

**National
Intelligence
Academy**

FAR-RIGHT

M O V E M E N T S

IN WESTERN COUNTRIES

ASSESSMENT REPORT **2023**

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Immediately after its foundation, The National Intelligence Academy has initiated its efforts aimed at informing the world of science, national and international public opinion and decision makers, along with its specialized educational activities in the fields of intelligence and security. These efforts are planned to get concentrated on the fields of social sciences, engineering and information technologies. The researches and publications produced by the Academy itself and together with its partners aim at providing the arguments with theoretical and methodological contributions.

Aiming at increasing the awareness on related issues, producing innovative ideas, opinions and results, publications generated by the National Intelligence Academy shall be shared by the academia and public.

This report deals with far-right movements and acts organized by extremist groups that have been rising all around the world for the last 15 years. Appearing in diverse sorts and methods, these groups possess unique ideologies, modus operandi, tactics and means of assault. Constituting a source of risk most of the time for their own societies, extremist movements usually feed on social, economic and cultural references for their actions.

New social conditions and ambiguities imposed by the pandemic, economic instability that is affecting the entire world, problems such as unemployment and unjust distribution of revenues, rising hostility against immigrants and foreigners urge governments to adopt tougher policies and use a more extremist rhetoric, inciting individuals to become more aggressive against the “others”. Immigrants and Muslims become the primary targets of this wave. The failure to take official measures by remaining silent against the attacks towards sacred values and scriptures indicates the risk of institutionalizing extremist ideologies in the West.

Because of all these reasons, far-right movements constitute one of the topics of the agenda, closely followed by Türkiye as well. As the National Intelligence Academy, we believe that it is meaningful that this issue was chosen as the topic of our first research report. The actions and rhetoric of far-right movements target Turks as well. The disclosure of the structures, targets, tactics and instruments of assault of these organizations is of utmost importance in the fight against these groups the correct way. This topic shall remain in the agenda of the Academy in the coming period.

This Assessment Report focuses upon the developments in 2023. For the purposes of this research, we have compiled the reports in the media on the actions of far-right structures, the statements of politicians, official declarations, legal efforts carried out against these groups, the modus operandi of the law enforcement forces and data about operations. The classification of available data under several categories shall be helpful for us to understand the dynamics, actions and tactics of far-right movements in Western countries.

We present this report to readers in order to create awareness by sharing with people the developments that occurred all around the world in the context of far-right movements.

ABBREVIATIONS

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ABBREVIATIONS

EU:	European Union
USA:	United States of America
ADL:	Anti-Defamation League
AfD:	Alternative for Germany Party
EC:	European Council
ASIO:	Australian Security Intelligence Organization
UK:	United Kingdom
UN:	United Nations
BND:	Federal Intelligence Service
BREXIT:	Withdrawal of the UK from the EU
BT:	Blood & Tribe
CDCT:	European Council (EC) Counter Terrorism Committee
DDIS:	Foreign Intelligence Service of Denmark
DSN:	State Security and Intelligence Directorate
FBI:	Federal Bureau of Investigation
IC:	US Intelligence Community
IHRA:	International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance
IMVE:	Ideologically Motivated Violent Extremism
NATO:	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NRM:	Nordic Resistance Movement
NSO:	National Socialist Order
NSU:	National Socialist Underground
NZSIS:	New Zealand Security Intelligence Service
RF:	Russian Federation
PEGIDA:	Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the Occident
PSNI:	Police Service of Northern Ireland
New IRA:	New Irish Republican Army
XRIRB:	Xenophobia, Racism and other forms of Intolerance or in the name of Religion and Belief

Polarizations based on identities appearing all around the world since early 2000s, have caused the reappearance of traditional racism and fascism under different names.

The degree of racism which has increased due to the economic problems and climate change that have accelerated on a global scale, has been influential for the populist far-right to gain power in several countries.

Extremism that turned violent against “others” as in racism/xenophobia, hostility against immigrants, Islamophobia and multi-culturalism, has become a critical threat by the development of political and social support.

The course of far-right movements has been observed to have changed from one country to the other. As a matter of fact, several significant developments have taken place in 2023 in US and Europe, where far-right movements have acquired a vast field of influence.

In Europe, the pandemic and the following RF – Ukraine War have accelerated problems such as inflation, unemployment and energy crisis, activating xenophobic and Islamophobic viewpoint. Increasing anti-Semitism has been prominent in the USA.

The danger of regularizing and normalizing hate crimes against religious values under the name of “freedom of personal expression” and attacks against sacred values, the acts of burning the Holy Quran in particular, have been the outstanding developments in 2023. The tolerant attitude of governments towards such acts has constituted a significant threat against the external security of countries as well as their domestic security.

Far-right movements carry out their activities as individuals or by groups. In 2023, one of the fundamental threat elements in countries where far-right movements are active, has been the perpetration of “lone actor” actions based upon ideological motives. Far-right groups have remained influential in the context of propaganda and organized activities.

In the coming period, far-right shall probably constitute a serious threat against countries. It is deemed important for countries to enact legal regulations required to protect their entire population without discrimination and to improve international cooperation on this issue.

1. INTRODUCTION

Far-right movements are amongst structures posing a big threat from a humane viewpoint against values considered as universal, different religious faiths and cultures, different colors and political views. Racism against colored people and anti-Semitism in the US and Islamophobia and views against immigrants in Europe have replaced the sense of security in people with a sense of anxiety in recent years. Particularly the Turkish diaspora abroad and Muslims with whom we share common historical-intellectual- social-religious beliefs, have become one of the groups that have been victimized by this inhuman hate crime.

This report contains data classified by certain criteria all around the world. On the other hand, it is possible to state that there are numerous far-right actions in several regions of the world that are not reverberated in public opinion, not classified as hate crimes by the law enforcement or intentionally kept away from the popular agenda. In this context, in order to grasp the issue correctly, it is of importance to focus on global tendencies and the differences among countries rather than the number of actions that take place in a country.

At the outset, this report covers the historical evolution of the far-right movements and their place in the global agenda, regional perspective has been researched following the study of the Türkiye connection. The attachment of the report briefly covers the 100 most important incidents that took place in 2023 regarding far-right topics.

The fundamental objective of the report is to create awareness and consciousness about the issue by sharing the developments that took place in the world in the context of far-right movements in 2023.

Making use of the opportunities provided by technological developments, far-right movements accelerated their activities in 2023. These movements are expected to remain a developing and evolving threat for the entire world in 2024 as well.

The basic motivations of far-right movements are affected by the sociological, political and social dynamics and balances of their geography, country, society and environment. For this reason, it is impossible to cover the global activities and actions of far-right movements through a single set of concepts. The definition of the far-right concept and the threats that might emanate from within can come from diverse approaches. During its session in August 2022, The United Nations¹ (UN) comprehensively underlined the danger of far-right for the first time; calling xenophobia, racism and the likes as "XRIRB."² It has also been observed that from a security viewpoint, the far-right concept was defined in Europe as "a cast of mind along with anti-governmental extremism, the views of conspiracy theorists and the elements of misogynists."³

1 - Following the mentioned UN session, the report published by the UN Secretary General's Office with the reference number "A/77/266" titled "Terrorist attacks on the basis of xenophobia, racism and other forms of intolerance, or in the name of religion or belief (XRIRB)" was shared on the official website of the UN.

2 - XRIRB – Xenophobia, Racism and other forms of Intolerance or in the name of Religion and Belief

3 - In a report published by the Intelligence Agency of Belgium (VSSE) in January 2023, the worldview comprising of the mentioned elements was defined as "The Salad Bar Ideology".

Far-right can be defined as the entirety of several political ideologies such as authoritarianism and extreme nationalism, acting against values required by democracy. Based on this hypothesis, far-right movements can be defined as the supporters and practitioners of Islamophobic, racist/xenophobic, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant and white supremacist. The report covers far-right in a general framework. Although it is known that far-right views concur at some points occasionally, it is also observed that Islamophobic and anti-Turkish opinions, particularly in Europe, emerge together when it comes to the perpetration of acts⁴.

Racism / Xenophobia / White Supremacism / Anti-Immigrant Ideology

It is known that global developments in the context of far-right have underlying concepts of racism, xenophobia, white suprematism in the US and anti-immigrant views in the EU. For the sake of this report, racism is covered as the sum of actions/activities, where prejudices and discrimination based on race prevail and where individuals/groups with differences are most of the time subjected to disadvantageous treatment. In the context of racism, white supremacists are covered because of the activities of structures “claiming the supremacy of white [Arian] race over the others,” which have an acceleration in the US.

As in racism, xenophobia also contains prejudice, fear or hostility, but the fundamental difference between the two is the etymological origins of xenophobia: it stems from ignorance or intolerance to the “stranger/unknown.”⁵ As a matter of fact, in racism and white supremacism, the status of the opponent is recognized in advance. However, in xenophobia, there is a tendency to alienate because the opponent is not known and recognized.

Migration, caused by global humanitarian and economic crises, has also triggered anti-immigrant tendencies within far-right movements⁶. Waves of migration generate cultural differences and economic concerns, therefore creating not only social but also political problems. Considering the elections held in Europe in 2022-2023, anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim views are observed to have been the primary propaganda tools of political parties with far-right motives or direct far-rightist world views.

Islamophobia and Hostility Against Turks

The concept of Islamophobia, which was initially introduced in 1990s, can be encountered under the views of racism and/or xenophobia⁷. Generally defined as “fear, prejudice, discrimination and animosity directed against Islam and Muslims”, Islamophobia⁸ emerged as a sub-concept/view under racism and xenophobia, which are permeable and adjacent to each other, complicating the means of solution. Handling Islamophobia as a separate type of view/action is essential to contribute to the solution of problems encountered in this field today. After all, reviewing actions with Islamophobic foundations through a multidimensional window, handling it as a topic separated from other concepts in the terminologies of states and international agencies/organizations are of importance. Reliable and sustainable statistical data should be utilized for the struggle against Islamophobia.

4 - See Section 6 of this Report.

5 - Haekwon Kim, David; Sundstrom, Ronald R. (2014). *Xenophobia and Racism*. Penn State University Press.

6 - Tolsma, J.; Lameris, J.; Savelkoul, M. (2021). *Exposure to asylum seekers and changing support for the radical right: A natural experiment in the Netherlands*. Plus One.

7 - Kalın, İbrahim (2016). *Ben, Öteki ve Ötesi*. İnsan Yayınları

8 - Runnymede Report (1997). *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All*. Runnymede Foundation

National interests of Türkiye and the individual, physical and cultural safety of the Turkish presence makes it inevitable to cover anti-Turkish activities in this report. Just like the porous fields between racist and xenophobic types of actions and opinions, it is known that Islamophobia and hostility against Turks overlap in certain occasions particularly in Europe⁹. After all, it is possible to define hostility against Turks as “prejudice, discrimination or animosity against Turks or individuals coming from Türkiye, on the basis of ethnicity, culture or nationality.”

Antisemitism

International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) defines antisemitism as “a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews.”¹⁰ Accusing Jews of conspiring to hurt humanity, using ill-intentioned stereotyped statements about Jews and attributing negative character features to Jews, and similar verbal, written and visual actions are considered in the context of antisemitism. Although antisemitism appears in both right and left ideologies, researches indicate that antisemitism reaches its peak in far-right young people.¹¹

Euroscepticism

The European Union, which was founded so as to establish a sustainable peace by increasing integration in continental Europe following long lasting and expansive wars, is criticized by certain groups for assuming a character “which is elitist, bureaucratically clumsy and occasionally failing to overlap with the interests of nation-states,” as a result of increasing migration, climate crisis and racial discrimination. The term Euroscepticism was first used in political literature in 1992 to mean skepticism toward the integration of Europe¹². Certain sceptics, particularly against the European principles of embracing and integration of countries are divided into two as moderate sceptics who are against the European Union’s certain organizations/policies and demand reform within the EU; and hardcore sceptics who believe that the EU cannot be reformed and demand that their respective countries should leave the Union. Although there are Eurosceptics within both right and left parties of the political spectrum of the EU countries, this view occupies a more significant position within the ideological foundation of far-right parties.

9 - See Section 6 of this report.

10 - “The working definition of antisemitism”, www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism

11 - Hersh, E., & Royden, L. (2023). “Anti-Semitic Attitudes Across the Ideological Spectrum.” *Political Research Quarterly*, 76 (2), 697-711.

12 - Hersh, E., & Royden, L. (2023). “Anti-Semitic Attitudes Across the Ideological Spectrum.” *Political Research Quarterly*, 76 (2), 697-711.

1.1. THE EVOLUTION OF FAR-RIGHT MOVEMENTS AND THEIR PLACE IN THE GLOBAL AGENDA

Although it is believed that far-right and racism issues shaped by nationalist ideology and nation-state ideas have ended following World War II, modern far-right movements are observed to have accelerated again with “Nazi” and “neo-Nazi” opinions since 1970s.¹³ During this period, particularly in the U.S. and continental Europe, far-right movements were active on a limited basis against the prevailing left political view, but they attracted attention through sensational actions. During this era, members of Ku Klux Klan and far-rightist formations initiated a propaganda process in the U.S.A. against minorities within society, the colored citizens and Jews in particular.

As a result of six terrorist attacks in the U.S. perpetrated by circles affiliated with far-rightist worldview in 1980s, more than 75 individuals were arrested and attacks were carried out against schools, churches and synagogues.¹⁴ Similar attacks begun to be carried out in Europe as well and far-right movements started to increase their influence gradually.

Country	Incident	Date	Result
USA	An activist of Posse Comitatus killed two police officers	1983	2 were killed
USA	The Oklahoma Bombing	1995	168 were killed, 680 wounded
USA	The Olympic Park Bombing	1996	1 was killed, 111 wounded
Belgium	Brabant Murders	1982-1985	28 were killed
France	Cagnes-sur-Mer Immigrant Hotel Bombing	1988	1 was killed, 16 wounded
Germany	Oktoberfest Bombing	1980	13 were killed, 215 were wounded
Germany	Arson against the house of a Turkish family in Solingen	1993	5 were killed, 14 were wounded
Germany	Serial murders committed by NSU	2000-2007	10 were killed, 1 was wounded (mostly Turks)
Italy	Bologna Bombing	1980	85 were killed, 200 were wounded
United Kingdom	The London Nail Bomb Attack	1999	3 were killed, 100 were wounded
Denmark	The Copenhagen Attack Against the Socialist Party	1992	1 was killed
Finland	Oulu Hijacking	1986	-

Figure 1: Some of the far-rightist attacks perpetrated in the US and Europe since 1980s.

Moreover, in regard with far-right activities, the process of “associating Islam with terrorism” that began following the September 11 attacks in the U.S. has been a significant touchstone. After the terrorist attacks perpetrated in London in 2004 and in Madrid in 2005 Islamophobia has become a significant and segregating identity problem. The efforts paid by Western media corporations to associate radical attacks with Islam have shaped the Islamophobic viewpoint within society.

¹³ - Pitcavage, Mark (2019). Surveying The Landscape of the American Far Right.

¹⁴ - Smith, Brent (1994) Terrorism in America: Pipe Bombs and Pipe Dreams.

Unemployment, having risen following the global economic crisis in 2008, and measures taken by European governments regarding the struggle against the crisis, urged people to consider immigrants as the main reason of the economic problems. The wave of migration that started to increase in 2015 with the onset of the clashes in Syria, brought about the perception that the issue of migration in Europe was a security problem related with terrorism. During this period, characterized by migration-based concerns, the corona-virus pandemic that started in 2020 and the RF - Ukraine War that began in 2022, have deepened regional issues such as inflation, unemployment and energy crisis.

In addition, the devastating consequences of the global climate change such as drought, food crisis and scarce resources, have increased regional waves of migration. This has caused the gradual development of the mindset amounting to racism against the “others” particularly in continental Europe. As a matter of fact, immigrants have been placed in the center of every problem and social tensions have risen remarkably.

