## AUSTRALIAN RADICAL RIGHT NARRATIVES AND COUNTER-NARRATIVES IN AN AGE OF TERRORISM



CARR Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right

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

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Dr. William Allchorn** is a specialist on anti-Islamic protest movements and radical right social movements in the UK and Western Europe. His PhD thesis mapped political, policing, and local authority responses to the English Defence League in five UK locations. William has recently finished his first academic monograph with Routledge – looking at policy responses to the EDL and Britain First over the past decade. His previous published work has looked at the dynamics of activism within anti-Islam movements and counter-extremism responses towards such groups. William has taught undergraduate courses and given lectures on the radical right in Western Europe; both at the social movement and party political level. The previous consultancy has included delivering counter-narrative engagement ses- sions in the North East of England and putting together a 'Countering Radical Right Narra- tives' educational pack. As of April 2019, William Allchorn is the Associate Director of CARR.

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

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# INTRODUCTION

The spectre of Australian radical right violence has come to prominence over the past ten years. It is now considered a notable security threat. Host to a fairly striking array of anti-Islam protest groups, Australian radical right extremist<sup>1</sup> movements like the United Patriots Front, Reclaim Australia, and the True Blue Crew have typified a global trend within radical right extremism toward high-profile and oftentimes confrontational demonstrations. Additionally, there are also Australian chapters of more fringe neo-Nazi accelerationist<sup>2</sup> cells (often dubbed "groupscules")3 who have actively engaged in campaigns of radical right terror and violence more recently. These violent radical right extremists include Antipodean Resistance, Blood and Honour, the Southern Cross Hammerskins and Combat 18, with Combat 18 activists conducting a shooting at a Mosque at the start of the decade, and one Reclaim Australia activist convicted of plotting an attack on left-wing activists at the end of 2019.4

Attention to radical right extremism has been redoubled over the past year due to the recent terror attack targeting New Zealand mosques on 15 March 2019. The Christchurch attacker, Brenton Harrison Tarrant, originally hailed from Grafton, New South Wales, some 380 miles north of

- Here 'radical right extremism' is used to describe a broad plethora of cognate paramilitary groups, groupuscules and lone-actor terrorists that could be considered as harbouring violent nativist, authoritarian and (sometimes) non-violent populist policy ideas (Mudde, Populist Radical Right in Europe, 2007). Radical Right Extremism includes individuals and groups who actively "espouse violence" and "seek the overthrow of liberal democracy" entirely (Eatwell 2003, Ten Theories of the Extreme Right, 14) rather than those who offer "a critique of the constitutional order without any anti-democratic behaviour or intention" (Carter 2005, The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?, 22). Those with such a propensity towards violence and/or anti-system values are historically referred to as the extreme right rather than the radical right, and such individuals and groups range from non-violent anti-Islam groups to a range of formally constituted neo-fascist and neo-Nazi political parties that inspire terrorist action, as well as lone-actor terrorists
- Here, the doctrine of 'accelerationism' (defined as literally helping to accelerate a revolution, race war or even more apocalyptic scenarios) has been a notable theme amongst violent radical right extremist groups. Moreover, it has recently taken the form of coded accelerationist terms, such as 'Big Luau', 'Boogaloo' or 'Cowabunga'. Even if the idea of a revolutionary right overthrow of 'the System' is an age-old fascist and radical right trope, its renewed nihilistic emphasis among groups and radical right terrorists (such as Antipodean Resistance and Brenton Tarrant) has become a particular note of concern among security personnel and experts internationally.
- Here, 'Groupuscules' are defined as tiny, often neo-Nazi, bands of radical right extremists that establish a milieu with reference points that stretch out internationally as well as into the past (Jackson 2014, National Action and National Socialism for the 21st Century, 101).
- WA Today, 'Mosque shooter fined more than \$9000', 23 August 2010, online at: www.watoday.com.au/national/western-australia/mosque-shooter-fined-more-than-2000-20100823-13fid.html; and Australian Associated Press, Far-right extremist Phillip Galea found guilty of plotting terror attacks in Melbourne', The Guardian, 5 December 2019, www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/dec/05/far-right-extremist-phillip-galea-found-guilty-of-plotting-terror-attacks-in-melbourne (all websites last accessed 23/01/2019).
- Karp, P, "Threat from extreme rightwing terrorism in Australia has increased, Asio says' The Guardian, 16 October 2019, online at: www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/oct/16/threat-from-extreme-rightwing-terrorism-in-australia-has-increased-asio-says.
- Kolowski, M., 'Australia's far-right moves to shadowy messaging service amid crackdown on digital giants', Sunday Morning Herald, 20 March 2019, online at: www.smh. com.au/national/australia-s-far-right-moves-to-shadowy-messaging-service-amid-crackdown-on-digital-giants-20190320-p515tw.html.

