



NO LONGER IMPOSSIBLE: WHY CANADA NEEDS A CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR MASSIVE CIVIL UNREST IN THE UNITED STATES

Major John Faurbo

JCSP 50

Service Paper

Disclaimer

Opinions expressed remain those of the author and do not represent Department of National Defence or Canadian Forces policy. This paper may not be used without written permission.

© His Majesty the King in Right of Canada, as represented by the Minister of National Defence, 2024.

PCEMI n° 50

Étude militaire

Avertissement

Les opinions exprimées n'engagent que leurs auteurs et ne reflètent aucunement des politiques du Ministère de la Défense nationale ou des Forces canadiennes. Ce papier ne peut être reproduit sans autorisation écrite.

© Sa Majesté le Roi du chef du Canada, représenté par le ministre de la Défense nationale, 2024.

CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE - COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES

JCSP 50 - PCEMI n° 50
2023 - 2024

Service Paper – Étude militaire

**NO LONGER IMPOSSIBLE: WHY CANADA NEEDS A CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR
MASSIVE CIVIL UNREST IN THE UNITED STATES**

Major John Faurbo

“This paper was written by a candidate attending the Canadian Forces College in fulfilment of one of the requirements of the Course of Studies. The paper is a scholastic document, and thus contains facts and opinions which the author alone considered appropriate and correct for the subject. It does not necessarily reflect the policy or the opinion of any agency, including the Government of Canada and the Canadian Department of National Defence. This paper may not be released, quoted or copied, except with the express permission of the Canadian Department of National Defence.”

« La présente étude a été rédigée par un stagiaire du Collège des Forces canadiennes pour satisfaire à l'une des exigences du cours. L'étude est un document qui se rapporte au cours et contient donc des faits et des opinions que seul l'auteur considère appropriés et convenables au sujet. Elle ne reflète pas nécessairement la politique ou l'opinion d'un organisme quelconque, y compris le gouvernement du Canada et le ministère de la Défense nationale du Canada. Il est défendu de diffuser, de citer ou de reproduire cette étude sans la permission expresse du ministère de la Défense nationale. »

NO LONGER IMPOSSIBLE: WHY CANADA NEEDS A CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR MASSIVE CIVIL UNREST IN THE UNITED STATES

AIM

1. This paper recommends and describes why the Canadian Joint Operational Command (CJOC), as the lead for the Department of National Defence (DND) and the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), should create a contingency plan (CONPLAN) for massive civil unrest in the United States (US). As a CONPLAN seeks to mitigate a potential future risk or threat, this paper will discuss the likelihood and impact of such a scenario to justify the need for such preparation.

INTRODUCTION

2. For decades, Canadians have lived in the complacent belief that Canadians are safe from the turmoil of war. Almost 100 years ago, Canadian Senator Raoul Dandurand stated it most clearly: "We live in a fire-proof house, far from inflammable materials. A vast ocean separates us from Europe."¹ The idea that our adversaries were so far away meant that most experts considered it extremely unlikely and, bordering on impossible, that Canadians would have to fear a direct attack on home soil. The last battle Canada had on its territory with another state was during the War of 1812, when Canada, then a colony of the British Empire, participated in battles across various regions, including Ontario and Quebec, against the new nation of the United States². Canada has engaged in many conflicts since that period, but always in distant regions.

3. Due to Canada's large geographic area and limited population size, having a population density of 4.2 persons per square kilometre³, Canada has almost always relied upon the support of other countries for its self-defence and deterrence. This was initially the United Kingdom, and then after World 2 shifted to the United States. However, this reliance, which has become integral to DND's policy and doctrine, may no longer be a certainty. The most significant risk to this would be a potential scenario of major civil unrest in the United States.

DISCUSSION

4. On the 6 of Jan 2021, following the defeat of Donald Trump by Joe Biden for the presidency of the United States of America, thousands of protestors descended upon the capital, leading to a riot and insurrection while participants sought to overthrow and prevent the certification of Joe Biden as the next

¹ Michael Higgins, "Battle Unready; Canada Un Defended; Our Military Is Unprepared for New Era, Where Geography Can't Shelter Us," National Post, February 17, 2024, sec. Canada.