Far-right movements are observed to have accelerated politically particularly during the last decade.¹⁵ In the context of the political perspective, built upon migration and economic problems, extremist far-right parties that mainly targeted extremist individuals/groups in the past, have begun exploiting the increase of problems in social level and managed to reach out to the masses particularly in continental Europe by converting their rhetoric into a more populist level. During the corona-virus pandemic the far-rightist formations and political parties even used anti-vaccination sentiments as a significant propaganda tool against governments and mobilized the masses, finally attaining a “normal” social level in the eyes of wider masses in a short while.

Having increased their impact on ideological and political grounds since 2010s, far-right movements acquired an utterly different global dimension when Anders Breivik, a neo-Nazi, perpetrated an attack in Norway in 2011, killing 77 individuals.

Following the mentioned attack, until 2023, 114 far-rightist attacks have been recorded all around the world, killing around 1,700 people as a result.

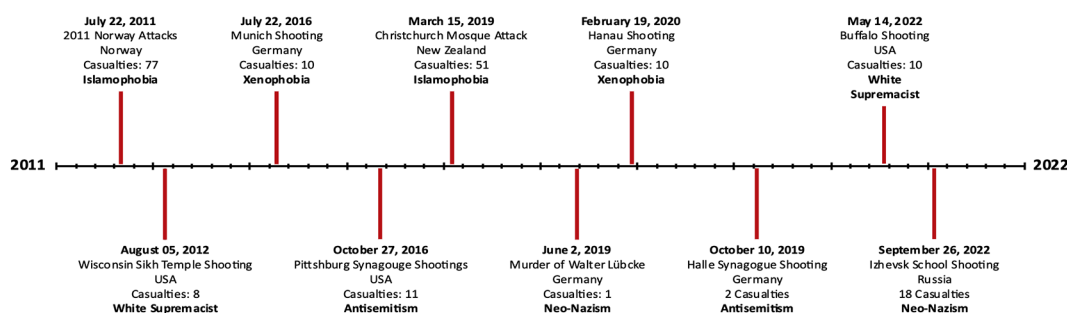


Figure 2: Prominent far-right extremist actions in Europe in 2011-2022

In contradiction to the attacks of radical terrorist organizations, Western countries, having trouble reaching a common ground regarding far-right terrorism, have been observed to take serious steps recently with the increase in the dimensions of this threat.

As a matter of fact, during the first comprehensive session of the UN on the far-rightist threat on August 03, 2022, views like xenophobia and racism were defined as “XRIRB” and far-right danger was underlined for the very first time.¹⁶ The conclusion report of the mentioned session “defined far-right as the common problem of Western countries and underlined that far-right terrorism has the potential of taking up a transnational form,” emphasizing that in the period of 2014-2018 the number of attacks affiliated with far-right terrorism has increased 320%.¹⁷

In addition, the European Council (EC) Counter Terrorism Committee’s (CDCT) definition of far-right terrorism in 2022 as “the fastest growing terror threat for several European countries,” is of importance since it indicates the level that the mentioned threat has reached on a global basis.

The report of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination¹⁸ on December 08, 2023¹⁹ contains remarkable points in regard with the struggle against racism. In this context, the report underlined the concerns about the increase of the racist hatred rhetoric and the escalation of the incitement of racial discrimination, highlighting that prejudice and negative hypotheses have been provoked against Muslims who are subjected to suspicion. Moreover, referring to the concerns stemming from the ban imposed on peaceful demonstrations organized to support Palestinians, the report called for necessary and adequate measures to fight discrimination against Muslim communities.

On the other hand, far-right movements have become a significant threat in a highly short while for the global agenda. Carrying on reinforcing its social basis affected by developing technology, globalization, economic problems and migration, the far-right movements are expected to remain a serious threat in the context of political and security issues in the coming period.

¹⁶ - For XRIRB see the Introduction of this report.

¹⁷ - The report numbered “A/77/266” published by the UN Secretariat General.

¹⁸ - UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UNCERD)

¹⁹ - The Report was shared with public on the website of UNCERD with the number CERD/C/DEU/CO/23-26.

1.2. FAR-RIGHT MOVEMENTS AND TÜRKİYE

Groups inclined to far-right view are known to differentiate based on respective countries and regions, and to lack standard organizational structures on an international basis. As a matter of fact, in the last two decades, although they have acquired the capacity to perpetrate actions similar to separatist and radical terrorist organizations through sophisticated methods, far-right groups lack global hierarchical organizations or a framework mechanism on an ideological basis. Furthermore, although a part of these groups is more inclined to use violence, the other part prefers defending opinions on a theoretical or activism level. This is known to complicate the discovery/pursuit of far-right groups by security and intelligence units.

Since they have basically been built upon the ideology of nationalism, far-right groups have long been active on a national level, trying to protect their respective nations or races. However, in line with technological improvements, the international interactions of these groups have started to increase gradually.²⁰ Particularly with the onset of the coronavirus pandemic, the far-right groups strengthened their global communication capability by means of online networks and escalated cooperation and coordination efforts through covered channels of communication, Telegram in particular. During this period, these groups have been observed to organize joint activities, developed similar strategies and focused on their similarities rather than their differences within the perception of a common enemy.

It should be taken into account due to social dynamics that far-right movements target young people who are 13-18 years old especially through virtual platforms and channeled youngsters to “lone actor” attacks following an ideological propaganda process. The “lone actor” attacks which are generally carried out against Muslim communities, have increased their intensity by the sense of vengeance of terrorist organizations, created a comprehensive unrest within Muslim populations.

Similarly, recent provocative actions against the Holy Quran and other religious values particularly in Scandinavian countries, have created restlessness among Muslims living in respective countries, and in case this restlessness creates a contrary reaction, the Muslims in the country are introduced as a “problematic” community before the public opinion. This, in return, creates an indirect support for the rhetoric of far-right political parties.

That the far-right constitutes a common threat for several Western countries is recognized. Furthermore, claims have it that far-right groups, as a component of hybrid warfare, are supported by different countries. These claims reveal the necessity that the possible repercussions of the issue to our country have to be followed carefully. On the other hand, the most important connection of far-right movements for Türkiye is the Turkish diaspora. On a theoretical basis, hosting countries are expected to take pains for issues like social injustice, psychological and physiological safety of minorities and respect for diversity, as well as they care for the freedom of speech. However, the progress that far-right movements have made on political and social grounds negatively affected the policies of governments against immigrants and minorities. Eventually, the minorities living in different countries for a variety of reasons are observed to have encountered gradually increasing pressure in recent years.

20 - Lepage-Veilleux, Yannick; Archambault, Emil (2016). Mapping Transnational Extremist Networks: An Exploratory Study of the Soldiers of Odin's Facebook Network, Using Integrated Social Network Analysis.

As a matter of fact, given the several attacks perpetrated against the Turkish presence in continental Europe with racist motives, it is understood that security forces have been far from giving the required attention, that the perpetrators of the incidents remain unaccounted for and/or the racist dimensions of the incidents are kept hidden from the public opinion.

2. GENERAL FACTS AND STATISTICAL DATA

- Far-right groups lack standard organizational structure at international level, nor do they have an umbrella mechanism in an ideological sense.
- Having expanded their global communications through online networks with the onset of Covid-19 pandemic, far-right groups have further increased cooperation and coordination through internet-based communication channels, Telegram chiefly.
- Despite adopting different ideologies, these groups develop similar strategies based on their common threat perception, and thereby trans-national events are becoming frequent.
- Most of their activities are organized online, and there is still limited physical participation in their events.
- In their propaganda activities, far-right groups' target audience is mostly the young people between the ages of 13 and 18. Mainly game platforms as well as social media applications and health/fitness clubs (active clubs) are used for recruitment.
- One of the most commonly employed type of attack by far-right groups is sensational "lone actor" attacks which they regard as highly
- effective. Although such attacks are generally carried out individually, they are supported by far-right groups.
- A manifesto by the perpetrator in which he explains in detail the motives and objectives of his actions is important for the continuation of propaganda activities and for encouraging future attacks.
- Far-right groups are trying to lure mainly the young people by designating the perpetrators as "Saints."
- The guns produced by 3D printers with developing technological capabilities have been on the spotlight as an important instrument used by far-right groups.
- Far-right individuals are known to self-finance their lone actor attacks while such groups raise funds in a legal manner to finance their activities. Recently, there has been an increase in the use of alternative financial means including online platforms.
- Some far-right individuals are actively operating in conflict zones with an effort to gain fighting experience and acquire explosives/arms.

Figure 3: General facts on far-right movements

Far-right movements lack standard characteristics across the world. Also, with increasing globalization and improving technological capabilities, far-right groups and individuals are becoming more and more alike. Thus, we can make some general assessments on far-right groups.

Statistical data on far-right incidents that took place across the world in 2023 is critical in terms of the magnitude of the matter as well as future trends and projections on the subject.

This chapter of the report comprises of general facts and statistical data which is based on incidents that found public coverage and which are classified according to certain criteria.

Statistical Data

Terrorism has been an important subject matter in the world for centuries. Throughout history many countries have encountered and are still encountering terrorist threats with varying degrees in different parts of the world.

Between 2007 and 2022, 31 per cent of the individuals who lost their lives due to terrorism were killed in attacks with religious motives. However, attacks with ideologic motives have significantly increased in number compared to attacks with religious motives since 2005, making ideology-driven terrorism one of the biggest threats in the world.

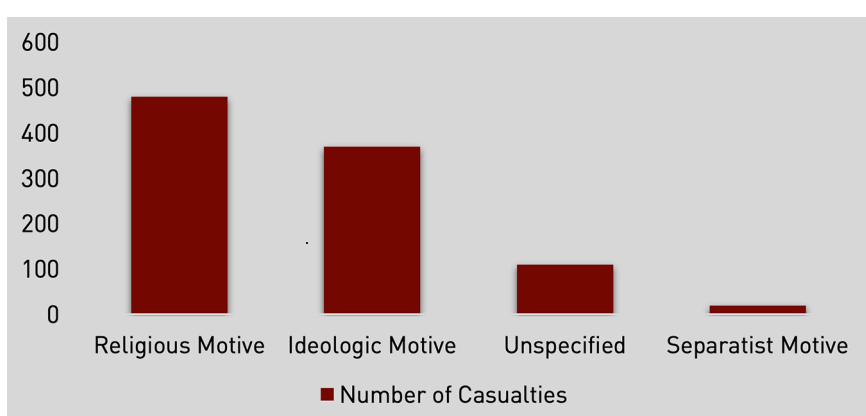


Figure 4: The number of people who lost their lives in terrorist attacks in Western countries between 2007-2022
(Source: Global Terrorism Index 2023)

The surge in far-right and extreme-left terrorist attacks in the US in recent years is of worthy of note. Due to strict measures and lockdowns enforced by governments across the world during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and 2021, there was a general decline in all kinds of terrorist attacks whereas far-right attacks, in particular, have been on the increase since 2022.

The global surge in far-right activities continued in 2023. Throughout the year more than a thousand far-right attacks took place around the world. Since July 2023 Islamophobic attacks involving the burning of Quran especially in Scandinavian countries have been significantly noticeable.

Also, there has been an increase in the number of far-right attacks targeting different political views compared to the first quarter of the year. As far as the motives of the far-right attacks are concerned, it seems difficult to talk about a global pattern. That is to say, anti-Semitic attacks are common in North America while Islamophobic and Xenophobic attacks are prevalent in Europe.

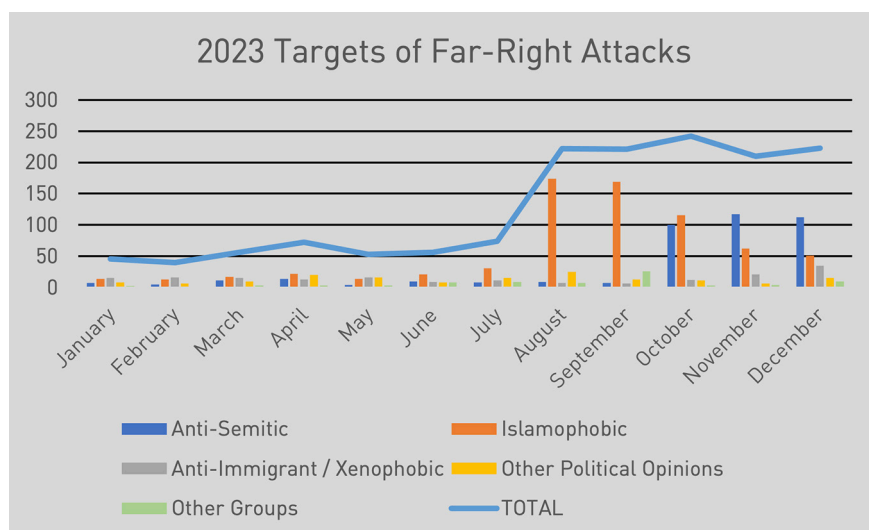


Figure 5: Attacks perpetrated by far-right movements (2023)

When we compare the motives of attacks on a global scale, Islamophobic attacks rank in the first place, by a staggering difference, compared to other categories, followed by attacks targeting different political views and immigrants/foreigners. Accordingly, far-right movements, which in 1930s emerged on the basis of racism, has evolved in time also to involve different parameters such as religion, ideology or citizenship. This change is expected to continue in the upcoming period to pose dangers against minorities in societies.

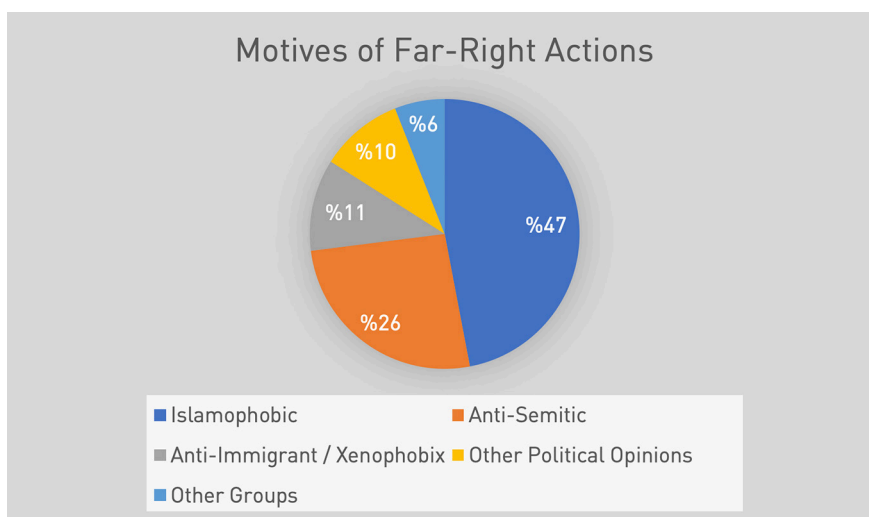


Figure 6: Motives of far-right attacks (2023)

Types of attacks perpetrated by far-right groups also bear importance. In 2023 the most striking category was provocative incidents including burning of the Quran. These incidents, which comprise almost 70 per cent of all recorded incidents are significant especially in the sense that they lead to social polarization and counter action by minorities. The protests organized by immigrants in Paris / France, albeit not related to the far-right, indicate the importance of social unity in a country. The rate

of violent attacks, involving the use of explosives and weapons, which can be regarded as the biggest far-right threat, was 7 per cent in 2023. One cannot rule out the social implications of any losses that could be inflicted by violent attacks. Also, in mid and long run, provocative actions may have potential impact on states and negative repercussions on the society.