Sydney, before moving to commit acts of terror on New Zealand's South Island. The Christchurch incident has led policymakers, politicians and civil society groups to highlight radical right extremist violence in Australia, with Australia's Security and Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) issuing warnings of a heightened radical right threat over the last year.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, in the wake of the Christchurch massacres, the Australian radical right has shifted towards alternative social media platforms such as Telegram and especially Gab where reports suggest that their expressions have become more explicitly anti-Semitic, aggressively racist as well as evincive of notions of white supremacy.6

This country report focuses on street-based and small-cell forms of radical right extremism in Australia. To do so, the next section surveys the activities of fourteen key radical right extremist groups in Australia, coupled with key narratives propagated by them. Drawing upon these case studies, the report's second part will then suggest counter-narratives in relation to Australian radical right extremism. A third section focuses on existing counter-narrative campaigns, before the report concludes with further recommendations for counteracting these hateful messages in the Australian context.

## PART ONE RADICAL RIGHT EXTREMIST GROUPS AND NARRATIVES IN AUSTRALIA

02

### ASCENDANT ANTI-MUSLIM POPULISM, ETHNO-NATIONALISM, WHITE SUPREMACISM AND CHAUVINISM

With electoral success only occurring in the past few years, the predominant actor on Australia's radical right extremist scene has been anti-Islam protest movements and neo-Nazi cells. With online links now established between these actors and the Christchurch shooter,<sup>7</sup> it is increasingly clear that radical right extremism mobilises around a common set of anti-Muslim populist, ethno-nationalist, white supremacist and chauvinist narratives in Australia and transnation-

Begley, P., 'Threats from white extremist group that 'tried to recruit Tarrant', *The Sydney Moring Herald*, 2 May 2019, online at: https://www.smh.com.au/national/ threats-from-white-extremist-group-that-tried-to-recruit-tarrant-20190501-p51j5w.html; Mann, A., Nguyen, K., & Gregory, K., 'Christchurch shooting accused Brenton Tarrant supports Australian far-right figure Blair Cottrell', *ABC News*, 23 March 2019, online at: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-23/christchurch-shootingaccused-praised-blair-cottrell/10930632; & Begley, P., 'Alleged Mosque Shooters Meme Popular with Australian Far Right Group', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 2019, online at: https://www.smh.com.au/national/nsw/alleged-mosque-shooter-s-meme-popular-with-australian-far-fight-group-20190315-p514ns.html.

<sup>8</sup> Peucker, M. & Smith, D., 'Far Right Groups in Australia: An Introduction', in Peucker, M. & Smith, D. (eds.) The Far-Right in Contemporary Australia (London, Palgrave Macmillan: 2019), p. 7.

ally. Below is a list of radical right extremist groups and organisations that represent what scholars have characterised as Australia's "diverse" and "complex" radical right extremist scene (broken down according to organisation type, ideology and narrative structure).<sup>8</sup> These profiles include examples of key narratives that Australian radical right extremists are using at the present moment and a summary of these narratives are presented in Table 1 (below).