² Donald R Hickey, *The War of 1812 : A Forgotten Conflict*, Bicentennial Edition, vol. Bicentennial edition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=569537&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

³ Statistics Canada, "Focus on Geography Series, 2021 Census - Canada," July 13, 2022, <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/as-sa/fogs-spg/page.cfm?lang=E&topic=1&dguid=2021A000011124>.

president⁴. This event culminated a 4-year long presidency for Donald Trump and highlighted the continuing political divide within the United States.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE LIKELIHOOD OF CIVIL UNREST IN THE US

5. In 2009, a group of scientists, funded in part by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as part of the Task Force on Political Instability, provided a Global Model for forecasting political instability. The organization identified two principal factors contributing to periods of civil unrest: firstly, the existence of an anocracy, and secondly, the formation of political parties based on identity rather than ideology.⁵

6. The Center for Systemic Peace's Polity Score is a well-regarded metric that rates a state from -10 (fully autocratic) to +10 (fully Democratic), with anocracy being in the middle (-5 to +5), which are countries that are neither autocratic nor fully democratic⁶. Barber Walter, in her TED Talk, entitled "Is the US headed toward another civil war?", pointed out that the United States democracy was downgraded as a result of the January 6th insurrection⁷, further pointing out that this was the third time since 2016 (when Donald Trump took office) that the US democracy had its democracy downgraded⁸. Shortly after Jan 6, the score was downgraded to +5, signifying the first time that the United States was considered to be an anocracy⁹. Walter further discusses how those members of the rally and protest on January 6 were predominantly white nationalists who were worried about losing their place in society. This, she argues, is a symptom of the US having its political system distorted to be about Identity Rather than Ideology¹⁰.

7. This polarization is at an all-time high within the United States, as indicated by a Pew Research poll in 2022¹¹. The divide created by partisan sorting leads individuals to vilify others not within their local group¹². This vilification can, in turn, lead to the acceptance of violence as a means to rectify the political injustices created by the opposing group. This acceptance of violence is supported by a 2022 report that indicated that "50% of Americans agreed that in the next few years, there will be a civil war

⁴ Brian Duignan, "January 6 U.S. Capitol Attack| Background, Events, Criminal Charges, & Facts," in Encyclopedia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., February 7, 2024), <https://www.britannica.com/event/January-6-U-S-Capitol-attack>.

⁵ Jack A. Goldstone et al., "A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability," *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 1 (January 2010): 190–208, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2009.00426.x>.

⁶ Center for Systemic Peace, "PolityProject," Center for Systemic Peace, 2021, <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polityproject.html>.

⁷ Barbara F. Walter, "Is the US Headed towards Another Civil War?," TED Talks, April 2023, https://www.ted.com/talks/barbara_f_walter_is_the_us_headed_towards_another_civil_war/transcript.

⁸ Center for Systemic Peace, "Polity5 Regime Narratives 2018 - P5United States2020 Report," Center for Systemic Peace, 2020, <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5UnitedStates2020.pdf>.

⁹ Center for Systemic Peace, "Center for Systemic Peace," Center for Systemic Peace, 2022, <https://www.systemicpeace.org/>. It should be noted that the polity score for the united states was then returned to +8 at the end of 2021.

¹⁰ Walter, "Is the US Headed towards Another Civil War?"

¹¹ Drew Desilver, "The Polarization in Today's Congress Has Roots That Go Back Decades," Pew Research Center (blog), March 10, 2022, <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/03/10/the-polarization-in-todays-congress-has-roots-that-go-back-decades/>.