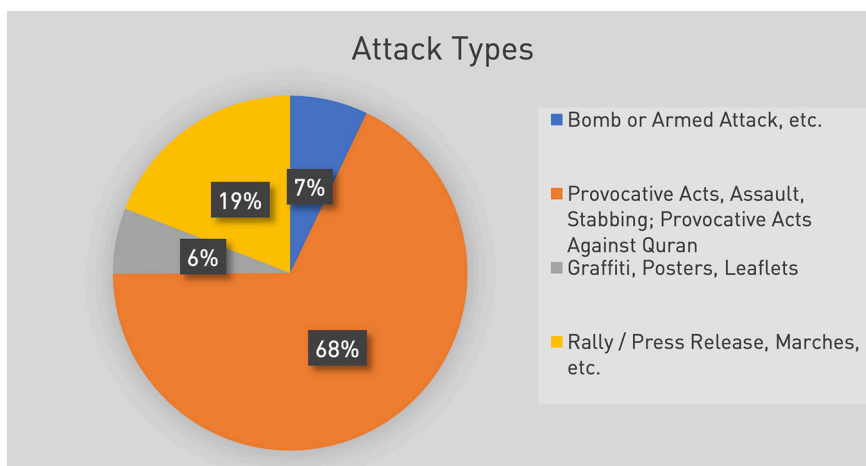


Figure 7: Breakdown of the categories of incidents/attacks (2023)

Far-right movements assume different character in different continents and countries²¹. In that, historical and cultural dynamics of a certain country, laws in place and far-right group's level of activity all have a direct impact on far-right actions in countries. In year 2023, the highest number of far-right activities were observed in Denmark, the US, Germany, the UK, Australia, Sweden, the Netherlands, France and Austria, respectively. Throughout the year, some countries saw street activism (carrying banners, protests, etc.) while other countries witnessed incidents amounting to physical violence.

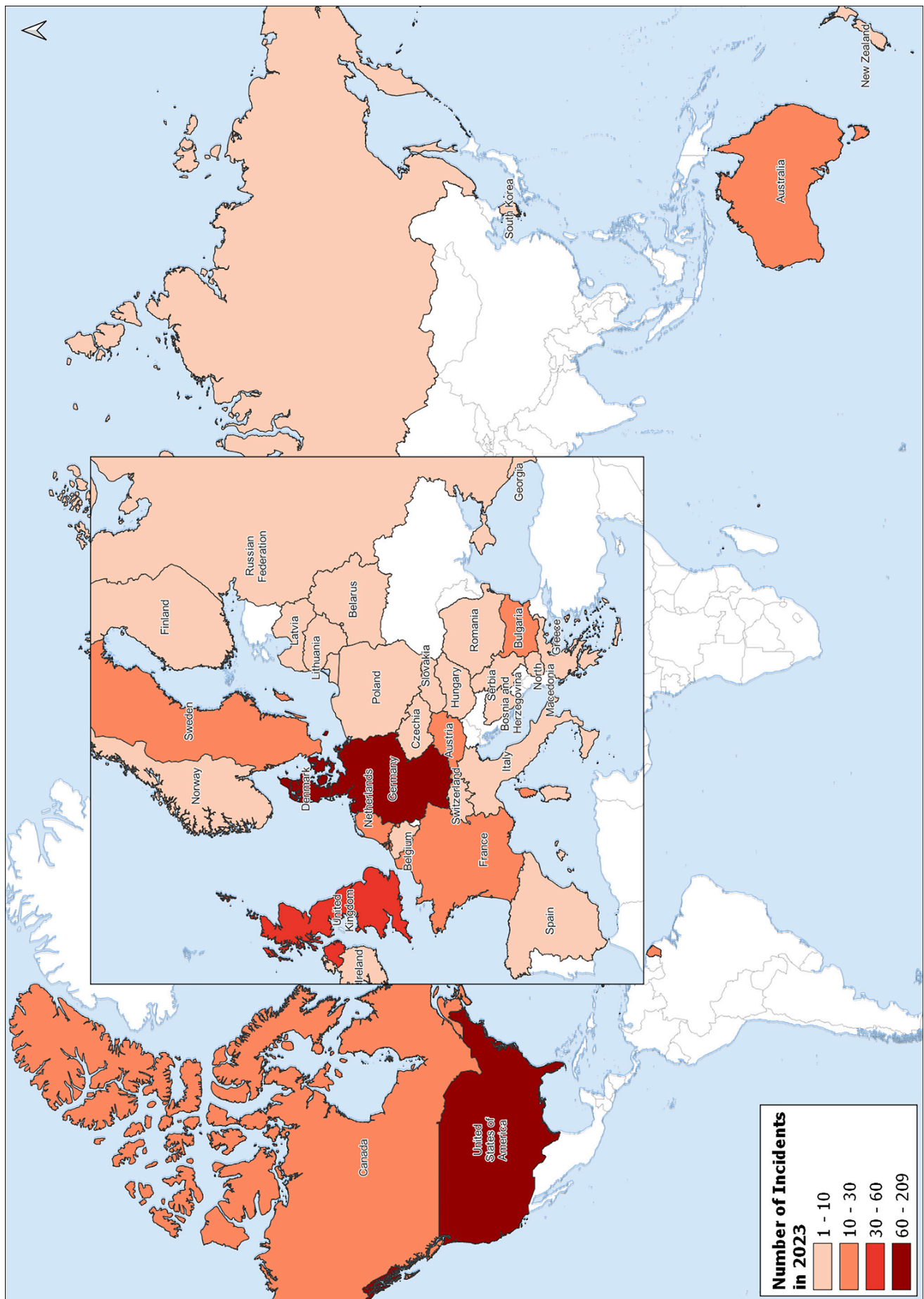


Figure 8: Heat Map of Far-Rights Acts (Year 2023)

3. FAR-RIGHT MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE

MAIN INDICATORS

- Far-right movements are receiving increasing social and political support.
- They are organized in individual and cell-type structures rather than big groups.
- Lone actor attacks bare significant potential.
- Xenophobia and Islamophobia are at a striking level.
- There is a growing tendency to interact with far-right groups from the US.
- Increasing immigration and bad economic situation cause escalating pressure especially on immigrants.
- There has been a noticeable use of weapons produced by 3D printers owing to technological developments.
- Foreign fighters who have joined the RF-Ukraine war remain to pose a risk towards host countries in the continent.
- RF's alleged affiliations with far-right groups/structures have found public attention in Europe.
- Far-right groups' attempts to infiltrate state agencies and security forces' operations to counter such attempts were of note.
- Part of far-rightists are actively operating in conflict zones with an effort to gain field/conflict experience and to acquire arms/explosives.

Current Situation

Far-right movements are developing with such a rapid pace that could potentially determine the future of Europe and transatlantic relations from a political standpoint.

After major and devastating wars in Europe, EU was established to ensure the continuation of peace through integration and in the course of its development it created an inclusive and broad European identity by promoting the following motto: *"unification of differences."* That being said, identity-based polarization, which has emerged across the world with regional and global developments that have been taking place since early 2000s, has surfaced rapidly also in the European continent. In parallel with increasing differences, the issue of far-right has also become prevalent in Europe with motives such as xenophobia, Islamophobia against immigrants, reaction to multi-culturalism, Euro-skepticism and racism.

It is difficult to make a general and broad assessment on far-right in all the countries in Europe. Each and every country has its own dynamics that could bring about different consequences in domestic and foreign politics.

That being said, one of the potential threats that is posed by far-right movements against the European continent can be specifically related to the EU. A number of far-right groups and parties, which use anti-EU sentiments as an important rhetoric in their propaganda efforts during the election

campaigns, regard EU as an elitist structure and thus have developed an anti-EU strategy, particularly due to its immigration policies.

Similarly, the Peace Parade, which took place on May 21, 2023 in Sofia, Bulgaria with the participation of approximately a thousand people, turned into an anti-EU protest within a short period of time, and during the incident far-right demonstrators wrote slogans on the premises of the European Parliament, which is yet another indication of anti-EU sentiments of the far-right.

The fact that far-right rhetoric has been gaining ground on a social and political level while gaining more recognition on mainstream media bring about a risky situation in which far-right ideas that had been excluded from the European politics for some time may go as far as steering European politics.

In all likelihood, far-right parties that are running for power and/or have become a part of governments in many countries may attain a position whereby they can influence the future of the EU. In the event that the far-right maintains its current progress and assumes power in other countries, one cannot rule out the possibility that member states may start attaching much greater importance to their own national interests and thereby processes like BREXIT may spread to different countries.

Another serious threat that the far-right ideology can pose against the European continent and the EU is the increasing tensions among groups with differing ideas. As such, with the recent rise of the far-right in Europe, just as the case in the United States, leftist groups have started to organize in a similar manner and have been developing similar strategies to struggle against the far-right. On that note, extreme leftist organizations are reaching a certain level of activism going beyond their anti-racist discourse and this, in our assessment, can lead to a greater conflict between the right and the left in EU countries.

The RF has been an important factor in the rise of the far-right in Europe. The frequent public discussions on the allegations that the RF has been supporting far-right groups as an element of a hybrid war against Western countries have increased EU's RF-related threat perception²². On this matter, we should also draw attention to the similar coverage in Western media highlighting connections between far-right political parties in Europe and the RF, and also the allegations that RF retains its power to destabilize the Balkans by using far-right groups as proxies²³.

The continuing rise of anti-immigrant far-right groups, in such a fashion to grow populist policies, bears a risk to further increase disagreements within the EU and to undermine harmony and accord of the Unity. Given the fact that far-right movements are critical of regional and international agencies in terms of their very existence and legitimacy, the increase in the number of far-right governments may result in questioning the existence of such agencies in Europe.

In addition to far-right movements' political repercussions in Europe, activities of far-right groups are also on the increase recently. As far as their organizational structures are concerned, far-rightists in Europe operate individually or in cell-type structures. Therefore, international cooperation efforts are becoming more apparent among far-right groups operating in Europe, albeit in small numbers. Accordingly, far-right groups are increasing their interactions through events such as fight nights,

concerts, etc. and thus seeking to develop similar/common strategies. Far-right groups, which are specifically using as a propaganda tool the poor economic situation caused by increasing immigration, continued to engage in anti-immigration actions also in year 2023.

In 2023, within the scope of their fight against the far-right, some European states took serious steps such as banning far-right groups, associations and that kind of organizations. A significant number of arms and ammunitions were seized during the operations conducted against far-right groups in Europe, particularly in Austria and Germany, which can be regarded as an important indication of far-right groups' capabilities to launch terrorist attacks. Another striking fact discovered during the mentioned operations is that far-rightists are taking an increasing interest in weapons produced by 3D printers. It is likely that in the period ahead far-right groups may focus more on the production and use of 3D weapons due to their low production costs and the difficulty to track them.

One of the most remarkable developments that took place in Europe in 2023 was the attempts of far-right individuals/groups to infiltrate state institutions. Also, a highlight from Germany was BND's approach towards its far-right employees and its institutional policies on the far-right issue. The German media reported that a BND employee who was also a member of a far-right party had not been allowed to enter the BND premises and that BND had launched a disciplinary investigation on the mentioned employee. "There is no room for far-rightist ideas in the BND, we conduct a careful vetting on the people we are recruiting, and those who are already employed are checked routinely to make sure that they adopt a free and democratic state order," said BND Director Bruno Kahl in an interview he gave on the matter²⁴.

In addition to the abovementioned developments, in the course of measures and precautions taken by the German state institutions against the far-right, the Federal Cabinet made some decisions in August 2023 on far-right suspects within the German Federal Army. According to these decisions, it was introduced that the processes will be facilitated to expel Army officers with far-right affiliations, with the ultimate aim to speed up the dismissal of anti-Constitutional officers, and thereby contracts of the military personnel who support anti-Constitutional acts would be terminated on the basis of an administrative scrutiny. Regarding the matter, Federal Defense Minister Boris Pistorius stated that it will be possible thanks to this new arrangement to expel those Army personnel who are known to hold extreme views without going through long-lasting judiciary investigations²⁵.

On top of these developments that took place in Germany in 2023, an extensive anti-terror operation conducted on the Reichsbürger Movement is also of note²⁶. The operation launched in December 2022 to target the members of the Reichsbürger Movement, which denies the very existence of the Federal Republic of Germany after the World War II, was presented as the biggest anti-terrorism operation in the history of the country. In their coverage of the operation, the German mass media reported that the group had been aiming to establish a transitional government as an alternative to the existing system,

²⁴ - "BND will sich besser vor Extremisten schützen", Tagesschau, March 09, 2023.

²⁵ - "Extremistische Soldaten sollen schneller entlassen werden", FAZ, August 16, 2023.

²⁶ - According to the statement made by the security authorities on the matter; it was found out that the individuals had been in preparation to stage an armed attack on state authorities, a list of 52 suspects were drafted within the scope of the operation, 22 of the detained individuals were German nationalists, as for the individuals who were arrested due to indirect suspicions, two of them were German citizens while one of them was an RF national, two of the individuals were arrested in Austria and Italy, also more than 3,000 German police officers were searching 130 locations, and it was assessed that the group in question was operating locally and had been established in November 2021.

RF had been the main venue for the talks to be held for this purpose, and that there were suspicions suggesting that the members of the group had been making plans to break into the German Federal Parliament using firearms individually or in small groups. Operations on the Reichsbürger Movement continued into 2023, and within the context of the investigations, additional operations were also conducted in the following months.

Like in Germany, operations were carried out also in Austria targeting a group affiliated with the Reichsbürger Movement. Operations were conducted in five different provinces of the country as a result of the investigation launched on the group named "Prussian Federal State" (Bundesstaat Preussen) by the Constitutional Protection and Counter-Terrorism Department of the Carintia Province in collaboration with the Austrian State Security and Intelligence Service (DSN)²⁷. In the meantime, the DSN also carried out operations on far-right groups throughout the year, and thus seized a large number of weapons and explosives. European public opinion attributed DSN's very active struggle against the far-right threat in 2023 to the dismissal of officers with far-right ideology from the Service and/or active duty following the reorganization the DSN went through in 2021.

Far-right individuals' attempts to infiltrate state structures, has become a serious threat not only for Germany and Austria but also for countries such as Belgium and United Kingdom. As such, the minutes of the UK Parliamentary session on "Far-Right Terrorism" that was made public in November 2022 by the UK Parliament's Intelligence and Security Committee indicated that there had been notable attempts by far-right individuals to infiltrate armed forces and other security agencies, the US and Germany had shared similar concerns, Germany had launched investigations on 450 police and army officers due to their suspected ties with the far-right, far-right individuals were interested in working in military positions so that they can acquire knowledge and experience on arms and ammunitions to be used for their personal ideological struggles, an officer from the Metropolitan Police had been sentenced to imprisonment in April 2021 for being a member of the far-right group named National Action and was reportedly the first UK citizen to serve prison time on accusations of terrorism²⁸. Similarly, in November 2023 in Belgium five Belgian soldiers were prosecuted due to their denial of genocide, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, instigating hatred among the people, making racist rhetoric, etc. and the Army suspended the soldiers until the closure of the case.

²⁷ - Verfassungsschutz: Schwerpunktaktion gegen staatsfeindliche Bewegung", Austrian Interior Ministry, July 26, 2023.

²⁸ - UK Parliament's Intelligence and Security Committee report titled "Extreme Right-Wing Terrorism" from July 13, 2022 was released to the public in November 2022.

4. FAR-RIGHT MOVEMENTS IN THE U.S.

MAIN INDICATORS

- The concept of far-right extremism in the country is mainly focused on hostility towards Jews, Blacks, and Muslims.
- While far-right groups, which are high in number, are not united in terms of ideology/methods, their sporadic collaboration draws attention.
- It is known that cooperation is maintained with far-right groups in Europe based on the idea of “same ethnicity.”
- Violent far-right extremism is at high levels in the country. The potential for conducting armed attacks that might result in mass casualties is higher than any other part of the world also due to the weapons laws in place.
- In 2023, synagogues, schools and shopping malls have drawn attention as significant targets of armed attacks.
- Recently, conflicts have intensified between groups with opposing views. Similarly, differences of opinion among various far-right groups have been observed to have the potential to turn into conflicts.

Current Situation

The “Domestic Terrorism Prevention Act” adopted in the U.S. in 2019 constitutes the basis of the legal regulations for the relevant work of U.S. security units.

Following the Presidential Elections of November 2020, the attempts by groups involving far-right individuals to storm the Congress in January 2021 had considerable repercussions in the U.S. After the incidents, the Joe Biden Administration shared a plan entitled “National Strategy on Countering Domestic Terrorism” with the public opinion in the second week of June 2021. On the other hand, in the lawsuits filed in 2022-2023 in relation to the attempted storming of the Congress, leaders of U.S. far-right groups called Proud Boys and Oath Keepers were convicted of “provocative conspiracy” and sentenced to 15-18 years of imprisonment.

Verbal and physical racist attacks continued against Turkish and Muslim communities as well as their places of worship in the U.S. in 2022 and 2023. On the other hand, anti-Semitism seems to be the major motive in the context of far-right activities in the country.

