sur la liste rend illégale toute forme de soutien matériel (un terme très large) et mobilise de nombreux intervenants de l'appareil de renseignement, comme la National Security Agency et la Central Intelligence Agency, qui jusqu'ici ne se penchaient pas tellement sur les groupes suprémacistes blancs. Comme pour l'État islamique et al-Qaïda, les gens qui fournissent ne serait-ce qu'un petit montant d'argent à un groupe ou à une personne étrangers figurant sur la liste

peuvent être poursuivis pour des infractions de terrorisme.

Les effets secondaires de l'inscription sur la liste peuvent être encore plus préjudiciables. Les entreprises de médias sociaux et les sociétés financières bannissent quiconque pourrait être lié aux personnes et aux groupes concernés, leur interdisant l'accès à leurs ressources. L'inscription sur la liste est donc à la fois un moyen de poursuivre les suprémacistes blancs et de veiller à ce qu'ils ne nouent pas trop de nouvelles relations avec l'étranger. Cependant, les suprémacistes blancs américains sont moins étroitement liés aux groupes à l'étranger que les djihadistes. En outre, bon nombre de ceux qui ont été les plus dangereux ces dernières années n'étaient associés à aucune organisation.

Un des changements les plus importants est l'un des plus simples : il faut mettre fin au sentiment que la suprématie blanche est tolérée en haut lieu. Entre 2017 et 2021, le gouvernement Trump a envoyé des signaux équivoques à l'ensemble du mouvement : il a parfois semblé le condamner à contrecœur, mais aussi prendre fait et cause pour les objectifs qu'il défend, comme la protection des statues confédérées et des bases militaires portant des noms de généraux confédérés, ou la promotion de théories du complot relatives aux immigrants. Il a également qualifié verbalement d'organisations terroristes les opposants au mouvement, notamment les tenants de Black Lives Matter et les antifas, ce qui a semé la confusion et mis sur le même plan des groupes de nature très différente. Enfin, bien sûr, le 6 janvier 2021, le président a incité un ensemble d'organisations de droite, dont certaines avaient des tendances suprémacistes

blanches, à forcer les portes du Capitole des États-Unis afin de mettre fin à ce qu'il désignait, à tort, comme un vol de l'élection.

Les moyens déployés et les discours ont changé sous le gouvernement Biden. Le soutien de haut niveau à la répression de la violence suprémaciste blanche permettra d'allouer des ressources à la lutte contre les suprémacistes blancs, fera en sorte que les différents services connaissent leur rôle à cet égard et signifiera aux groupes grand public qui critiquent l'immigration ou partagent certaines préoccupations des suprémacistes blancs qu'ils doivent rejeter les éléments violents et haineux parmi eux.

¹Le présent rapport est fondé sur plusieurs des ouvrages que j'ai déjà publiés, notamment *Spreading Hate : The Global Rise of White Supremacist Terrorism* (Oxford, 2022); *Identifying and exploiting the weaknesses in the white supremacist movement* (cosigné par Mark Pitcavage), Brookings (avril 2021), consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.brookings.edu/research/identifying-and-exploiting-the-weaknesses-of-the-white-supremacists-movement/>; « Counterterrorism and Modern White Supremacy », *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2021), pp. 1 à 28; « When Hate Goes Viral », *ForeignPolicy.com*, 23 mars 2022, consultable à l'adresse : <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/03/23/white-supremacist-terrorism-social-media-internet/>.

²*Oversight of the Federal Bureau of Investigation: The January 6 Insurrection, Domestic Terrorism, and Other Threats*, témoignage de Christopher Wray, directeur du Federal Bureau of Investigation, devant le comité judiciaire du Sénat (117^e congrès), consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.fbi.gov/news/testimony/oversight-of-the-federal-bureau-of-investigation-the-january-6-insurrection-domestic-terrorism-and-other-threat>; Office of the Director of National Intelligence, *Domestic Violent Extremism Poses Heightened Threat in 2021* (1^{er} mars 2021), consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.dni.gov/files/ODNI/documents/assessments/UnclassSummaryofDVEAssessment-17MAR21.pdf>; Federal Bureau of Investigation and Department of Homeland Security, *Strategic Intelligence Assessment and Data on Domestic Terrorism* (mai 2021), consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/fbi-dhs-domestic-terrorism-strategic-report.pdf/view>.