¹² Petter Törnberg, "How Digital Media Drive Affective Polarization through Partisan Sorting," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 119, no. 42 (October 18, 2022): e2207159119, <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2207159119>. In this case the local groups are the mega-groups of Republican and Democrat.

within the United States, and that 1 in 5 Americans believe that in general political violence was justified.”¹³

8. These particular trends, combined with the upcoming election, therefore, have the potential to lead to further political division and potential unrest. While considering possibilities for civil unrest, there are ultimately two scenarios that can occur surrounding the 2024 presidential election¹⁴: that Donald Trump will lose, leading to civil unrest, or that he will win the election and the actions he takes as the 47th President lead to further division and potential civil unrest.

9. Of the two situations, the most likely to create civil unrest would be a loss by Donald Trump in the 2024 election. In a town hall with the Cable News Network (CNN) in May of 2023, Donald Trump continued to express his opinion that the election in 2020 was stolen and that he believed that the system was rigged despite counterpoints from the moderator¹⁵. This continued rhetoric, which is similar to that which he used prior to the 2020 election, increases the chance that his fundamentalist supporters would be willing again to act out in protest if Trump indicates that the election was “stolen.” A report from the Chicago Project on Securities and Threats (CPOST) highlights that 8% of Americans (21,000,000 people) believe that violence and force are necessary to restore Donald Trump to the presidency¹⁶. The same report highlights that this number is not decreasing but increasing and that 25% of Americans believe that the 2020 election was rigged¹⁷. This 25% has the potential to be radicalized in the face of further allegations and rhetoric¹⁸. While the Proud Boys and Oath Keepers¹⁹ are among those 8%, most are not affiliated with these groups but are more driven by common beliefs such as the Great Replacement theory²⁰. Similar ideologies have been central in recent events in Texas concerning immigration and border security.

10. In early February 2024, the Governor of Texas, Greg Abbott (a Republican), in defiance of federal jurisdiction on borders and immigration, utilized the Texas National Guard to erect barriers along

¹³ Garen J. Wintemute et al., “Views of American Democracy and Society and Support for Political Violence: First Report from a Nationwide Population-Representative Survey,” preprint (Public and Global Health, July 19, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1101/2022.07.15.22277693>.

¹⁴ Right now, given the current polls and primary delegates that Donald trump has in the republican primary, we will assume for this paper, as many have already started to accept, that Donald Trump will be the primary opposition to President Joe Biden.

¹⁵ Tori B. Powell et al., “Trump Town Hall on CNN: Live Updates,” CNN, June 1, 2023, <https://www.cnn.com/politics/live-news/trump-cnn-town-hall/index.html>.

¹⁶ Robert Pape, “Deep, Divisive, Disturbing and Continuing: New Survey Shows Mainstream Support for Violence To Restore Trump Remains Strong,” Chicago Project on Security and Threats, January 2, 2022, https://cpost.uchicago.edu/publications/deep_divisive_disturbing_and_continuing_new_survey_shows_maintream_support_for_violence_to_restore_trump_remains_strong/.

¹⁷ Pape, “Deep, Divisive, Disturbing and Continuing.”

¹⁸ Pape, “Deep, Divisive, Disturbing and Continuing.”

¹⁹ Proud Boys and Oath Keepers are two far right violent extremist groups that are known for supporting President Donald Trump. Often it is argued that these groups are the main reason for political violence, but as indicated in CPOSTs report, they are a minority of those who would potentially support armed action for political aims.

²⁰ Pape, “Deep, Divisive, Disturbing and Continuing.” The Great Replacement belief that Democrats are trying to replace republican voters with immigrants is an example of an insidious concept that fuels identity politics and is leading to continued tension²⁰.

the Mexico-US border in Eagle Pass, Texas²¹. The Governor then employed state officials to prevent federal immigration officials from conducting work in areas along the border²². This utilization of state organizations (including the National Guard) for political purposes had many journalists speculating that the “Standoff” may further indicate a precursor to civil war²³. The governor's rhetoric contained language that would harken back to the American Civil War and was meant to connect with Trump loyalists²⁴. From this example, it is clear that the likelihood of civil unrest is growing.