In 2023, marginal groups, especially those adopting left wing views, started to get organized in the U.S. in a similar manner against far-right groups. As a matter of fact, it was observed in 2023 that groups with opposing views got organized and carried out similar acts at some point during the acts of far-right groups, and from time to time, these acts turned into physical conflicts between the sides.

It is known that there are hundreds of different groups carrying out activities based on far-right views in the U.S. as of 2023. This is noted as the biggest difficulty in monitoring the far-right issue. These

groups formulate measures by closely following the technological developments, using alternative and secure communication methods, and rejecting individuals other than those from their close circle as members to groups against any infiltration attempts, and they make efforts to circumvent the surveillance of the security forces. Moreover, it is observed that groups prepare guidebooks via closed Telegram groups, and individuals seeking to carry out “lone actor” attacks are encouraged with these books.

The communication and cooperation among U.S. far-right groups constitute a significant obstacle for security units, as is the case at global level. Recently, it has been observed that new individuals have joined groups via Health/Fitness Clubs called Active Clubs, ideological training has been provided, and activities have been launched to ensure motivation and coordination. Contrary to the far-right groups on the European continent, the far-right groups in the U.S. are known to be extremely efficient but their cooperation is not as extensive as expected.

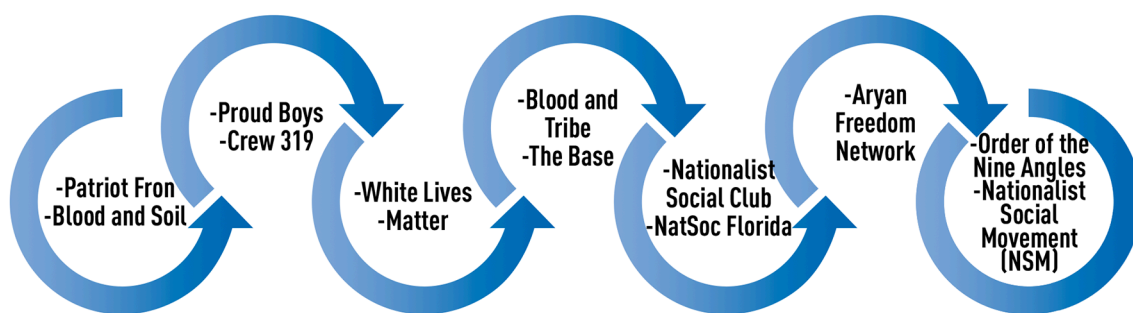


Figure 9: Most active far-right groups in the US

It is observed that, due to the presence of numerous groups, certain groups maintain regional cooperation and larger groups sometimes provide support to smaller local groups in their activities. Calls for cooperation among far-right groups attract attention. Nevertheless, groups’ ideological differences and alternative methods of struggle (political struggle, struggle via street acts or armed attacks) indicate that currently they lack the capacity to act in unity. In addition, it is known that these differences among groups have escalated into conflicts in specific periods in 2023.

The lone actor attacks, which are carried out individually, pose a serious threat to the U.S. in the context of far-right activities. The mentioned threat further increases as people can easily obtain automatic guns as well as ammunition and materials that might be related with attacks, based on the existing weapons laws in the U.S. In fact, the perpetration of 656 armed attacks in total (with mass casualties) including far-right motivated attacks in the U.S. in 2023 has been a concrete indication of this trend.

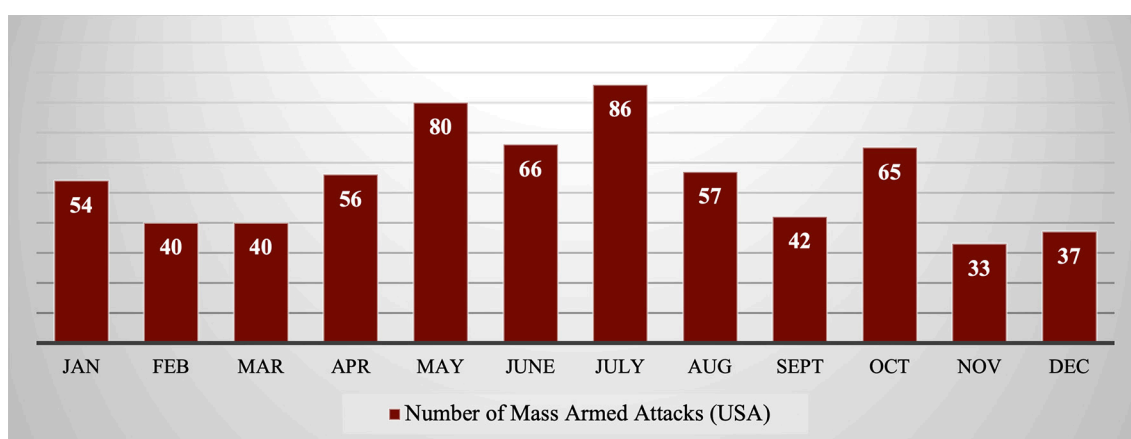


Figure 10: Armed attacks with mass casualties conducted in the U.S. (2023)

(Source: The Gun Violence Archive)

The aforementioned armed attacks carried out in 43 different states in the U.S. have drawn considerable attention in the public opinion of the country. Only the states of Alaska, Montana, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming have not become a stage for armed attacks.

In fact, in the research conducted in the U.S. in 2023, it has been identified that 70% of the terrorist attacks had been carried out by individuals or by those operating within isolated groups. Due to the far-right lone actor attacks, 11 people were killed in 2023 in Texas and Florida, 10 people in 2022 in New York/Buffalo, two people in 2020 in California, and 23 people in 2019 in Texas/El Paso and California/Poway Synagogue Attack.

The likelihood for mass attacks by far-right groups/extremists is considerably higher in the U.S. than in any other part of the world. The events organized and restaurants/bars frequented by people targeted by far-right groups, especially the synagogues and places like shopping malls and schools where masses are generally present come to the fore as the main areas exposed to armed attacks by far-right extremists. Far-right extremists intending to carry out armed attacks also try to turn their acts into a propaganda process. Within this framework, in addition to inflicting severe physical damage, the attackers also try to ensure highest level of psychological damage by videotaping the acts.

Likewise, it is known that far-right groups seeking to conduct acts against the U.S. Administration are trying to carry out sensational acts that might create social chaos and target primarily the communication and electricity infrastructure in cities. Therefore, it can be argued that far-right extremists also carry out acts in order to show the state as incompetent/inefficient.

5. FAR-RIGHT MOVEMENTS IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

MAIN INDICATORS

- Far-right movements have developed significantly in Australia and New Zealand in a short time despite the preventive measures adopted by the governments.
- Far-right groups operate actively, and recently, their potential of getting into conflict with groups having opposing views attracts attention.
- It is observed that far-right groups carry out propaganda activities towards the youth through health/fitness clubs and concentrate on activities targeting the youth especially through events like sports competitions.
- The potential for “lone actor” attacks is lower in both countries compared to other regions.
- However, efforts of far-right groups to carry out propaganda and acts are expected to continue.

Current Situation

In Australia, the origins of far-right movements date back to the activities of the “Old Guard” group, which started to get organized in 1920s in the face of the communism threat after the Bolshevik/Russian Revolution in 1917. While far-right movements appeared to have gained acceleration periodically during 1930-1960 along with global developments and the popularity of the Nazism ideology in Europe²⁹, it is known that these groups had been closely followed by security units in Australia as of 1970s.

On the other hand, it is seen that far-right groups in Australia have actually begun to carry out activities after 2010s. Extremism has gained significant acceleration in the country due to the expanded influence of far-right movements at global level and the broader use of the Internet, as well as the increase in the Muslim population in the country. Since then, it is known that a number of far-right groups have been established in the country and also different structures have derived from these groups due to differences of opinion.

It is observed that far-right groups in Australia highlight white supremacy and focus on activities like spray-painting scornful expressions against other races and immigrants, organizing protests and sticking posters. These groups, which try to expand the number of their supporters generally through membership and groups of friends via social media and websites (Gab, 8chan, etc.), sustain their activities with donations from members and supporters. It is noted that anti-Semitism has also been on the rise in Australia in the recent years.

In addition, the importance of monitoring far-right activities has further increased in Australia after the terrorist attack conducted in New Zealand/Christchurch in 2019 the perpetrator of which turned out to be an Australian national, and the activities carried out by groups with opposing views in the country as well as the “likelihood for individual figures with far-left or far-right ideologies to carry

²⁹ - In an opinion column by journalist Peter HARTCHER, the international editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, on the “New Guard” established to replace the “Old Guard,” it was expressed that “Fascism came pretty close to happening in Australia in the past; the ‘secret armies’ of Australia were kept as a secret history, and this was the ‘preferred historical narrative’ for Australia as a relaxed and comfortable country which avoided political extremism.”

out terrorist acts” have become the main subject of interest of security units.³⁰ The far-right group Sonnenkrieg, the far-right group The Base, and the National Socialist Order (NSO) were designated as terrorist organizations in the country in March 2021, November 2021 and February 2022, respectively.³¹

The Australian security circles’ basic assessment regarding the rise of the far-right extremism in the country suggests that the Coronavirus pandemic and the interaction on the internet have affected the capacity of far-right groups to give harm and thus the security perspective of the country. The Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO) has defined far-right extremism as the “support given to violence to achieve political results related to ideologies including but not limited to white supremacy and neo-Nazism.” Meanwhile, in 2021, the definition related to extremism was revised by ASIO and these activities were described as Ideologically Motivated Violent Extremism (IMVE).

ASIO Director Mike Burgess made a statement during a Senate Committee hearing on 23 May 2023 about the extent of the neo-Nazi threat in Australia and what the recent public neo-Nazi demonstrations meant for the national security, expressing that;

- Neo-Nazi groups were seeking to recruit more members; public demonstrations had become bolder and the main purpose of these groups was to gain supporters; the ideologically motivated right-wing terrorism threat, including the neo-Nazi movement, had grown over the past seven years from 5% up to nearly 30% in ASIO’s current counter-terrorism caseload, and religiously-motivated extremism accounted for the remaining 70%,
- The greatest terrorist attack would probably come from individuals (lone actor) who are fed by far-right movements and acting alone,
- The threats against security were clearly defined in the country and people’s adoption of the neo-Nazi ideology was not contrary to state laws; far-right groups avoided publicly advocating terrorism in order not to be designated; according to the laws currently in force, in order for these groups to be designated, they must have actually encouraged and defended terrorist acts.³²

Moreover, in a report of August 2022 prepared by the “Legal and Social Issues Committee”³³ in Australia/Parliament of Victoria on the rise of far-right extremism, it was stated that multicultural communities were targeted due to the racist and scapegoating rhetoric used by far-right ideologies; the threat of violence from far-left extremism was not equivalent to the threat of far-right extremism, but the extremist threat landscape was continually evolving. The report also underlined that “the availability of weapons for far-right groups was a significant source of concern; other factors like disinformation, conspiracy theories circulating on the social media and the normalization of anti-immigrant rhetoric on the mainstream media created a risk of radicalizing vulnerable people and made them more susceptible to racist narratives; children who used the internet without any supervision during the curfews declared in the pandemic period were exposed to extremist groups and radicalization

30 - “ASIO Annual Report 2017-18”, Report of the Australian Security Intelligence Organization.

31 - In Australia, overall 29 formations were designated as terrorist organizations as of 2023, three of which were associated with far-right extremism.

32 - Report of the Australian Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Legislation Committee hearing on 23 May 2023. Access gained via parlinfo.aph.gov.au

33 - Legal and Social Issues Committee

attempts, which further deteriorated the situation; and the people's confidence in the mainstream media and the government decreased.” The mentioned report outlines the current course of far-right extremism both in Australia and in the world in general.

It seems that far-right extremists in Australia manipulate the sympathizers to donate for them via extremist-linked Telegram channels and accounts, and payment methods also include cryptocurrency instruments. The use of cryptocurrency among far-right and neo-Nazi groups in the country is observed to be widespread. This is the result of the prohibition of traditional methods of finance, like virtual banking and PayPal, for far-right groups. Nowadays, ideologically-motivated individuals and groups are more organized, developed and security-sensitive compared to the past. In addition, some of those who have anti-Semitic views believe in the conspiracy that the banking world is in the hands of Jewish individuals. In this context, there is also an ideological reason for them to resort to alternative means as a method of finance.

It is known that, in the recent years, far-right movements have gained ground in New Zealand as well. The far-right groups in New Zealand, which occupied a significant place on the global agenda after the mosque attack in 2019, carry out their activities in collaboration with Australian far-right extremists and focus on propaganda activities.³⁴

The report entitled “New Zealand’s Security Threat Environment 2023,” which was published by the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (NZSIS) on 11 August 2023 and described as the first comprehensive assessment on violent extremism, foreign interference and espionage threats facing the country, contains the following statements in the part related to violent extremism:

- Online platforms continue to be favorable for inflammatory and insulting language, but it is observed that those making threats online are unlikely to engage in real-world violence. The anti-authority rhetoric which gained momentum on online platforms during the pandemic period has created new opportunities for violent extremists,
- Growing social and economic inequalities are among the many factors that contribute to the radicalization of violent extremists in New Zealand; worsening economic conditions as well as technological developments can contribute to the fast and undetectable spread of these ideologies worldwide through online communities,
- The spectrum of violent extremist activity in New Zealand mostly consists of expressing support for violent extremist ideologies; while there are individuals in the country who have the intent and the capability or can acquire the capability to conduct a terrorist attack, there is currently no information pointing to a concrete attack planning,
- A rapidly evolving threat environment will require a rapidly evolving response; it is necessary to try to make ourselves harder targets for acts of violent extremism in order to stay ahead of those who wish to cause us harm; the country as a whole has recently taken steps to this end and this thinking will need to continue on a similar trajectory.³⁵

³⁴ - Especially the cooperation between the European Australian Movement (EAM) from Australia and the far-right group Action Zealandia (AZ) active in New Zealand has drawn attention in the recent period.

³⁵ - “New Zealand’s Security Threat Environment 2023,” New Zealand Security and Intelligence Service, 11 August 2023.

The far-right movements in Australia and New Zealand are expected to accelerate their activities in the next period by enhancing their communication especially with the far-right groups in Europe.

6. ANTI-TURKISH AND ANTI-ISLAMIC ACTS

In the wake of September 11, 2001 attacks in the U.S., Islamophobia has taken the center stage as one of the main motives of far-right movements. Islamophobia in the U.S. and European countries is generally accepted as one of the major issues of this century. However, efforts particularly in Europe to try to identify Islamophobia with Turkish antagonism attract attention. In fact, it is observed that in many anti-Islamic protests, references are being made to Turks and Türkiye as well. It can be said that Europe is the region anti-Islamic and anti-Turkish sentiments have reached its peak.

Sending threat letters to mosques in Germany and burning Qurans in the Scandinavian countries are noted as the topical issues in this period.

6.1. Sending Threat Letters to Mosques

Mosques in Europe can easily be identified as targets by far-right extremists, owing to mosques being the doors of the Muslims in Europe opening to the other sectors of the society in public places. Therefore, main policies of the far-right politics always included issues regarding mosques as well. The fact that mosques have become so central to right-wing extremist politics has also made them a target for non-political far-right extremist actors.

Germany is the country where hate crimes against mosques throughout Europe were mostly experienced in 2023. In Germany, where approximately 5.5 million Muslims live and there are nearly 2,800 mosques, the fact that Muslim places of worship are the target of far-right extremist attacks has a negative impact on social peace in the country.

More than 50 attacks against the mosques in Germany alone were chalked off between January – November 2023. Attacks generally include inflicting damage to the properties, leaving animal cadavers (pig's meat/head etc.) and committing arson.