### **TABLE 1:** Overview of Australian Radical Right Extremist Narratives



 <sup>2016).
 &</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Here, violence is measured as part of the narrative logics within a group and its mode of activism. Whilst UPF and Blue Crew activists have been prone to violence and violent rhetoric, the dominant trend within these groups has been toward non-violent forms of rhetoric and activism, whilst in more neo-Nazi groups (e.g. Combat 18, Blood & Honour, and Antipodean Resistance), there have been more overt trends of violent activism perpetrated against outsiders as well as group members.

	EXAMPLE
fined as "a urily online ouping nainstream d espouse licies typ- of white n-Webster, t: <u>https://</u> <u>riam-web-</u>	"The alt-right is effective, efficient. We deliver results that the nominal right can only dream of. This is an attractive feature for a lot of ex-lib- ertarians." (The Dingoes)
ent Senti- tained and economic, al elites.	"Don't expect the government to fix the problem, they ARE the problem" (SOOA)
n Senti- particularly pen immi- cular, they ry or vol- on-indige-	"Immigration is the Elephant in the room." (Reclaim Australia)
pulism' is nti-Muslim ns of na- es around ve depic-	"Islam killed 270 million in 1400 years. No. Islam Sharia Law Against Mankind." (TBC)
defined as sentiment, tions.	"Even today, liberal Jewish intellec- tuals preach the slow culture-death – the down-going of the white man through forced multiracialism and multiculturalism." (NA)

Chauvinism	Here, 'Chauvinism' is defined as actual or performative forms of violent masculinity, often in con- nection with ideas of virility and racial purity.	"[National Socialism] represents men coming together to form one nation stronger than any of men alone." (Lads Society)	Neo-Nazism	Here, 'Neo-Nazism' is defined as adherence to the ideology of na- tional socialism post-Hitler.	"National Socialism is the worldview of Truth. Another word for Truth is Nature. By Truth or Nature, we are referring to the Natural laws of the universe." (Lads Society)
Ethno-Nationalism	Here, 'Ethno-Nationalism' is de- fined as the unanimity of the nation and a (usually native white) ethnic in-group, with immigration by non- white groups seen as an endanger- ment of this monist ideal.	"being proud of Western culture today is like being a crippled, black, lesbian communist in 1953." (Proud Boys Australia)	Odinism	Here, 'Odinism' is defined as a form of neo-Paganism that fuses a weak type of Aryanism with the worship of Norse Gods.	"As the collective spirit of the spell- bound audience and dancers fus- es and time stands still, we are one with the old [Norse] gods who once walked and flew over our Planet." (Aryan Unity)
Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory	Here, the 'Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory' refers to the writings of Renaud Camus and the belief in a demographic re- placement of native Europeans by non-European migrants, deemed to be facilitated by ruling elites.	"The soil on which we stand today, worked by and soaked in the blood of our European ancestors will also be the cursed ground on which we will become a minority" (Identity Australia)	Ultra-Nationalism	Here, 'Ultra-Nationalism' refers to an extreme loyalty or devotion to the nation, usually at the exclusion of others. (Collins, Ultra-National- ism, 2019, online at: https://www. collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/ english/ultranationalism).	"The Reclaim Australia group said its rallies on Saturday were [] a protest against minority groups who want to change the Australian cultural identi- ty." (Reclaim Australia)
Homophobia	Here, 'Homophobia' is defined as anti-gay sentiments, including tropes related to demographic de- pletion and degeneracy.	"Happy AIDS Day – Gays are a Walking Disease." (AR)	Western Chauvinism	Here, 'Western Chauvinism' is de- fined as a form of civilisationism where the 'West' is privileged over the 'East'. (Brubaker, Between Na- tionalism and Civilizationism, 2017, online at: https://www.tandfonline.	"It's very freeing to finally admit the West is the best. That's because it's the truth." (Proud Boys Australia)
Identitarianism	According to José Pedro Zúquete (The Identitarians, 2018), Identi- tarians are a "quickly growing eth- no-cultural transnational movement [aimed at 'preserving' a European form of ethno-cultural heritage in Australia] that, in diverse forms, originated in France and Italy and has spread into southern, central, and northern Europe."	"The future for our folk under the current [situation] our destiny is ripped from our person, destined to be a Brazilian, anarcho-tyrannical dystopia with no distinct identity or unifying national characteristic other than a meaningless passport." (Identity Australia)	White Supremacism	<ul> <li><u>com/doi/abs/10.1080/01419870.2</u> 017.1294700)</li> <li>Here, 'White Supremacism' is defined as a belief in white dominance over people of other backgrounds. It is often connected to beliefs about so-called 'white endangerment' and 'white genocide' conspiracy theories.</li> </ul>	"As Europeans, we come from a line of explorers, inventors, great leaders and warriors. It's time that we take back the freedom that is rightfully ours". (Lads Society)