11. While Donald Trump losing an election is the most likely scenario to cause civil unrest, it is debatable at what scale this civil unrest would be. The 8% who support armed violence may not pose a significant threat to organized armed forces. And such a groundswell movement would ultimately require the support of elected officials to grow to something larger than mass protests and riots. From the example on January 6, it can be assumed that most elected officials will not likely support an insurrection.

12. However, the Texas Standoff does suggest a scenario where state-level officials choose to intervene against federally elected officials. In the event of a Trump Election, there has been a combination of election promises, speculation, and past precedent to indicate that Trump intends to make sweeping changes to the Federal Government system if elected²⁵. A news report from Axios indicated that Trump may use an executive order called Schedule F, which he had created at the end of his 2016 term, to create a new section of federal government employees that would allow him to fire and appoint those who are responsible for implementing federal policy; this may be as many as 50 000 people²⁶. This is speculated to enable Republicans to put those “loyal” to Trump in places that would allow him to implement any policy that he and the Republicans deem necessary, regardless of the constitutionality of such policy²⁷.

13. This could potentially lead to constitutional challenges from democratic states. The sequence of events would likely be similar to Eagle Pass in Texas. After legal battles fail (potentially resulting from the supermajority in the US Supreme Court with a 6-3 majority of republican judges on the bench), desperation and moral certainty may lead Democratic States to support armed constitutional standoffs. However, given the unpredictable nature of Donald Trump when he is challenged, a potential stand-off may be far more escalatory and precipitate conflict and potentially civil war. For several reasons, this scenario is far less likely than the first and requires a number of specific scenarios to unfold before it might occur. However, the potential scale of civil unrest could be drastically larger.

14. In addition, it can be expected in both scenarios that malicious external state actors will look to incite and exploit the political landscape using “Sock Puppet” social media accounts in a similar fashion

²¹ Uriel J. García and Robert Downen, “Texas’ Standoff with the Feds in Eagle Pass Is Igniting Calls for Secession and Fears of Violence,” *The Texas Tribune*, January 30, 2024, <https://www.texastribune.org/2024/01/30/texas-border-eagle-pass-standoff-secession/>.

²² García and Downen, “Texas’ Standoff.”

²³ García and Downen, “Texas’ Standoff.”

²⁴ García and Downen, “Texas’ Standoff.”

²⁵ James Oliphant, “Trump’s Second-Term Agenda: Revenge, Trade Wars, Mass Deportations,” *Reuters.Com*, December 27, 2023, sec. United States, <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/payback-time-trump-plans-mass-firings-deportations-second-term-2023-11-14/>.

²⁶ Oriana González, “How Trump Could Reimpose ‘Schedule F’ in 2025,” *Axios.Com*, July 23, 2022, sec. Politics & Policy, <https://www.axios.com/2022/07/22/trump-presidency-schedule-f-federal-employees>.

²⁷ González, “Schedule F in 2025.”

to the 2016 elections²⁸. Further, the US and Canada may see generative artificial intelligence used to sew further dissent and distrust regarding the political situation in the United States. This manipulation will only increase the potential threat of civil unrest.

15. Any scenario discussed above is not guaranteed, and the quantitative likelihood that a given sequence of events could be the subject of an entire master's or doctoral thesis. However, it is no longer reasonable to suggest that the likelihood of large-scale civil unrest is negligible, and DND should assess the likelihood as a low probability.

SPECULATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF US CIVIL UNREST

16. Implications for how American civil unrest would affect Canada can never be fully known until the situation occurs. The impact will depend on the scale of civil unrest and the geography of the situation. Further, drawing on concrete examples from the past to support this discussion is difficult, given the long history of peaceful coexistence between the US and Canada. So, it is acknowledged that some of the discussion regarding potential impact is speculative but is supported as much as possible with plausible comparable situations.