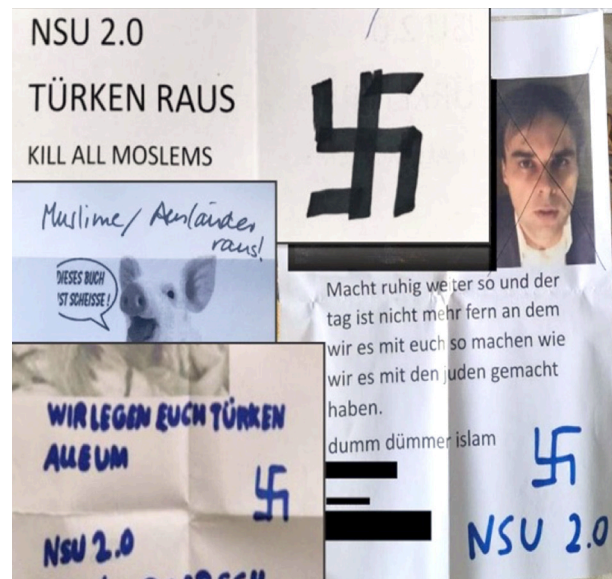


Figure 11: The letters sent to mosques include expressions such as “Turks Out, Muslims/Foreigners Out, We Will Kill You Turks, Keep It Up...We Will Do to You What We Did to the Jews.”

One of the types of attacks, which constitutes the biggest threat against the fundamental tenets of the social peace, is the anonymous threat letters sent to mosques. Receivers of the letters have become more concerned when they noticed the letters included the “NSU 2.0” inscription, referring to the National Socialist Underground (NSU) that killed 10 people between 2000 and 2007 and the photograph of far-right terrorist Tobias Rätz, perpetrator of the 2019 Hanau attack. The lack of any satisfactory explanation/action by the German security forces regarding the identification and even legal prosecution of the perpetrators of these attacks may cause such threats to continue in the coming period.

	Date	Incident	City
1	28.01.2023	Boys attending Quran course in Fatih Mosque were threatened with knife.	Flensburg
2	18.04.2023	A man burnt Quran inside Fatih Mosque.	Dresden
3	27.04.2023	A threat letter signed by “NSU 2.0” was sent to Sultan Ahmet Mosque.	Dortmund
4	09.05.2023	Bookshelves in Fatih Mosque were set on fire.	Dresden
5	18.05.2023	A threat letter signed by “NSU 2.0” was sent to Göttingen Mosque.	Göttingen
6	30.05.2023	Hannover Central Mosque’s diner was sabotaged. It was worth attention that it coincided with the 30th anniversary of the Solingen Arson Attack.	Hannover
7	02.06.2023	A threat letter signed by “NSU 2.0” was sent to Marxloh Central Mosque.	Duisburg
8	05.06.2023	Turkish flag in front of Selimiye Mosque, where both German and Turkish flags were displayed, was lowered and burnt.	Bremen
9	08.07.2023	A Quran, which was set on fire, was thrown at Mimar Sinan Mosque.	Maulbronn
10	08.07.2023	An attack in the form of oral defamation and burning tires in front of Dormargen Süleymaniye Mosque was conducted.	Dormargen
11	21.07.2023	A threat letter including racist expressions was sent to Mevlana Mosque.	Ludwigshafen
12	04.08.2023	A threat letter signed by “NSU 2.0” was sent to Eyüp Sultan Mosque.	Bramsche
13	14.08.2023	Windows of Wiesloch Mosque were damaged.	Wiesloch
14	08.09.2023	A threat letter including racist expressions was sent to Mehmet Akif Mosque.	Munich
15	17.09.2023	There was an arson attempt against Regensburg Central Mosque, and its auxiliary building was damaged.	Regensburg
16	20.09.2023	A threat letter including racist expressions was sent to Eyüp Sultan Bahçe Mosque.	Bremen
17	20.09.2023	A threat letter signed by “NSU 2.0” was sent to Lehrte Mosque.	Lehrte
18	22.09.2023	A threat letter including racist expressions was sent to Yavuz Sultan Selim Mosque.	Heidelberg
19	22.09.2023	A threat letter signed by “NSU 2.0” was sent to Darmstadt Mosque.	Darmstadt
20	21.10.2023	Threats were spray-painted on the outer walls of Ulu Mosque.	Bottrop
21	27.10.2023	A package containing burnt pages of Quran, pig’s meat and an insulting text was sent to Mevlana Mosque.	Castrop-Rauxel
22	31.10.2023	A package containing burnt pages of Quran, pig’s meat, feces and an insulting text was sent to Dortmund Islamic Federation “Abu Bakr” Mosque.	Dortmund
23	15.11.2023	A package containing burnt pages of Quran and an insulting text was sent to Şehitlik Mosque.	Berlin
24	18.11.2023	A package containing burnt pages of Quran, pig’s meat and an insulting text was sent to Central Mosque.	Duisburg
25	24.11.2023	A package containing burnt pages of Quran, pig’s meat and an insulting text was sent to Ali Paşa Mosque.	Hamburg

TYPES OF ATTACKS

Threat Letters	Provocative Acts	Threat Letters Signed by NSU	Damage to Property, Arson, Burning Quran, Insult, Threat, Insult to Turkish Flag
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Figure12: Examples from the attacks against mosques in Germany (Year 2023)

6.2. Acts to Insult Islam

Burning Qurans were the highlights of the provocative attacks by the far-right groups in 2023. This trend, which came to the fore in the Scandinavian countries, especially in Denmark, gained momentum in summer. At first, Rasmus Paludan, leader of Danish far-right “Stram Kurs,” torched a copy of Quran outside the premises of the Turkish Embassy in Stockholm on 21 January 2023 to criticize Türkiye’s approach to Sweden’s accession to NATO. When Rasmus Paludan withdrew (or was forced to withdraw) from this type of action, some groups organized mostly by the former members of “Stram Kurs” started to burn Qurans in Denmark. As of June 2023, many Muslim countries reacted to the burning of Quran in front of a mosque in Stockholm by an Iraqi refugee living in Sweden and there was an increase in the attacks in Denmark following those reactions.

On the other hand, the failure of the governments in these countries to take a negative stance against this provocative style of action has led to an increase in the frequency of such acts and to similar activities being carried out in other European countries. In this respect, anti-Islam PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West) in the Netherlands, inspired by Rasmus Paludan, has started to carry out protests insulting Quran.

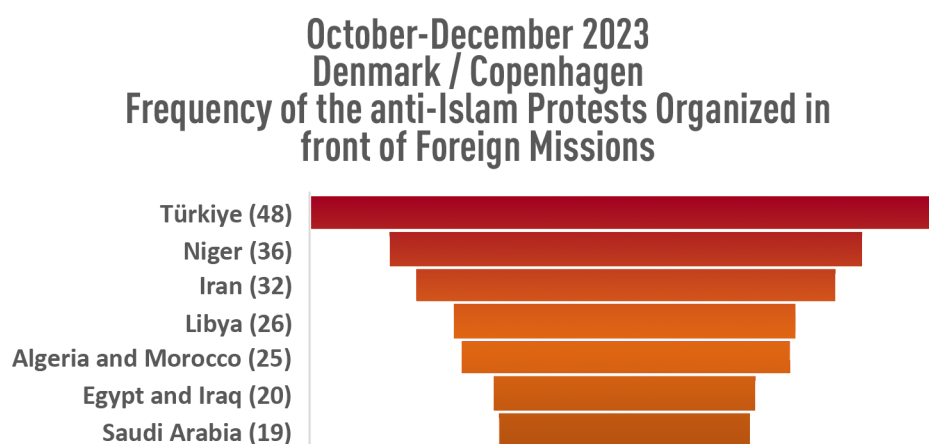


Figure 13: Diplomatic missions mostly frequented to stage protests in Denmark/Copenhagen between October – December 2023

As a matter of fact, at the end of August 2023, government in Denmark, which became almost a center for the Quran burning protests, presented a bill that made it illegal to burn copies of Quran, annotating that it would not “limit the freedom of expression.” The parliament adopted the law on 07 December 2023 and the law entered into force on 13 December 2023.³⁶

Countries where provocative protests were staged started to initiate certain revisions in the security measures in their countries in this period as well. It is observed that those countries have reviewed

³⁶ - Log no. 2020-05527 regarding the law no. 1554 published in the Denmark’s Official Gazette (lovtidende.dk).

their national threat levels due to the increased reactions and even threats (particularly from radical terror organizations). In fact, it is due to this threat perception that Denmark increased the controls on its borders with Germany and Sweden and Sweden raised the terrorist threat level from Elevated (3) to High (4) on a five-level scale for the first time since 2016.

6.3. Anti-Turkish Sentiments

As is known, anti-Turkish sentiments in Europe are not a new social phenomenon. Since 1960s, scores of our citizens moved to Europe as part of the labor migration and they were called “guest workers.” At first, those workers were supposed to stay and work only for a while, but later it became clear that they have become permanent and Turks who settled in Europe have started to get organized through associations to meet their socio-cultural and religious needs. Turks, who have become more visible in the society with the foundation of cultural as well as mosque associations and assumed an important role in the development of the country in the aftermath of WWII, then were directly classified as “foreigners,” not “guest workers.” Considering the example of Germany, it can be said that with the reunification of East and West Germany, discriminatory and hateful crimes against foreigners have increased and continue to increase. In fact, racist attacks during 1990s have been the indications of this trend while 1993 Solingen attack was the culmination for the Turks in Germany.³⁷

Thanks to the integration policies of the countries during 2000s, Turks have begun having a say in many fields/levels. When examining far-right structures, it is possible to come across with anti-Turkish sentiments in almost all of them. Looking back at the periods when movements such as PEGIDA appeared on stage, it is seen that generally mosques subordinated to Turkish associations were targeted. Similarly, most of the victims of NSU being Turks is another example of anti-Turkish sentiments.

Socio-cultural and religious lives of Turks in Europe have caused far-right extremists to identify anti-Turkish sentiments with Islamophobia until today. As a matter of fact, it is observed that attacks and protests were carried out in the areas densely populated by Turks or in front of mosques rather than in front of the diplomatic missions. There are lots of incidents when anti-Turkish sentiments intersected with Islamophobia in 2023. Far-right Dutch politician Geert Wilders³⁸ posted a video on social media after the general elections in Türkiye, urging “all Turks in the Netherlands who voted for the Islamofascists will pack their bags and move to Türkiye,” setting an example for that trend.³⁹

Similarly, far-right Danish politician Rasmus Paludan’s burning Quran in January 2023 to criticize Türkiye’s stance on Sweden’s accession to NATO is another example displaying that intersection, and the fact that groups which broke away from Rasmus Paludan’s party carried out most of their protests with Quran in front of diplomatic missions could be handled in the same way. Threat and insult letters that are sent to mosques in Germany from time to time target Türkiye and Turkish politicians. As a matter of fact, sending the cover of German Stern magazine featuring Turkish political figures to a mosque in Baden-Württemberg in July 2023 and writing statements on the cover of the magazine concretely demonstrate this point of view.

³⁷ - A Turkish family’s house in Solingen/Germany was set on fire in 1993, killing 5 and wounding 14.

³⁸ - Far-right politician Geert Wilders’ party became the first party in the general elections in the Netherlands on 22 November 2023 with 20% of the votes.

³⁹ - Geert Wilders’ post on his official Twitter/X account on 28 May 2023

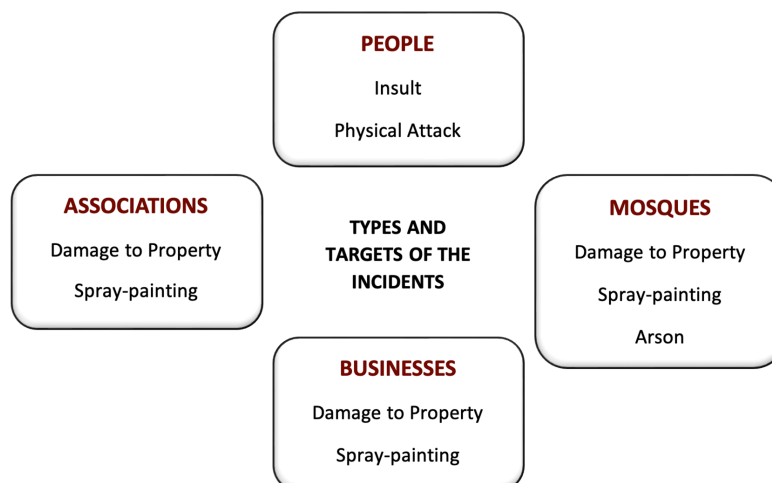


Figure 14: Types and targets of anti-Islamic incidents

In addition to these, several far-right attacks were carried out throughout Europe in 2023, such as;

- Insult letters sent to Turkish diplomatic missions,
- Hate crimes against Turks and Islam in public places, such as universities, schools, workplaces and public transportation vehicles,
- Damaging and spray-painting Turkish businesses and auxiliary buildings of mosques.

Islamophobic and Turkophobic incidents have continued their upward escalations around new dynamics particularly since the beginning of 2000s. The fact that no criminal sanctions are imposed at this stage on the perpetrators of many acts that are essentially hate crimes negatively affects the peace of society, especially the target group, on the one hand, and on the other hand, it encourages other extremist groups and individuals to act. As a matter of fact, the impunity of one act creates space for other acts. Given the momentum far-right acts have gained especially in Europe, similar Islamophobic and Turkophobic acts are expected to continue in the coming period.

7. RF-UKRAINE WAR AND FAR-RIGHT MOVEMENTS

RF – Ukraine War, which has been continuing since February 2022, has drawn worldwide attention also in terms of the presence of the foreign fighters on the ground.

The foreign fighters in Ukraine came to the forefront with the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation in 2014 and caused the concept of foreign fighters, which has been globally identified with the Muslim identity since 2010s, to gain a different dimension in Ukraine. It is known that during that time, foreign fighters arrived in Ukraine with individual preferences and/or ideological motives; some of them stayed in Ukraine permanently; and some foreign fighters arrived in the country in the war in 2022.

In 2022, foreign fighters were invited to Ukraine by the Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy⁴⁰ and the call has been welcomed by many, particularly Western right-wing extremists, who see it as an opportunity for foreign fighters to gain experience in the use of weapons, explosives and field experience.

No reliable data can be reached due to the fact that Ukrainian, Russian and Western sources have different findings relating to the number of foreign fighters who are currently in Ukraine. Ukrainian authorities' statements in 2022 claiming that there were almost 20,000 military volunteers in the region have not been globally accepted. Additionally, field research conducted by The New York Times in March 2023 informed that there were approximately 1,500 foreign fighters in Ukraine.⁴¹ In addition, in the eyes of the international public opinion, the current number of foreign fighters in Ukraine varies between 1,000-3,000, a large number of those who went to Ukraine with the outbreak of the war and have no combat experience have returned to their countries, not all of the current foreign fighters in Ukraine are active in the field, some of them are used in back services such as logistics.

Far-right foreign fighters participating in the RF-Ukraine War are considered as serious threats by their countries of origin.

In fact, threat report of 21 December 2022 prepared by the Danish Foreign Intelligence Service judges that "foreign fighters in Ukraine might be affected by the far-right views and pose a threat when they would be back in Europe." The Annual Threat Assessment prepared by the U.S. Intelligence Community and was shared with public underlines: "a prolonged conflict in Ukraine could provide foreign RMVEs with opportunities to gain access to battlefield experience and weapons." As a result, foreign fighters' gaining access to weapons/explosives and field experience pose a great risk for the countries, mainly European ones, who have citizens in Ukraine.

It should also be taken into account that some of the far-right extremists are linked to terrorist organizations in Syria and Iraq. It can be said that this group of people may continue their activities in new conflict areas that may emerge in the coming period in line with their own interests and may pose a significant threat to the regional stability. In this context, the possibility that the weapons and ammunition in the conflict zone may be made available to different terrorist organizations and used in terrorist acts in the upcoming period should not be ruled out.

40 - "Ukraine Appeals for Foreign Volunteers to Join Fight Against Russia", The Guardian, 27 February 2022

41 - "Stolen Valor: The U.S. Volunteers in Ukraine Who Lie, Waste and Bicker", The New York Times, 24 March 2023.

In fact, it has been suggested that grenades and weapons that had been recovered in the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) operation against the separatist New IRA in Londonderry on 07 September 2023 were procured by New IRA from Ukraine.⁴² This is an important example of the threat that uncontrolled conflict in Ukraine may pose in the coming period.