#### **VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA**



1.25.	houses in Sydney and M strategy for Australian r joined the Young Nation 2018 conference, trying
LADS SOCIETY	would appear that the L puscule affiliated with t (see below). In January
<b>LEADER</b> Tom Sewell <b>MEMBERSHIP</b> Unknown	groups at a rally in St. K and brandishing SS helm former UPF leaders Co riot. <sup>12</sup> With potential for ings, <sup>13</sup> the organisation of violent extremist threat. to have tried in 2017 to alleges he discussed the recently warned the Lad to encourage the "speed
IDEOLOGY	Blair Cottrell, has been o
White Supremacism	White Supremacism: "As Europeans, we com riors. It's time that we ta
Neo-Nazism	
Chauvinism	<b>Neo-Nazism:</b> "National Socialism is t By Truth or Nature, we
	<b>Chauvinism:</b> "[National Socialism] re than any of men alone.'
Such covert infiltration replicates the sar	ne attempts by the Australian League

- au/national/the-new-extremist-threat-in-australia-rightwing-groups-who-have-asios-attention/news-story/44ae06be0aaa765c862fd6d20426fe9.
- secret-location-of-aussie-underground-fight-club-leaks/news-story/16f5b680a7ab4cc5de0078cb2a37ccc9.
- threats-from-white-extremist-group-that-tried-to-recruit-tarrant-20190501-p51j5w.html & McGowan, M., 'Australian white nationalists reveal plans to recruit 'disgruntled, white male population?' The Guardian, 11 November 2019, online at: https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/nov/12/australian-white-nationalists-reveal-plans-to-recruit-disgruntled-white-male-population.
- 15 O'Rourke, G. & Thompson, A. "United Patriots Front Leader Blair Cottrell Details Violent Criminal Past in Video," Herald Sun, 11 June 2016, online at: http://www. heraldsun.com.au/news/victoria/united-patriots-front-leader-blair-cottrell-details-violent-criminal-past-in-video/news-story/d107bccff2d3b305788e17d881ccec27.
- Forbes, J., 'Freedom', Lads Society Website, online at: https://www.ladssociety.com/single-post/2019/09/09/Freedom

18 Ibid.

#### DESCRIPTION

Founded in 2017 from the disbanded anti-Islam protest movement, the United Pas Front (UPF), Lads Society is a white supremacist group with men's-only clubses in Sydney and Melbourne. In 2018, Lads Society launched a covert infiltration tegy for Australian right-wing political parties.<sup>11</sup> Lads Society members and allies ed the Young Nationals in NSW. They also engaged in branch stacking at the May conference, trying to push an alt-right agenda by infiltrating local branches. It ld appear that the Lads Society was joined in this by the violent radical right groucule affiliated with the Atomwaffen Division in the US, Antipodean Resistance below). In January 2019, the Lads Society joined other radical right extremist ups at a rally in St. Kilda against so-called African gangs, making Sieg Heil salutes brandishing SS helmets. Their activity was highly publicised in social media, with ner UPF leaders Cottrell and Erikson (see below) calling for a Cronulla-style race <sup>2</sup> With potential for social unrest emerging from, amongst other violent undertak-<sup>3</sup> the organisation of underground fight clubs, Lads Society presents a significant ent extremist threat. The group's first leader and founder, Tom Sewell, also claims ave tried in 2017 to recruit the Christchurch Attacker, Brenton Tarrant. Sewell es he discussed the creation of a white ethno-state with Tarrant. He has more ntly warned the Lads Society of an impending race war, in which his group aims acourage the "speed and ferocity of the decay" of society.<sup>14</sup> The group's founder, Cottrell, has been convicted of violent assault and arson.<sup>15</sup>