17. In the event of any civil unrest, the most immediate implication will be border security. Any civil unrest in the US would likely lead to an influx of migrants. After the peaceful 2016 election, there was a marked increase in the number of immigration requests from US citizens wanting to move to Canada, from 7700 to over 9000²⁹. This included noticeable spikes immediately following the election in November and December³⁰. Similarly, broad-scale civil unrest that causes people to fear for their safety is expected to lead to mass migrations similar in scale to what has recently been seen at the US border. Depending on the severity of civil unrest, Canada might experience an overwhelming influx of travellers at border crossing points, leading to long waits to enter, which could increase the likelihood of illegal crossings and necessitate military mobilization to support, as was seen in 2017 on the Quebec border³¹.

18. If the tensions escalate to a full-scale US civil war, it should be expected to create a major humanitarian crisis as multi-millions may seek to flee from conflict. Using the exodus from Ukraine as a potential extreme for the migration out of a conflict zone, one could estimate the scale of refugees and displaced persons. After the invasion, 8 million (17%) Ukrainian citizens fled, and a further 5 million were internally displaced³². Given the current population in the US, this would equate to an estimated

²⁸ P. W. Singer and Emerson T. Brooking, *Likewar: The Weaponization of Social Media* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, an Eamon Dolan Book, 2018).

²⁹ Rachel Gilmore, "'I'm Not Comfortable Living Here': More Americans Did Actually Try to Move to Canada since Trump's 2016 Election," CTV News.Ca, September 12, 2020, <https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/america-votes/i-m-not-comfortable-living-here-more-americans-did-actually-try-to-move-to-canada-since-trump-s-2016-election-1.5064819>.

³⁰ Gilmore, "I'm Not Comfortable Living Here."

³¹ Benjamin Shingler and Verity Stevenson, "Military Builds Tent Village to House Surge of Asylum Seekers at Quebec Border | CBC News," CBC, August 9, 2017, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-announcement-asylum-seekers-1.4240038>.

³² Angelika Engler, "UN Aid Chief: Almost 8 Million People Have Fled Ukraine," *DPA International (English)*, February 7, 2023, 2773482472, Global News Stream; ProQuest Central, <https://login.cfc.idm.oclc.org/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fwire-feeds%2Ffun-aid-chief-almost-8-million-people-have-fled%2Fdocview%2F2773482472%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9867>.

60,000,000 people choosing to flee the US³³, a number that is more than Canada's current population. Even assuming a lower percentage of 2%, displaced refugees would still be more than the population of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver combined. In this case, the military's ability to support humanitarian efforts would be quickly overwhelmed.

19. Secondly, Canada could see the civil unrest permeate into our country. Similar to pandemic rhetoric, which saw US ideology on display in Canada (Ottawa Trucker Convoy), a similar ideological spillover caused by civil unrest may again result in disruptions within Canada. While Canada would likely seek to remain neutral, factions on either side of a conflict may pressure Ottawa to take a side; this may take the form of terrorism, sabotage of critical infrastructure, or further long-term protests. Additionally, aggressors involved in a conflict may use Canada as a staging point or avenue of retreat to gain an advantage over an adversary. As a result of this cross-border spill-over, Canada would need to devote significant resources to prevent the border from becoming a potential strategic issue.

20. Using the US-Mexico border as a source of comparison to estimate the required patrol that would be necessary, we can estimate, using US Border Patrol figures, that a single km of border would require an average of 5.37 agents to patrol³⁴. Canada would, therefore, need around 47,000 troops to patrol the 8,891km border. This requirement would overwhelm both the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Canadian Army³⁵ without mentioning the specific infrastructure and material requirements needed to support such efforts.

21. After these, there are a myriad of different implications that could be considered. The United States could consider the withdrawal of troops from the global stage. Or, on a smaller scale, civil unrest could create a distraction for the US, drastically changing the dynamic of conflicts. This would put significant pressure on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and its mission in the Baltics.

22. Lastly, Canada's homeland security is tied directly to the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) and our collective security with the United States, including fighting assets, infrastructure, and the US Military Industrial Complex. In a scenario including civil war, Canada would need to look to other allies for potential military support for national security if the global context shifts. However, such a drastic shift would likely pose significant challenges for Canada as supporting countries face similar challenges.