8. ISRAEL-PALESTINE WAR AND FAR-RIGHT MOVEMENTS

Clashes that have begun between Israel and Palestine on 07 October 2023, affected the activities of the far-right groups. Against the tendency of the countries to take a more concrete side in Israel-Palestine escalation based on political perspective, it is seen that far-right groups have a more pragmatic approach to the issue and seek to take advantage of the process. At this point, it is one of the existing findings that groups take a position in favor of or against Israel in a way that supports their own arguments, regardless of the countries in which they operate with a pragmatic perspective.

Distinctive Features of the Anti-Israel Individuals and Groups	Distinctive Features of the Pro-Israel Individuals and Groups
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Defend theories that Jews control the world,• Believe that Palestinians have the right to live on their own land «except for continents like Europe,»• Fear that Europe might see a new flow of migration due to the conflict,• Argue that Israel with its «Zionist» plans wants to create demographic changes through immigration against the white race around the world,• Do not want Israel to get/grow stronger due to the perception of common enemy.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• See Muslims as the reason of disorders in Europe as well as in Middle East,• Consider that HAMAS, as a terror organization, aims at wiping out Jews and establishing Caliphate,• Claim that defending Israel is same with struggling against global Islamic terrorism,• Raise the topic that HAMAS attacks in Israel is a preface to what can be experienced in Europe in the coming period.

Figure 15: Considerations of the far-right groups that influence their choice of sides.

When the attitudes of far-right groups towards conflicts at the global level are analyzed, it can be said that the perspective based on anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism is more prominent. In fact, the analysis of a sample of 162,958 posts by Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the organization in the U.S. fighting anti-Semitism, found a surge in anti-Semitism on social media amounting to a 919% week-over-week increase, a week after the initial Israel-Palestine conflict.⁴³ In a similar way, ADL reported 388% increase in physical anti-Semitic attacks in the U.S. after the start of hostilities.⁴⁴ This situation is similar in many parts of the world, especially in Europe, and the conflicts and decisions taken by governments regarding the conflicts are used by far-right circles in their propaganda activities.

It can be said far-right extremists have turned towards individual attacks against Jews and spray-painting as well as attacks against synagogues in this period and tried to take advantage of this period by participating in anti-Palestine demonstrations. The article titled “Neo-Nazis and the Far-Right Are Trying to Hijack Pro-Palestine Protests” and published in Vice News reported that “American far-right groups are trying to use the pro-Palestine movement to push anti-Zionist argument into the mainstream and spread their anti-Semitic activities to a wider audience.”⁴⁵

Anti-Zionist stance of the far-right groups does not mean that they support Palestine in the conflict in its fullest sense. This situation is clearly demonstrated by most of these groups, which by definition

⁴³ - “Online Antisemitism Increased after Hamas Attack”, ADL, 09 November 2023.

⁴⁴ - “ADL Records Dramatic Increase in U.S. Antisemitic Incidents Following Oct.7 Hamas Massacre”, ADL, 24 Ekim 2023.

⁴⁵ - “Neo-Nazis and the Far-Right Are Trying to Hijack Pro-Palestine Protests”, Vice News, 01 Kasım 2023.

harbor Islamophobic viewpoints, since they defend the idea that “Palestinians and Arabs have the right to live as long as they do not come to Europe.” Far-right groups support Palestine vis-à-vis Israel for the moment around the perception of a common enemy. Additionally, decisions to ban pro-Palestine marches or to disband Palestinian student organizations at universities also increase the reaction of the far right.

Western countries’ decisions and practices encourage far-right movements’ anti-Semitic narrative. As a matter of fact, far-right groups have started to seriously react to suppressing anti-Zionist circles and eventually calls for violence against the Jews increased even more.

Various intelligence reports, in the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict, also give wide coverage to the possibility that violent extremist groups as well as radical terror organizations, such as DAESH and Al-Qaeda, might carry out lone actor attacks against Israeli citizens. It is assessed that far-right groups would continue to adopt a self-interested course of action in this period.

In the center of the conflicts, far-right groups that support Israel place Muslims and Islam in general at the center of the problems. The main concerns of these groups include the fact that more Muslim immigrants are coming to Europe due to the conflict in the Middle East and that a possible defeat of Israel could lead to a further strengthening of Muslims at the international level. In the process, the significant increase in the Islamophobic attacks against Muslims by supporters of Israel in the U.S., Canada and many European countries since 07 October 2023 is also seen as important in terms of social balances.

In fact, U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee issued a joint statement with the foreign affairs committee chairs of several European governments on 28 November 2023, including “anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim bigotry has alarmingly risen in the countries since October 2023; anti-Semitic hate crime investigations have tripled in New York and London over the past month in comparison to last year; in France, the Interior Ministry documented 1040 anti-Semitic incidents in the month following the October 7 attack; in the United States, six-year-old Wadea Al-Fayoume was brutally murdered because he was Palestinian; Paul Kessler, a Jewish man, died following an altercation at a pro-Israel rally in California; a synagogue in Germany was firebombed; in Russia, an anti-Semitic mob stormed an airport in Dagestan and demanded Jewish passengers identify themselves; and Jewish and Muslim individuals that are easily identifies have been disproportionately targeted.”⁴⁶

Additionally, when the individual attacks such as three Palestinian university students in the U.S. being attacked with a gun and a pregnant Palestinian woman being repeatedly stabbed to death by an Israeli citizen in Lod when she was taking her child to school are also considered, it is assessed that these conflicts have begun to bring about various violent consequences at the societal level and far-right movements aim to take advantage of this chaos.

As a result, in the context of the Israel-Palestine conflict that is important for the far-right extremists, it is expected that the trend of increasing attacks primarily against Jews will continue in the coming period. Increasing social tension and polarization are also likely to trigger attacks against Muslims.

9. CONCLUSION AND ASSESMENT

Far-right movements, which have drawn the attention of intelligence and security services in the recent years, come to the fore with their evolving nature unlike the traditional theories of threat in international relations. It has been observed that far-right extremism, fed by conspiracy theories and radicalization that increased at social level especially along with the coronavirus pandemic in 2020, has become a significant threat for a number of countries in 2023. Western countries, inclined to consider the far-right issue mainly as “freedom of thought,” have started to deal with this threat as a security problem with the emerging violent nature of far-right extremism and the likelihood for radical terrorist organizations to conduct counteracts.

On the other hand, since far-right extremism contains elements different than traditional threats and intersects with the limits of “individual freedom of expression” especially in democratic Western countries, security units still seem unable to get the desired results in countering new far-right threats with traditional methods. Various countries have made attempts to ban far-right formations and prevent violent movements through blacklisting procedures. However, difficulties encountered during trial procedures in determining individuals/groups’ “specific intentions likely to turn into violence” constitute a significant obstacle. It is expected that the continuing escalation of the far-right threat will remain as a security problem for the countries’ social peace and all the minorities living abroad in the coming period. Within this framework, it is important that the countries take the following measures against far-right activities which are primarily considered a domestic threat:

- Enhancing international cooperation,
- Developing new strategies for alternative modals/methods used by far-right threat elements along with advancing technology,
- Highlighting the severity of the mentioned threat in the public opinion,
- Western countries’ making a legal distinction between “individual freedom of expression” and “hatred crimes,”
- Intensifying academic work to include sociological aspects of the issue.

ANNEX: IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS AND INCIDENTS IN 2023 / A YEAR OF FAR-RIGHT EXTREMISM THROUGH 100 IMPORTANT EVENTS⁴⁷

No	Country	Date	Remarks
1	USA	12.01.2023 23.03.2023	A survey by Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the organization in the United States fighting anti-Semitism, reported that “the number of U.S. citizens who believe in anti-Semitic conspiracy theories have doubled since 2019, and particularly young population display a more anti-Semitic behaviour.” The annual report published by ADL emphasizes that “anti-Semitic cases in the United States have reached all-time high in 2022, increasing 36% in comparison to 2021.” ^{48 49}
2	USA	22.02.2023	The ADL report shared with public about armed attacks and far-right movements in the United States in 2022 includes the following points: “white supremacists commit the greatest number of mass shootings in the United States in 2022; and we live in an age of extremist mass killings.”
3	USA	23.03.2023	Rep. Ilhan Omar (D-MN) of Somali descent introduced a resolution to condemn Islamophobia to the U.S. House of Representatives. Her resolution says “Islamophobia has become a growing threat for Muslims all over the world; the rhetoric which has been used on media after September 11 attacks has an effect on the increased attacks against Muslims; this ideology and conspiracy theories have targeted not only Muslims but also different communities; and the Congress should take steps to condemn and eliminate the ideologies that embitter hate crimes.” ⁵⁰

⁴⁷ - Incidents, reflections of which have continued in 2023, are included.

⁴⁸ - “ADL: Number of Americans believing antisemitic stereotypes nearly doubled since 2019,” Times of Israel, 12 January 2023.

⁴⁹ - “ADL research: Conspiracy-minded Americans tend towards antisemitic views.” Times of Israel, 19 March 2023..

⁵⁰ - “Murder and Extremism in the United States in 2022.” ADL, 22 February 2023

4	USA	11.04.2023	A report by the U.S.-based VICE News on the far-right fitness/health clubs outlines that “fight/health clubs draw attention with their increasing activities; these formations also known as Active Clubs have become a crucial recruitment tool for far-right groups especially in the United States; the number of participants in the U.S. is estimated at around 300 and 500 worldwide; the main philosophy of the clubs is to enable white young males to reach a cleaner image and a stronger profile, and the clubs also serve as a place of early training and propaganda for organisational activities.” ⁵¹
5	USA	28.05.2023	The article titled “Experts warn of increased risk of US terror attacks by right-wing ‘lone wolf’ actors” by The Guardian, reports: “as the inflammatory Republican rhetoric in the United States escalates, individuals rather than organized groups are highly likely to commit extremist crimes; inflammatory Republican rhetoric seems likely to continue ahead of the 2024 election; and U.S. is at an increased risk of domestic terror attacks by “lone wolf” actors.” ⁵²
6	USA	26.08.2023	Four people were killed in an armed attack conducted with racist-motives in Jacksonville, Florida/United States.
7	USA	02.07.2023	Robert Bowers (50), who conducted an armed attack against a synagogue in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania/United States and killed 11 people, has been sentenced to death for conducting the attack with the basic motivation of “Anti-Semitism.”
8	USA	06.05.2023	Eight people were killed and seven were wounded in a mass shooting occurred at “Allen Premium Outlets” in Texas/Dallas and the gunman, who authorities believe was acting alone, is also dead.

51 - “Neo-Nazi Fight Clubs are Fat-Shaming Men Into White Nationalism,” Vice News, 11 April 2023.

52 - “Experts Warn of Increased Risk of US terror attacks by right-wing ‘lone wolf’ actors,” The Guardian, 28 May 2023.

9	USA	06.02.2023	Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and The Prosecution Office announced that Brandon Russell and Sarah Clendaniel, fuelled by extremist ideology, have been arrested on charges of plotting to attack power grids in Maryland. Within the framework of ongoing investigation, Christopher Brenner Cook and Jonathan Allen Frost were sentenced to imprisonment on 21.04.2023 for conspiring to provide material support to plot to attack power grids in the United States in furtherance white supremacy. ⁵³
10	USA	03.03.2023	As a result of the investigation carried out by the FBI teams in May 2020, former U.S. Army Private Ethan Mezler was arrested on 10.06.2020 and he pled guilty in July 2022 to attempting to murder fellow service members by sharing sensitive military information with his neo-Nazi and white supremacist group "Order of the Nine Angles." He was sentenced to 45 years in prison by the Court.
11	USA	26.08.2023	Three people were killed in the racist armed attack in Jacksonville, Florida on 26.08.2023. The gunman, U.S. citizen Christopher Palmeto (21) entered Dollar General Store with an AR-15 semi-automatic rifle and a Glock gun, and fatally shot three Black people – two of them were males – and shot and killed himself afterwards. At least one of his weapons had Swastika on it and three manifestos were found on his body, one of which was consistent with his hatred towards Black people.
12	USA	01-30.09.2023	As a result of the trial regarding the Congress Raid in the United States in January 2021, the leaders of the far-right group Proud Boys, Joe Biggs is sentenced to 17 years and Zachary Rehl is sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment. One of the former leaders of the group, Henry Enrique Tarrio is sentenced to 22 years and his assistants, Ethan Nordean is sentenced to 18 years and Dominic Pezzola is sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment.
13	USA	18.11.2023	US-based neo-Nazi group Blood Tribe (BT), organized a march in Wisconsin/United States. The march was attended by almost 20 people, wearing masks and red t-shirts, and the participants unfurled flags with Swastikas and shouted racist slogans.

53 - "Maryland Woman and Florida Man Charged Federally for Conspiring to Destroy Energy Facilities", US Ministry of Justice, 06 February 2023 and "Two Men Sentenced for Conspiring to Provide Material Support to Plot to Attack Power Grids in the United States," US Ministry of Justice, 21 April 2023.

14	USA / Romania	01.08.2023	Robert Rundo, one of the founders of far-right extremist group Rise Above Movement (RAM) in the United States, was arrested in Bucharest/Romania on 31.03.2023 and extradited to the United States.
15	Germany	07.12.2022	Police carried out a comprehensive terrorism operation – first in country's history- against the Reichsbürger Movement and 25 people were arrested in the first phase on charges of making plans to overthrow the government. The operations against Reichsbürger Group have continued in 2023 within the scope of investigation.
16	Germany	20.06.2023	German Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (BfV) 2022 annual report states: "almost 38.000 people are involved in the far-right extremism; the number was around 33.900 in 2021; far-right crimes and violent actions have increased in 3.8 % in comparison to the previous year; far-rightist extremists have used the inflation and energy crises emerged after RF's aggression against Ukraine as an agitation tool, far-rightist extremists, who are mostly pro-Russians, have changed their positions after RF's aggression against Ukraine. ⁵⁴
17	Germany	27.06.2023	The report published by Germany-based "Anti-semitism Research and Information Center (Recherche und Informationsstelle Antisemitismus – RIAS) pointed out that "2480 anti-Semitic incidents took place in Germany in 2022; 1912 of them were sensitive/distressing behaviours; 56 attacks and 9 actions of extreme violence were reported; 843 of the attacks were carried out on internet; 707 of them were carried out in streets, 170 attacks took place at educational institutions; 152 incidents happened around monuments; 143 were conducted in public transportation vehicles; 103 of the attacks were carried out around the victims' residences; and 41 were carried out directly in Jewish places of worship. ⁵⁵
18	Germany	19.09.2023 27.09.2023	In a written statement, Federal Ministry of Interior stated that "the Federal Minister of Interior, Nancy Faeser has banned far-right Hammerskins Deutschland Association, its branches and its subsidiary Crew 38." Similarly, Federal Ministry of Interior announced on 27.09.2023 that the far-right group "Artgemeinschaft" (Species Community) was also banned after a second operation. ^{56 57}

⁵⁴ - "Verfassungsschutzbericht 2022 vorgestellt: Zahl der extremistischen Straftaten auf Höchststand", BMI, 20 June 2023.

⁵⁵ - "RIAS-Jahresbericht: Anstieg antisemitischer Vorfälle in Kultur- und Bildungseinrichtungen", 27 June 2023..

⁵⁶ - "Bundesinnenministerin Nancy Faeser verbietet Neonazi-Vereinigung Hammerskins Deutschland", BMI, 19 September 2023.

⁵⁷ - Bundesinnenministerin Nancy Faeser verbietet sektenartige rechtsextreme Gruppierung Artgemeinschaft", BMI, 27 September 2023.