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

Europeans, we come from a line of explorers, inventors, great leaders and wars. It's time that we take back the freedom that is rightfully ours".

- Blog on Lads Society website about "Freedom".<sup>16</sup>

tional Socialism is the worldview of Truth. Another word for Truth is Nature. Iruth or Nature, we are referring to the Natural laws of the universe."

- Blog on Lads Society website about "Why National Socialism?"<sup>17</sup>

ational Socialism] represents men coming together to form one nation stronger

- Blog on Lads Society website about "Why National Socialism?"<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Hersant, J., 'Why National Socialism?', Lads Society Website, online at: https://www.ladssociety.com/single-post/2019/09/19/Why-National-Socialism

ts by the Australian League of Rights in the 1960s.

Molloy, S., 'The new extremist threat in Australia: Right-wing groups who have ASIO's attention.' News. Com. U.A, 4 January 2019, online at: https://www.news.com.

Graham, B,' Secret location of Aussie underground fight club leaks', News. Au. Com, 30 November 2018, online at: https://www.news.com.au/national/nsw-act/news/

Begley, P, Threats from white extremist group that 'tried to recruit Tarrant', The Sydney Moring Herald, 2nd May 2019, online at: https://www.smh.com.au/national/



#### **COMBAT 18 (AUSTRALIA)**

#### LEADERS

Charlie Sargent Harold Covington<sup>19</sup>

MEMBERSHIP

Less than 30

IDEOLOGY

Neo-Nazism

Ethno-Nationalism

Anti-Immigration Sentiment

#### DESCRIPTION

Australia's branch of the global neo-Nazi group Combat 18 has lacked coverage in news reporting, making it hard to track down its continuity and development as a groupuscule.<sup>20</sup> However, this lack of publicly accessible information is not to downplay the violent and racist activism of the group. The aforementioned Perth Mosque attack in late 2010 was perpetrated by Bradley Neil Trappitt and three accomplices from the Combat 18 group.<sup>21</sup> Five years later, there were further reports that the group had been distributing material at a Melbourne playground claiming that there should be "No Islamic Takeover" and that people should "Support your local skinheads".<sup>22</sup> More recently, after the Christchurch attacks, Combat 18 Australia's Facebook page was found to be still active in 2019, where the group were complaining that "media and leftists would carry on for months" about radical right extremism.<sup>23</sup> Whilst not involved in regular activism, the subcultural and transnational element of this neo-Nazi group nevertheless remains of concern, especially given its recent proscription in Canada (2019) and Germany (2020).<sup>24</sup>

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

Neo-Nazism:	
Combet 18 advocate	

"Combat 18 advocates covert action as the only constructive form of action which should be undertaken at this moment in time by individuals committed to the National Socialist cause."

- An excerpt from Combat 18's "National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook".<sup>25</sup>

#### Ethno-Nationalism:

"In this magazine we are going to tell the truth about the modern day nightmare that the white Race is being plunged into, we will expose traitors and in-filtrators that have plagued nationalism for decades, we will urge our supporters to intimidate and attack the enemies of our people just as they have intimidated us."

- An excerpt from Combat 18's official magazine.<sup>26</sup>

#### **Anti-Immigration Sentiment:**

"To ship all non-whites back to Africa, Asia, Arabia, alive or in body bags, the choice is theirs."