³³ It is assumed that they will flee to Canada, as it is the closest and nearest location that would allow for transit by land that provided similar conditions to the USA. Mexico would likely see some refugees, but the border protections meant to keep individuals out, would also prevent mass refugee exodus from the US. Further, Airports, would likely be overwhelmed and would collapse in these particular situations. Despite this, there would be individuals that would choose countries further away such as Europe, or Indo-Pacific, however, it is likely that Canada would end up being a hub for this transit to occur.

³⁴ US Border Patrol, "Border Patrol Agent Nationwide Staffing by Fiscal Year" (US Government, August 2021), <https://www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/assets/documents/2021-Aug/U.S.%20Border%20Patrol%20Fiscal%20Year%20Staffing%20Statistics%20%28FY%201992%20-%20FY%202020%29%20%28508%29.pdf>.

³⁵ Current estimates for total forces for RCMP is around 19 000, and 22500 Reg Force Army. This gives a total of 41500 members "immediately" available, without considering current and ongoing operations and logistical support.

23. Given the listed potential ramifications and how ill-prepared Canada would be for US civil unrest and the associated shift in the geopolitical landscape, DND should assess the impact as Very Significant or Extreme.

CONCLUSION

24. This paper discussed both the low, but no longer negligible, likelihood that the political polarization surrounding the 2024 US election could lead to massive civil unrest or civil war and that the impact of this civil unrest on Canada could potentially be overwhelming for our military. Thus, using the Government of Canada Risk Management matrix³⁶, DND should conclude that the overall risk to Canada is High. As a result, it is recommended that CJOC, on behalf of DND, conduct the necessary scenario analysis to develop a CONPLAN to mitigate the impacts should such a scenario occur. Further, these scenarios should be shared with other government departments as the implications go well beyond a military issue. DND's planning should be done in close communication with other governmental departments.

³⁶ Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, "Guide to Corporate Risk Profiles," June 20, 2011, <https://www.canada.ca/en/treasury-board-secretariat/corporate/risk-management/corporate-risk-profiles.html>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Center for Systemic Peace. "Center for Systemic Peace." Center for Systemic Peace, 2022. <https://www.systemicpeace.org/>.
- . "Polity5 Regime Narratives 2018 - P5United States2020 Report." Center for Systemic Peace, 2020. <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/P5UnitedStates2020.pdf>.
- . "PolityProject." Center for Systemic Peace, 2021. <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polityproject.html>.
- Desilver, Drew. "The Polarization in Today's Congress Has Roots That Go Back Decades." *Pew Research Center* (blog), March 10, 2022. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/03/10/the-polarization-in-todays-congress-has-roots-that-go-back-decades/>.
- Duignan, Brian. "January 6 U.S. Capitol Attack| Background, Events, Criminal Charges, & Facts." In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., February 7, 2024. <https://www.britannica.com/event/January-6-U-S-Capitol-attack>.
- Engler, Angelika. "UN Aid Chief: Almost 8 Million People Have Fled Ukraine." *DPA International (English)*, February 7, 2023. 2773482472. Global News Stream; ProQuest Central. <https://login.cfc.idm.oclc.org/login?qurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.proquest.com%2Fwire-feeds%2Fun-aid-chief-almost-8-million-people-have-fled%2Fdocview%2F2773482472%2Fse-2%3Faccountid%3D9867>.
- García, Uriel J., and Robert Downen. "Texas' Standoff with the Feds in Eagle Pass Is Igniting Calls for Secession and Fears of Violence." *The Texas Tribune*, January 30, 2024. <https://www.texastribune.org/2024/01/30/texas-border-eagle-pass-standoff-secession/>.
- Gilmore, Rachel. "'I'm Not Comfortable Living Here': More Americans Did Actually Try to Move to Canada since Trump's 2016 Election." *CTV News.Ca*, September 12, 2020. <https://www.ctvnews.ca/world/america-votes/i-m-not-comfortable-living-here-more-americans-did-actually-try-to-move-to-canada-since-trump-s-2016-election-1.5064819>.
- Goldstone, Jack A., Robert H. Bates, David L. Epstein, Ted Robert Gurr, Michael B. Lustik, Monty G. Marshall, Jay Ulfelder, and Mark Woodward. "A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability." *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 1 (January 2010): 190–208. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2009.00426.x>.
- González, Oriana. "How Trump Could Reimpose 'Schedule F' in 2025." *Axios.Com*, July 23, 2022, sec. Politics & Policy. <https://www.axios.com/2022/07/22/trump-presidency-schedule-f-federal-employees>.
- Hickey, Donald R. *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict, Bicentennial Edition*. Vol. Bicentennial edition. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=569537&site=ehost-live&scope=site>.