19	Germany	21.09.2023	The results of the biyearly survey (Mitte Studie) by Friedrich Ebert Foundation publishes since 2006, identified that the defenders of far-right views in Germany have tripled compared to the previous years and have reached 8%. ⁵⁸
20	Germany	28.10.2023	The police raided the illegal concert of far-right rock group "Sturmwehr" in a hall belonging to the association "Kleingartenverein Luthenburg" in Gelsenkirchen on 28.10.2023 attended by almost 80 people, and the concert was cancelled. Additionally, German Security Forces had conducted a large-scale operation against far-right music market on 26.10.2023.
21	Germany	November 2023	Hessen state branch of Alternative for Germany (AfD) Party has been classified as "suspect" by the State Office for the Protection of the Constitution (LfV) and placed under monitoring.
22	Germany	November 2023	Thüringen State Criminal Office stated that 16 houses have been raided in Thüringen and Hessen; the operation targeted activities of Eisenach-based far-right fight club "Knockout 51" and its members; and 12 suspects, aged between 16-59, have been accused of committing crimes of injury and violating the act of arms. ⁵⁹
23	Europe	19.12.2022	EUROPOL's press release reported that "violence-prone far-right communities on internet reached an alarming rate; the perpetrators of far-right attacks were part of transnational online communities and inspired by other violence-prone far-right extremists; a simultaneous operation was conducted by technical experts of 14 countries under the coordination of EUROPOL on 15.12.2022 against the far-right activities on internet and 831 far-right materials were identified in 34 different platforms; and results of the operation pointed to a continuous rise in violence-prone far-right terrorism." ⁶⁰

58 - "Mitte-Studie", FES, 21 Eylül 2023.

59 - "Stellungnahme des Thüringer Landeskriminalamtes, November 2023", MDR, 30 September 2023.

60 - "14 Countries Tackle Violent Extremism Online in a Coordinated Referral Action Day", EUROPOL, 19 December 2023.

24	The Council of Europe	10.10.2023	Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) adopted a resolution, expressing its concern about the increase in recent years of far-right violence. PACE stated that a number of member states consider forms of far-right terrorism “the fastest growing or most prominent domestic security threat they face” and the most effective way of preventing far-right extremism is to strengthen adherence to the core values of The Council of Europe. PACE called on member states to enhance existing legislation, promote education and media literacy, combat online radicalisation and develop strategies to counter disinformation and propaganda spread by the far-right ideologies.” ⁶¹
25	Australia	12.12.2022	In the armed clash that took place in Western Downs in Queensland / Australia on 12.12.2022, six people, two of them were police officers, were killed. The attack is defined as the first religious fundamentalist terrorist attack in the history of the country.
26	Australia	02.07.2023	Two neo-Nazi group members, who were arrested “with a guideline for plotting a terrorist attack” in Australia, were sentenced to imprisonment.
27	Australia	13.05.2023	During the anti-immigrant demonstration organized in front of the Victoria State Parliament in Melbourne by the members of Nationalist Socialist Network (NSN), one of the prominent far-right groups in Australia, NSN members and opponents involved in clashes/street fight.
28	Australia	Mart 2023	Liberal Party, the main opposition party in Australia, has submitted a bill to the Federal Parliament to ban the Nazi symbols nationwide.
29	Australia	Mart 2023	The leader of Australia-based far-right “South Australia Men’s Health Club” Cameron Brodiehall was accused of bearing extremist materials and documents for terrorist actions by SA State Court.
30	Australia	18.03.2023	A protest was organized by a group of almost 30 people from far-right Nationalist Socialist Movement in Melbourne, the capital of Australia/ Victoria. During the protest, clashes took place between the opponent groups and many activists were detained by the security units.

31	Australia	January 2023	According to the report titled “Anti-Semitism Report in Australia in 2022,” which was released publicly by Executive Council of Australian Jewry, ECAJ in Australia, 478 anti-Semitism cases were reported in Australia throughout the period, which meant an increase of 41,9% in the number of anti-Semitic cases when compared to the previous years. ⁶²
32	Austria	21.03.2023	According to the 2022 Racism Report, published by ZARA (Zivilcourage und Anti-Rassismus-Arbeit), conducting activities against racism and hate crimes in Austria, 1.479 racist cases were reported in Austria in 2022; racist attacks were intensive on internet; 313 of the reported cases included in the report were anti-Muslim cases and 206 of them were anti-Black cases, particularly women have encountered anti-Muslim behaviour in public places.” ⁶³
33	Austria	22.05.2023	According to the annual report for 2022, published by Austria Documentation Center/ Austria Documentation and Consultancy Center for Muslims (Dokustelle Österreich), conducting activities in Wien and monitoring extremism against Muslims, “1324 racist attacks were carried out against Muslims in 2022 in Austria that had almost 700 thousand Muslim population; attacks (1061) that took place in 2021 were observed to have increased in 2022; the highest number of anti-Muslim racist actions, namely 112 cases, have seen in capital Wien.” ⁶⁴
34	Austria	12.05.2023	Annual Report for 2022, published by the Directorate of State Security and Intelligence (DSN) of Austria on 12.05.2023, stated that “an investigation carried out against the far-right structures have revealed some clues of an attack plotting against Volksstimmefest (Voice of People) festival in Wien; the operation has identified documents for bomb making and lists categorizing “friends and enemies;” and Volksstimmefest has been organized by Austria Communist Party (KPÖ) for many years.” ⁶⁵

62 - “Report on Antisemitism in Australia 2022”, ECAJ, 12 December 2023..

63 - “ZARA Rassismus Report zeigt Wichtigkeit von Strategien zur Bekämpfung von Rassismus”, 21 March 2023.

64 - “Jeder Fall von antimuslimischem Rassismus ist einer zu viel”, 22 May 2023

65 - “Ein Identitären-Anhänger soll einen Anschlag auf das Volksstimmefest geplant haben”, 12 May 2023.

35	Austria	04.08.2023	Der Standard Newspaper in Austria reported that "Austrian Ministry of Interior has assigned Documentation Centre of Austrian Resistance (DÖW) to prepare reports on far-right extremism in the upcoming period; the first report covering 2020-2023 period would be presented in 2024 autumn; and each year, DÖW would present the previous year's report." ⁶⁶
36	Austria	26.07.2023	Austrian Ministry of Interior announced that "as a result of the investigation launched against "Prussia Federal State (Bundesstaats Preussen) by Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Counterterrorism (LVT) in Carinthia, and in coordination with Austrian Directorate of State Security Intelligence (DSN); operations were carried out in Wien, Carinthia, Vorarlberg, Upper Austria and Lower Austria; it had affiliations with "Reichsbürger" in Germany; the anti-democratic structures cooperated with other groups during the pandemic; and they positioned themselves as opponents of pandemic measures."
37	Austria	30.06.2023	Austrian Ministry of Interior announced that "hundreds of arms and ammunitions and Nazi symbols were seized during the operations carried out against far-right motorcycle gang "Bandidos" and 6 people were detained." ⁶⁷
38	Austria	27.05.2023	According to the statement made by Directorate of State Security and Intelligence (DSN) of Austria, a terrorist, who is a member of far-right Feuerkrieg Division group, was arrested in Wien as a result of the efforts conducted by DSN. ⁶⁸
39	Austria	27.01.2023	Austrian security units detained a 54 years old individual, who is an alleged member of far-right Reichsbürger Movement (Citizens of the Empire) in Hadres District of Lower Austria. He was hiding in a wine cellar with his wife and five children.

66 - "DÖW mit Erstellung des Rechtsextremismusberichts beauftragt", Viyana Yönetimi, 04 August 2023.

67 - "Die Pläne der rechten Bikergangs in Österreich", Der Standard, 30 June 2023.

68 - "DSN: Mutmaßlicher Akteur der rechtsterroristischen Feuerkrieg Division in Österreich ermittelt", OTS, 27 May 2023.

40	Austria	03.10.2023	The Head of Analysis and Prevention Department of the Directorate of State Security and Intelligence (DSN) of Austria, Alexander Figl stated that “they have currently observed a resurrection in (Identitare Bewegung/IB) Identitarian Movement; far-right ideology and concepts have been widely disseminated; and extremism has gained ground at the heart of the society; the crises like pandemics, inflation and War in Ukraine have become breeding grounds for the far-right.” ⁶⁹
41	Austria	17.11.2023	As the event, which was planned to have taken place in University of Wien/Austria with the participation of German author Götz Kubitschek, was cancelled, far-right groups organized a protest outside the university on the same date.
42	Belgium	28.07.2023	According to the 2022 Report of Coordination Body for Threat Analysis (OCAM) of Belgium, “the increase in threat level stemming from far-left and far-right groups during the Coronavirus period has decreased in the post-pandemic period; however these groups has shifted their anti-system views towards the war between RF and Ukraine; individuals radicalized through social networks and mobile applications posed the biggest threat since they were difficult to control and monitor; even though the volunteers who had travelled to the conflict zone to fight for Ukraine were not designated as FTFs (Foreign Terrorist Fighters), OCAM and Belgium Security and Intelligence Services were vigilant for the potential threat they might pose after their return to their home country.” ⁷⁰
43	Belgium	01.01.2023	Intelligence Report for 2021-2022, published by the Belgian Intelligence Service (VSSE), reported under the topic of far-right that “far-right threat has been increasing in Belgium as it has all over the World together with “anti-government extremism;” anti-government groups in Belgium have not limited themselves with far-right views; they won the other displeased groups over; by radicalizing and fuelling anti-government hatred, they encouraged protests; and the far-right extremists have been divided into two because of the war in Ukraine.”

69 - “Neue Rechte horten 120 Schusswaffen ganz legal in Österreich”, Kurier, 04 October 2023.

70 - “Annual Report 2022”, OCAM, 28 July 2023.

44	Belgium	29.05.2023	Vlaams Belang Party in Belgium organized a public meeting in Albertine Square in Brussels. Leftist groups also organized an anti-racism protest in front of the Justice Palace in Poelaert Square, which is 800 meters away from Albertine Square.
45	Belgium	25.04.2023	Belgian National Media reported that, a non-commissioned officer, named B.R, who has been a member of the army for 30 years and suspended from duty in September 2022, was discharged as a result of the investigation carried out against him by the Belgium Security and Intelligence Services (SGRS) for his far-right tendency and “not having the essential values of loyalty and law anymore.”
46	Belgium	30.11.2023	The Federal Prosecution Office has filed a suit against five Belgian soldiers, whose names were reported on the media as “Eduard, Lucas, Aymeric, Quentin and Tanguy,” for committing the crimes of denying genocide, anti-Semitism, inducing hate in public, and using racist rhetoric. Some of them are reported to be residents of Charleroi, next to Brussels in Belgium.
47	United Kingdom	December 2022	Annual Report for 2021-2022 released by the United Kingdom (UK) Parliament Intelligence and Security Committee reported that “the far-right had a complex and separated structure; those who were interested in far-right activities that were mostly carried out on internet were young people with high-tech capacity; virtual world has played critical role for far-right activities; internet has lifted all the boundaries for organizations on the contrary to the activities carried out face to face previously; even though the security units have intensified the monitoring of far-right activities on internet, the struggle was more difficult than against the radical threats; the primary reason of this difficulty was the uncertainty between the line between far-right views and freedom of speech.”
48	United Kingdom	February 2023	The report, titled “State of Hate 2023” which was published by “Hope not Hate,” an NGO monitoring far-right movement in UK emphasized that far-right movements have re-accelerated because of the continuing political turbulence, political disputes stemming from BREXIT, pandemics and high inflation in the UK. ⁷¹

49	United Kingdom	May 2023	According to the report titled “Stoking the Flames: The Influence of Tabloid Press and Government Rhetoric on Far-Right Anti-Immigrant Engagement” published by “Hope not Hate:” the far-right has been increasing in the country; anti-immigrant rhetoric used by the government officials has also revitalized the far-right movement; anti-immigrant far-right actions have increased by 102% in 2022; the articles regarding the issue of immigration have directly affected the interaction of the far-right groups on Telegram. ⁷²
50	United Kingdom	January 2023	Elliot Brown (25) from Bath region has been sentenced to 3 years and 3 months of imprisonment for committing the crime of “collecting information that could be useful for a terrorist and publishing terrorism affiliated media,” after he released a video on how to improvise an explosive material (termit) in chat rooms used by the far-right groups for the purpose of communication.
51	United Kingdom	January 2023	20-year-old Luca BENINCASA who was detained in 2021 for being one of the leaders of the UK branch of “The Feuerkrieg Division”, a far-right formation established in Estonia., was sentenced to 9 years and 3 months of imprisonment.
52	United Kingdom	February 2023	According to an article published in The Guardian, “British Counter-Terrorism Units started to remove many documents from the internet, shared by far-right circles and served as a manual to produce improvised weapons as well as weapons produced by using 3D printers, and the likelihood for the production and use of these weapons by far-right groups on the streets of Britain was a great source of concern.” ⁷³
53	United Kingdom	February 2023	34-year-old Alexander BOLAM carried out a racist attack against the Heaton Mosque and the Islamic Center in Newcastle-Heaton as well as the worshippers coming out of the Mosque.
54	United Kingdom	July 2023	20-year-old far-right extremist Luke SKELTON, who was arrested for plotting a bomb attack against a police station in 2021 and prepared a comprehensive manifest to be released after the attack, was sentenced to four years of imprisonment.

72 - “Stoking the Flames: The Influence of Tabloid Press and Government Rhetoric on Far-Right Anti-Immigrant Engagement”, Hope Not Hate, May 2023.

73 - “UK Police Removing ‘Large Amount’ of Online Gun-Making Guides”, The Guardian, 01 February 2023.

55	United Kingdom	11.11.2023	During the demonstrations held in London to support Palestine, a group of around 70-80 people consisting of British far-right extremists tried to enter the demonstration area. Within the scope of the march, clashes took place during the day between the police and the far-right extremists in different regions of the city and the British Minister of Interior was dismissed after the incidents.
56	United Kingdom / Bulgaria	January 2023	British citizen David BODILL, who was wanted by a Red Notice by the UK INTERPOL Unit for keeping /preparing materials for the production of explosives and having contacts with far-right organizations, was arrested by the Bulgarian INTERPOL units in a village house located in Ljubenovo near Pleven/ Bulgaria on 10 January 2023.
57	Brazil	August 2023	According to the article published in the Financial Times on the increasing activities of far-right neo-Nazi groups in Brazil; “far-right extremism has significantly increased recently in historical German regions located in southern parts of Brazil, “anti-democratic actions” have increased by 380% in the country since last year, and the activities in Santa Caterina in particular has reached significant levels.” ⁷⁴
58	Brazil	November 2023	Within the framework of intelligence efforts carried out against neo-Nazi groups in Brazil by the Brazilian Intelligence Service (ABIN) and the Security Forces, the third of the Accelerare Operations, launched on 06 June 2023, was conducted on 14 November 2023 and seven individuals, identified to be involved in racist and anti-Semitic activities, were arrested as a result of the operation.
59	Denmark	December 2022	The article titled “The rise of the far-right in Denmark and Sweden”, prepared by Claire UMAR and Anna Bailey MORLEY working at a UK-based global think-tank called ODI, reported that “Denmark and Sweden, which were once more tolerant and open societies with respect to immigration, had turned into countries adopting more restricted policies; far-right extremism had focused on immigration in 2015-2018; the moderate parties of Denmark and Sweden made concessions to far-right groups with regard to the immigration issue with a view to remaining in power; however, both countries needed immigrants to make up for their manpower shortage and new solutions were needed to be found to the problem of immigration in the future.” ⁷⁵

74 - “One people, one Reich’: neo-Nazi groups spread in Brazil’s South”, Financial Times, 09 August 2023.

75 - “The rise of the far right in Denmark and Sweden - and why it’s vital to change the narrative on immigration”, Overseas Development Institute, 14 December 2023.