- An excerpt from "The Aims of C18" in Combat 18's official magazine.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> These are the original co-founders of the UK progeny of Combat 18. It's Australian leaders at the time of writing in June 2020 are Jacob Marshall Hort and Bradley Neil Trappitt.

- Here, 'Groupuscules' are defined as tiny, often neo-Nazi, bands of far right extremists that establish a milieu with reference points that stretch out internationally as well as into the past as well (Jackson 2014: 101).
- <sup>21</sup> WA Today, 'Mosque shooter fined more than \$9000', 23 August 2010, online at: https://www.watoday.com.au/national/western-australia/mosque-shooter-finedmore-than-9000-20100823-13fid.html

<sup>22</sup> Hall, B., Op Cit.

- <sup>23</sup> Dearden, L., 'Neo-Nazi groups allowed to stay on Facebook because they 'do not violate community standards", The Independent, 24 March 2019, online at: https:// www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/facebook-new-zealand-neo-nazis-white-supremacists-a8837886.htm
- <sup>24</sup> Bell, S., 'Canada adds neo-Nazi groups Blood & Honour, Combat 18 to list of terror organizations', 26 June 2019, online at: <u>https://globalnews.ca/news/5432851/</u> canada-adds-neo-nazi-groups-blood-honour-and-combat-18-to-list-of-terror-organizations/ & BBC News, 'Germany bans Combat 18 as police raid neo-Nazi group', 23 January 2020, online at: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-51219274.
- Counter Extremism Project, 'Combat 18', online at: https://www.counterextremism.com/supremacy/combat-18.
- <sup>26</sup> Combat 18, 'The Aims of C18', online at: https://ia600104.us.archive.org/15/items/Combat18/Combat%2018/Ef3824e2beb9985f682e99fd133515b22cfa03ef4\_ Q20647\_R331396\_D1942757.pdf
- Combat 18, 'The Aims of C18', online at: https://ia600104.us.archive.org/15/items/Combat18/Combat%2018/Ef3824e2beb9985f682e99fd133515b22cfa03ef4\_ O20647 R331396 D1942757.pdf

BLUE THE COLOR HIT	Like UPF, True Blue Crew (T in the 2014 "Voices of Bendig group rose to prominence in with members of the United I against a so-called 'Muslim h another anti-Mosque protest 2016 on, TBC has become in an August 2016 protest result	
RUE BLUE CREW (TBC)	the Sons of Odin. <sup>29</sup> In June 2	
LEADER Kane Miller MEMBERSHIP	from TBC activists at Mell year former Reclaim Austra terrorism-related offences, if for terrorist acts, and carry Australian-based left-wing g and TBC were planning vig committed by young African demonstrations, the group v ing Islamophobic messages the UPF leadership, an onlin	
Unknown	having left comments on their portant to note that TBC becar even before the aforementioned silent online and appear not to	
IDEOLOGY		
	N/	
nti-Muslim Populism	Anti-Muslim Populism:	
Ultra-Nationalism	"Islam killed 270 million in 140 - <u>Ban</u>	
	<b>Ultra-Nationalism:</b> "It's a wake-up call. If you wan Australian."	

28 Choahan, N., 'Anti-Islam protest: Far-right groups rally in Melton against 'Muslim' housing estate', The AGE, 28 August 2016, online at: https://www.theage.com.au/ national/victoria/antiislam-protest-farright-groups-rally-against-melton-south-housing-estate-20160828-gr2umo.html, <sup>29</sup> Allaoui, T., Op Cit.