³Seth G. Jones, Catrina Doxsee et Nicholas Harrington, *The Escalating Terrorism Problem in the United States*, Washington, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 17 juin 2020, consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.csis.org/analysis/escalating-terrorism-problem-united-state>; Bruce Hoffman, *How Serious Is White Nationalist Terrorism?*, Council on Foreign Relations, 29 mars 2019, consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.cfr.org/in-brief/how-serious-white-nationalist-terrorism>.

⁴Fusillade meurtrière à Buffalo en mai 2022. Voir : <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-61456989>.

⁵Jane Coaston, « The scary ideology behind Trump's immigration instincts », *Vox*, 18 janvier 2018, consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.vox.com/2018/1/18/16897358/racism-donald-trump-immigration>.

⁶ADL H.E.A.T. Map, Anti-Defamation League, consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.adl.org/education-and-resources/resource-knowledge-base/adl-heat-map>.

⁷Ibid.

⁸*Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2019*, New York, Anti-Defamation League, février 2020, consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.adl.org/murder-and-extremism-2019>.

⁹Voir Kathleen Belew, *Bring the war home*, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard University Press, 2018.

¹⁰Cynthia Miller-Idriss et Brian Hughes, « Blurry Ideologies and Strange Coalitions », *Lawfare* (blogue), 19 décembre 2021, consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.lawfareblog.com/blurry-ideologies-and-strange-coalitions-evolving-landscape-domestic-extremism>; Bruce Hoffman, Jacob Ware et Ezra Shapiro, « Assessing the threat of incel violence », *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol 43, n° 7 (2020), pp. 565 à 587.

¹¹Rachel Gilmore, « Some trucker convoy organizers have history of white nationalism, racism », *Global News*, 29 janvier 2022, consultable à l'adresse : <https://globalnews.ca/news/8543281/covid-trucker-convoy-organizers-hate/>.

¹²Maegan Vazquez, « Trump leans into racist rhetoric and downplays police violence against Black Americans », *CNN*, consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/14/politics/donald-trump-police-brutality/index.html>.

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¹⁴Angie Drobnic Holan, « In Context: Donald Trump's 'very fine people on both sides' remarks (transcript) », *PolitiFact*, 26 avril 2019, consultable à l'adresse : <https://www.politifact.com/article/2019/apr/26/context-trump-very-fine-people-both-sides-remarks/>.

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Scott, Matthew

From: Morawiec, Garrett
Sent: February 20, 2022 9:48 AM
To: Chen, Ashley; Kruk, James; Little, Kristen; Piamonte, Kandi
Subject: FW: 2022-02-19 National Situational Awareness Report Dissemination
Attachments: NATSITREP 2022-02-19 Report 014 17h00 FINAL.pdf

From: Federal Policing JIG / GIR de la police Fédérale <FPJIG_GIRPF@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>
Sent: February 19, 2022 7:26 PM
To: Federal Policing JIG / GIR de la police Fédérale <FPJIG_GIRPF@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Lemieux, Catherine <Catherine.Lemieux@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Gauthier-Galipeau, Pascale <Pascale.Gauthier-Galipeau@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Knockwood, Belinda <Belinda.Knockwood@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Mattar, Shelley <Shelley.Mattar@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Harvey, Sandy <Sandy.Harvey@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Calarco, Paolo <Paolo.Calarco@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Hattlmann, Kevin <Kevin.Hattlmann@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Soumis, Marie-Eve <Marie-Eve.Soumis@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Mercier, Jean-Marc <Jean-Marc.Mercier@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Morawiec, Garrett <Garrett.Morawiec@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Caron, Eliane <Eliane.Caron@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Bouchard, Annie <Annie.Bouchard@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Laplante, Stephanie <Stephanie.Laplante@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Friel, Veronika <Veronika.Friel@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Griffin, Andrew (FPTAS) <Andrew.R.Griffin@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; De Vries, Jessie <jessie.devries@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Doyon, Marc-Andre <Marc-Andre.Doyon@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Wright, Tim <Tim.Wright@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Voyer, Nathalie <nathalie.voyer@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>; Sincennes, Nina <Nina.Sincennes@rcmp-grc.gc.ca>
Subject: 2022-02-19 National Situational Awareness Report Dissemination

Good afternoon,

Please find attached the following document produced by the FP Joint Intelligence Group:

- 1) National Situational Awareness Report 014 – 2022-02-19

Thank you.
FP Joint Intelligence Group