60	Denmark	March 2023	The Threat Assessment Report for 2023 prepared by the Terrorism Analysis Center of the Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET) stated that “a potential far-right terrorist attack was likely to be carried out by lone actors in the country; Muslim and Jewish groups or public authorities were likely to be targeted by these attacks; far-right movements were affected by radical religious groups; two different extremist groups were likely to cooperate if they had a common enemy, and this was described as the hybridization of the terrorist threat.” ⁷⁶
61	EUROPOL	10.11.2023	Security units of Belgium, Croatia, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands and Romania conducted operations in coordination with EUROPOL against far-right groups with alleged involvement in terrorism, and five individuals from different countries were detained.
62	Finland	April 2023	The section titled “National Terrorist Threat Assessment 2023” included in the Annual Report 2022 published by the Finnish Civilian Intelligence Service (SUPO) reported that “SUPO determined the potential terrorist threat level in Finland still as 2 out of 4; lone actors or small groups defending far-right movement or radical Islamist ideology posed the most probable terrorist threat; the prominent factors of far-right ideology at international level were racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia; SUPO had identified some individual right-wing extremists who left Finland to travel to Ukrainian conflict zone; those Finnish people would possibly be radicalized if they were involved in the conflicts; the radicalization of young people through internet, in a violence-prone and unrelated way, was a significant international tendency; some European countries had intercepted attacks planned by minor perpetrators, and the terrorism situation in Finland was often similar to the international tendencies.” ⁷⁷
63	Finland	25.07.2023	The survey which was carried out by Finnish Public Radio (YLE) regarding the Finnish public opinion towards racism with the participation of almost 1,096 people, questioning “whether racism was sufficiently countered or not in Finland”, concluded that “48 % of the participants believed that Finland was not properly fighting against racism and 43 % believed that the struggle was sufficient”. ⁷⁸

76 - “Assessment of the Terrorist Threat to Denmark 2023”, PET, March 2023.

77 - “National Terrorist Threat Assessment 2023”, SUPO, April 2023.

78 - “YLE survey reveals political divides on racism acceptability in Finland”, YLE, 25 July 2023.

64	Finland	20.07.2023	The preliminary investigation against four individuals, who were arrested for allegedly plotting a far-right terrorist attack in fall 2022 in Finland was completed as of July 2023. Regarding the investigation, Hame Police Department and the Criminal Bureau reported publicly that “Finnish individuals were suspected to have formed a radicalized far-right group; the FGC-9 light machine guns that they produced by 3D prints were examined during the investigation; the group members had hired a garage for arms production, and one of the group members kept in his house materials used in arms production.” ⁷⁹
65	Finland	06.12.2023	Different ideological groups organized celebration events and marches in capital Helsinki on the occasion of the Independence Day of Finland. While the Police of Finland moved away the leftist demonstrators carrying Palestine flags from the main square and involved in conflict with the demonstrators, they allowed far-right groups to gather in the same square. This incident stirred reactions in the country.
66	France	23.12.2022	A 69-year-old far right extremist conducted an armed attack in Enghien Street located in the 10 th District/Paris inhabited largely by citizens of Kurdish origin, and three people were killed during the attack.
67	France	01.01.2023	An article on increasing violent far-right movements in France, which was published on a news site called The Local, reported that “the far-right movement has achieved an unprecedented political success in France in 2022, the security services have focused on monitoring far-right individuals in France, the rise of far-right movement in France has continued to increase gradually since September 11 th attacks, some sources referring to French intelligence units asserted that there exists approximately 3000 individuals affiliated with militant far-right extremism in the country, French far-right extremists, not showing any tendency to form groups, act in small cells or individually unlike the groups in the United States, and therefore the possibility of lone actor attacks are higher in France than in anywhere else.” ⁸⁰

79 - “Finnish police suspect neo-Nazi group prepared for ‘race war’ using 3D-printed weapons”, YLE, 20 July 2023.

80 - “The worrying growth of violent far-right activism in France”, The Local, 13 January 2023.

68	France	01.02.2023	According to the report published by the US-based think-tank called "Global Project Against Hate and Extremism-GPAHE" regarding France-based far-right and hate groups; "the majority of the far-right groups in France are comprised of white nationalist, anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim groups that intentionally combine immigration and Islamic terms with "we-they" rhetoric included in the main political trend; there exists 43 main groups in the country with similar views and ideologies; extremist groups have succeeded in penetrating their hatred language to the main trend given the increasing anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant rhetoric among the politicians and people in recent years, and far-right groups mainly reside in Paris and Lyon." ⁸¹
69	France	06.05.2023	Even though the protest demonstrations against the pension reform were banned in France, a protest march was carried out by almost 600 far-right extremists in Paris, which drew countrywide reactions.
70	France	01.06.2023	The trial of four far-right suspects who were accused of planning an attack against mosques and Jewish sanctuaries in France began in Paris. Since some of the suspects were minors when they were arrested in 2018 and 2019, private hearings were held in that regard. However, the Judge ruled for a public trial for the actual case and announced that he aimed at raising awareness for the far-right threat with his decision."
71	France	07.08.2023	Minister of Interior Gerald DARMANIN stated that he instructed relevant units to disband far-right Civitas Movement and the mentioned structure was annulled on 03.10.2023. ⁸²

81 - "New GPAHE Report Profiles more than 40 Far-Right Hate and Extremist Groups in France", Global Project Against Hate and Extremism, 14 February 2023.

82 - "Gerald Darmanin annonce engager la dissolution de l'organisation catholique intégriste Civitas après des propos antisémites", Le Monde, 07 August 2023.

72	France	01.07.2023	The article titled “Silencing Muslim Voices: France’s Authoritarian Security State” published on EUobserver internet site reported that “US Commission on International Religious Freedom published a discomfoting policy briefing regarding the freedom of religion in the EU on 24.07.2023, France has come to forefront in the briefing for its treatment against Muslims in particular, France draws attention with cases of discrimination, restrictions and obstructions with religious motivations, many international human rights groups warned about rising anti-Muslim tendencies within the French government, France is aligned with authoritarian countries like Egypt with the policies it pursued, the measures taken under the name of counter-terrorism cause extreme effects on Muslims, and attacks against Muslims have increased disproportionately. ⁸³
73	France	25.11.2023	Following the murder of 16-year-old young boy named Thomas ... during an attack carried out by a group of 15-20 people against a ball which was organized in Crepol community in Drome city located in Auvergne-Rhone-Alpes region in France in the night of 18-19.11.2023, local people, especially far-right groups, organized a “March of Justice for Thomas” in Drome city Romans-Sur-Isere community on 25.11.2023 and anti-immigrant and anti-Islam slogans were chanted by the crowd during the march.
74	France	13.11.2023	Within the scope of an investigation carried out by National Counter-Terrorism Prosecution Office, 10 individuals affiliated with far-right extremism were detained in France during the week of 13- 17.11.2023.
75	Croatia	November 2023	Svastikas were drawn and expressions of “I hate Serbians (Mrzim Srbe)” were written on various areas and exterior walls of Youth, Culture and Modern Arts Center in Zadar-Voštarića district.

76	Netherlands	30.05.2023	Dutch Counter Terrorism and Security National Coordinator (NCTV) stated on 30.05.2023 that “the threat of terrorist attack has increased during last 6 months in Netherlands, there are “increasing signs” indicating plans of Jihadist groups for terrorist attacks in Europe, Netherlands has been regarded as a “legitimate target” by radicals groups for a long time and recent protests of burning Quran worsened the situation, radical terrorist organizations have focused on Netherlands because of these protests, these cases cause increase in terrorist threat in the short run, and similarly far-right extremism in the country has increased as an outstanding threat. ⁸⁴
77	Netherlands	13.06.2023	Dutch far-right activist, Ronald Van Der W. was arrested by an operation jointly conducted by the Border Security Units and Military Intelligence in Poznan, Poland, for acquiring arms in Poland with and intention of carrying out an attack in the Netherlands.
78	Netherlands	03.01.2023	During the Christmas celebrations held in Rotterdam/Netherlands on 31.12.2022, Netherlands branch of White Lives Matter (WLM) group, which was established by individuals with far-right views in reaction to the movement of Black Lives Matter in the UNITED STATES , reflected some racist statements through a projector towards the Erasmus Bridge in Rotterdam. Regarding the incident, Dutch Public Prosecution Office stated that “a criminal investigation has been launched to find the perpetrators of the event.”
79	Netherlands	23.11.2023	As a result of the court case accused of insulting Muslims by burning Quran in front of the House of Representatives on 22.01.2023, Edwin Wagensveld, the Head of PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West) in Netherlands, has been sentenced to 40 hours of community service for the crime of insulting a particular group (Muslims).
80	Ireland	23.11.2023	A knife attack was carried out against five individuals, three of them were children, at the exit of a school in Dublin city center (Ireland) and it was reported that the individual who is claimed to be an immigrant is detained. After the attack, far-right groups held protest demonstrations in Dublin through the night and involved in clashes with the police. It was reported that 34 individuals were detained during the clashes.

84 - “Threat assessment NCTV: terrorist threat to the Netherlands increased”, The Government of the Netherlands, 30 May 2023.

81	Spain	October 2023	During the operations held in Spain in October 2023, Catalunya Police and National Police have arrested 16 individuals from Combat 18 structure in Catalunya and other regions of Spain.
82	Spain	10.11.2023 11.11.2023	Far-right groups from Spain and France attended the protest demonstrations carried out by the attempt of Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) that is assigned to form the government in Spain, to grant an amnesty for Catalans who were taken against legal proceedings for their efforts to organize a separatist referendum in Catalunya in 2017. Far-right groups active in France have also participated by the intention of supporting them.
83	Spain/ RF	22.01.2023	The article published in The New York Times Newspaper about RF's activities over far-right groups in Spain, emphasized that "Russian military intelligence units have guided Russian far-right groups in Spain through Russian based far-rightists, and are seeking to send letter bombs to strategic targets like the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence." ⁸⁵
84	Sweden	07.01.2023	The article published in US-based Bloomberg channel on racism in Sweden reported that "Racism has become a part of daily life in Sweden which has been known as a liberal haven for long years." ⁸⁶
85	Sweden	February 2023	The report on far-right activities in the country, published by Expo Foundation, a Non-Governmental Organization running activities against far-right movements in Sweden, reported that "racist groups in Sweden conducted 1.791 attacks in 2022, the increase in attacks which was 1.487 last year is striking, the increase is basically caused by the propaganda activities carried out by far-right groups before September 2022 elections in different regions of the country, even though the far-right could not achieve the desired success in Swedish elections, far-rightists welcomed the success of Swedish democrats as "a step to the right", the movement of racist ideology is likely to continue in 2023, the groups spreading far-right and conspiracy theories are expected to continue their pro-Russian disinformation activities in 2023." ⁸⁷

85 - "Russian Agents Suspected of Directing Far-Right Group to Mail Bombs in Spain", The New York Times, 22 January 2023.

86 - "Racism Has Become Part of Everyday Life for Minorities in Sweden", Bloomberg, 07 January 2023.

87 - "Svensk rasideologisk miljö 2022", Expo, 01 March 2023.

86	Sweden	08.03.2023	Swedish Security Police (SAP0) published a report titled "Terrorist Threat against Sweden in 2023" prepared by The National Center for Terrorist Threat Assessment- NTC). With respect to the far-right issue, the mentioned report emphasized that, "the production of 3D weapons are easy and cheap, the mentioned weapons are difficult to detect by metal detectors, whereas they are easy to destroy, the mentioned new technology is likely to be used in terrorist attacks, the threat of violent far-right terrorist attack is highly likely to be carried out by lone actors acting on the basis of an ideological context and based on a virtual community, terrorist attacks carried out in Sweden and abroad, are likely to continue to incite other actors with similar views to plot attacks." ⁸⁸
87	Sweden	12.06.2023	Swedish security forces prevented, for security reasons, demonstrations of burning Quran which was attempted to be carried out in February 2023. Swedish Administrative Court has decided on 04.04.2023 that security forces do not have the authority to restrict the right to assembly and demonstration. Stockholm security directorate has appealed to the Supreme Court with an intention of objection. However, the Supreme Court took a decision approving the decision of the Administrative Court on 12.06.2023, and cancelled the decision taken by the Swedish Police to ban the burning of the Quran for security purposes.
88	Canada	05.07.2023	26 years old, residing in Ontario/Ottava, Patrick Gordon MACDONALD, aka "Dark Foreigner" in social media, who supports US-based neo-Nazi group Atomwaffen Division, was arrested by Canadian Federal Police (RCMP) National Security Enforcement Teams (INSET) for the accusations of "involving in activities of a terrorist organization, facilitating terrorist activities and encouraging hate on purpose.
89	Canada	29.06.2023	During a knife attack carried out by a foreign student named Geovanny Villaba-ALEMAN in a "Social Gender Studies" lesson at Waterloo University in Toronto-Waterloo, a professor and two students were injured.

90	Canada	14.03.2023	National Security and Intelligence Review Agency (NSIRA), an independent external inspection organ, which has the authority to review intelligence and security activities of Canada and has unlimited access to confidential information and reports submitted to the Parliament, has launched an investigation of Islamophobia against Canada Revenue Agency (CRA).
91	Canada / Germany	08.07.2023	41 years old Canadian citizen, Robert Frank WILSON who is a member of far-right anti-Semitic Goyim Defense League, was detained in Frankfurt Airport in Germany on the grounds of the arrest warrant issued by EU states for the hate crimes he committed.
92	Canada	08.12.2023	The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) reported in a public press release that two individuals from Ontario were arrested for the crimes of preparing manifests for far-right Terrorgram Community and shooting propaganda videos to recruit elements for Atomwaffen Division (AWD). ⁸⁹
93	Hungary	06.05.2023	European Fight Night - EFN was organized in Budapest/Hungary with the participation of far-right groups coming from 12 European countries. The event used to be organized by the far-right group, Legio Hungaria (LH), but prior to the event, LH announced that they withdrew from the organization due to the pressure of the police, and the event took place in Fejer district, 80 km. away from Budapest.
94	Norway	28.03.2023	The analysis report titled ““When neo-Nazis march on Norwegian streets, you’ll hear more Swedish” published by the Nordic Council, also shared publicly, reported that “Scandinavian far-right groups have acted in cooperation on the axis of opinions and practices through history, the mentioned cooperation has reached a significant level since the Cold War, the organization process of far-right movements have been affected by the digitalization procedures of the society, although the cooperation of far-right between Scandinavian states is increased, countering this cooperation has not reached the expected level, counter-extremism mainly focused on militant/radical terrorism.” ⁹⁰

89 - Two Ontario men arrested on terrorism charges”, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 08 December 2023.

90 - “When neo-Nazis march on Norwegian streets, you hear a lot of Swedish”, Nordic Co-Operation, 28 Mart 2023.

95	Norway	28.11.2023	Norwegian Police Security Service (PST) Counter Terrorism Chief, Lars LILLEBY stated on national media that “terrorist attacks targeting middle and high schools in Europe are referred in PST’s 2023 threat assessments, PST characterizes schools as easy targets for young far-right supporters, school teachers are called for immediate action if they observe any suspicious situation.” ⁹¹
96	Poland	11.11.2023	Almost 40.000 participants, including more than 600 far-rightist from Europe and the US, attended the march of Independence Day in Poland, for which far-right groups called for participation.
97	Russian Federation	08.09.2023	The spokeswoman of Russian Ministry of Interior, stated on 08.09.2023 that; “they carried out an operation against the neo-Nazi group “White Suits”, the members of the organization have been planning to commit a series of heavy crimes including the ones against Russian interests. Weapons and Nazi literature, symbols and equipment were seized during the search.” ⁹²
98	New Zealand	January - April 2023	According to the data released by New Zealand’s General Security Directorate, one third of 7000 hate crimes committed country-wide between January 2022 and April 2023, have targeted Asian and South Asian individuals. During the mentioned period, 292 religious attacks have been conducted, and 205 of them were against Muslims. ⁹³
99	Greece	01.11.2023	The members of far-right Active Club Dietsland (ACD) running activities in Belgium and neo-Fascist group Casa Pound from Italy are identified to have attended the protest demonstrations held in Athens on the occasion of commemorating the 10th year of killing of Manolis Kapelonis and Yorgos Fountulis who were the members of far-right Golden Dawn Party that was banned by a court decision in Greece. Demonstrations turned into clashes with the security forces.
100	Greece	02.12.2023	Youth Front of the Neo-Nazi, far-right formation named Golden Dawn Party that was banned by court decision, participated in “Nationalist Formations Pan-Europe Day” which was held in Torino/Italy with the participation of many far-right organizations from nine European countries, including Spain, Sweden, Romania and France.

91 - “Ikke en jobb for Isrere”, Nordnorsk Debatt, 28 Kasım 2023.

92 - “Police detained neo-Nazis preparing for serious crimes”, News Unrolled, 08 Eylül 2023.

93 - “Racism, homophobia fuelling thoUnited States nds of crimes in New Zealand each year, figures Show”, The Guardian, 07 Haziran 2023.

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