- <sup>30</sup> Hill, J., Weapons Found At 'Australian Pride' And Anti-Racism Protests In Melbourne,' The Huffington Post, 25 July 2017, online at:: https://bit.lv/2NKS6tf.
- www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/oct/31/victorian-extremist-phillip-galea-planned-to-bomb-leftwing-premises-police-say <sup>32</sup> It seems that this was an idle boast. See: Brook, B, 'Channel 7 accused of going soft on racism by airing interview with far-right leader', News.Au.Com, 15 January 2018, online at: https://www.news.com.au/entertainment/tv/current-affairs/channel-7-accused-of-going-soft-on-racism-by-airing-interview-with-farright-leader/ news-story/5aec26e0e445a49557da274ce386c027
- Begley, P., 'One Nation candidate attended extremist event, used volunteer member', The Sydney Morning Herald, 5 May 2019, online at: https://www.smh.com.au/ national/one-nation-candidate-attended-extremist-event-used-volunteer-member-20190504-p51k3p.html.
- <sup>34</sup> Mann, A., Nguyen, K., and Gregory, K., 'Christchurch shooting accused Brenton Tarrant supports Australian far-right figure Blair Cottrell', ABC News, 23 March 2019, online at:: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-23/christchurch-shooting-accused-praised-blair-cottrell/10930632
- Engineer, C., 'More than 200 people attend anti-Islam protest against 'Muslim' housing estate', Daily Express, 30 August 2016, online at: https://www.express.co.uk/ news/world/704861/True-Blue-Crew-Melbourne-anti-Islam.
- <sup>36</sup> Allaoui, T., 'Anti-Muslim protesters even turn on each other in Melbourne's west', Herald Sun, 28 August 2016, online at: <u>https://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/</u> law-order/antiislam-rally-in-melton-victoria-police-issues-warning-to-protesters/news-story/957ee082924f82c69028465789bfdcd0.

#### DESCRIPTION

BC) emerged in early 2015 from activists involved ' and "Stop the Mosques" Bendigo protests. The May 2016 when joining a protest in Melton, along triots Front and the Love Australia or Leave Party, using development'.<sup>28</sup> This came off the back of the area by the group in November 2015. From reasingly violent in its anti-Islam activism, such as ng in scuffles with anti-Muslim street patrol group 016 a knife and a knuckleduster were confiscated urne's annual "Australian Pride" rally.<sup>30</sup> Later that and TBC activist Phillip Galea was convicted of luding collecting or making documents to prepare out acts in preparation for a terrorist act against ups.<sup>31</sup> In January 2018 it was reported that the UPF nte patrols in the wake of gang violence allegedly en in Melbourne.<sup>32</sup> In keeping with its provocative banned from Facebook in March 2019 after posthe wake of the Christchurch massacre.<sup>33</sup> Like with trail also links TBC with Brenton Tarrant, Tarrant (now defunct) Facebook page.<sup>34</sup> However, it is imme inactive before the Christchurch massacre, and d January 2019 St Kilda rally, they had largely fallen exist any longer as a formal group.

#### RRATIVE EXAMPLES

00 years. No. Islam Sharia Law Against Mankind."