- Higgins, Michael. "Battle Unready; Canada Un Defended; Our Military Is Unprepared for New Era, Where Geography Can't Shelter Us." *National Post*, February 17, 2024, sec. Canada.
- Oliphant, James. "Trump's Second-Term Agenda: Revenge, Trade Wars, Mass Deportations." *Reuters.Com*, December 27, 2023, sec. United States.
<https://www.reuters.com/world/us/payback-time-trump-plans-mass-firings-deportations-second-term-2023-11-14/>.
- Pape, Robert. "Deep, Divisive, Disturbing and Continuing: New Survey Shows Mainstream Support for Violence To Restore Trump Remains Strong." Chicago Project on Security and Threats, January 2, 2022.
https://cpost.uchicago.edu/publications/deep_divisive_disturbing_and_continuing_new_survey_shows_maintream_support_for_violence_to_restore_trump_remains_strong/.
- Powell, Tori B., Elise Hammond, Maureen Chowdhury, and Amir Vera. "Trump Town Hall on CNN: Live Updates." *CNN*, June 1, 2023. <https://www.cnn.com/politics/live-news/trump-cnn-town-hall/index.html>.
- Secretariat, Treasury Board of Canada. "Guide to Corporate Risk Profiles," June 20, 2011.
<https://www.canada.ca/en/treasury-board-secretariat/corporate/risk-management/corporate-risk-profiles.html>.
- Shingler, Benjamin, and Verity Stevenson. "Military Builds Tent Village to House Surge of Asylum Seekers at Quebec Border | CBC News." *CBC*, August 9, 2017.
<https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-announcement-asylum-seekers-1.4240038>.
- Singer, P. W., and Emerson T. Brooking. *Likewar: The Weaponization of Social Media*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, an Eamon Dolan Book, 2018.
- Statistics Canada. "Focus on Geography Series, 2021 Census - Canada," July 13, 2022.
<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/as-sa/fogs-spg/page.cfm?lang=E&topic=1&dguid=2021A000011124>.
- Törnberg, Petter. "How Digital Media Drive Affective Polarization through Partisan Sorting." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 119, no. 42 (October 18, 2022): e2207159119.
<https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2207159119>.
- US Border Patrol. "Border Patrol Agent Nationwide Staffing by Fiscal Year." US Government, August 2021. <https://www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/assets/documents/2021-Aug/U.S.%20Border%20Patrol%20Fiscal%20Year%20Staffing%20Statistics%20%28FY%201992%20-%20FY%202020%29%20%28508%29.pdf>.
- Walter, Barbara F. "Is the US Headed towards Another Civil War?" TED Talks, April 2023.
https://www.ted.com/talks/barbara_f_walter_is_the_us_headed_towards_another_civil_war/transcript.

Wintemute, Garen J., Sonia Robinson, Andrew Crawford, Julia P. Schleimer, Amy Barnhorst, Vicka Chaplin, Daniel Tancredi, Elizabeth A. Tomsich, and Veronica A. Pear. “Views of American Democracy and Society and Support for Political Violence: First Report from a Nationwide Population-Representative Survey.” Preprint. *Public and Global Health*, July 19, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1101/2022.07.15.22277693>.