ner at Melton anti-Muslim housing development' protest.<sup>35</sup>

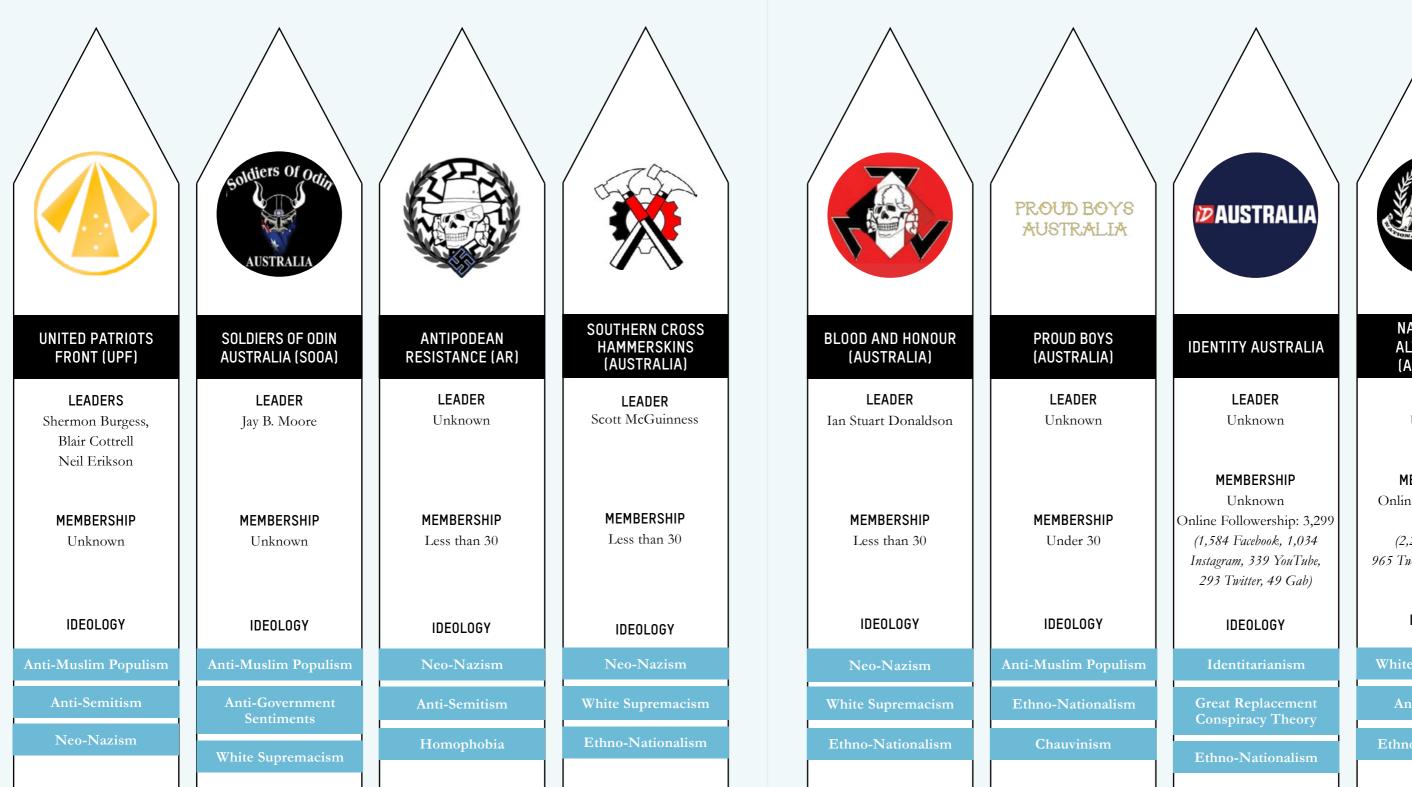
nt to be in Australia, you should have to live like an

- True Blue Crew, Kane Miller, speaking at the Melton anti-Muslim housing development' protest.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> IAustralian Associated Press, Victorian extremist Phillip Galea planned to bomb leftwing premises, police say', The Guardian, 31 October 2016, online at: https://

#### **NON-VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA**

#### **NON-VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA**



#### NATIONALIST ALTERNATIVE (AUSTRALIA)

LEADER Unknown

#### MEMBERSHIP

Online Followership: 3,231 (2,253 Facebook, 965 Twitter, 13 YouTube)

#### IDEOLOGY

#### **NON-VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA**



	After a split with Reclaim activists with alleged neo protest movement, the U tion against an anti-racis toriety through its anti-Is such stunts was the mocl
UNITED PATRIOTS FRONT (UPF)	council buildings in Ben to a putative Mosque bu (Cottrell and Erikson) be
<b>LEADERS</b> Shermon Burgess, Blair Cottrell Neil Erikson	the group reportedly dis formed a new white sup in Melbourne and Sydne Christchurch attacker, Br then UPF-leader Blair Co
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	<b>Anti-Muslim Populism:</b> "It is in the public interest i
IDEOLOGY	<b>Anti-Semitism:</b> "The Jews are as small phy
Anti-Muslim Populism Anti-Semitism	and subvert entire generation much deadlier enemy than
Neo-Nazism	<b>Neo-Nazism:</b> "My personal opinion is support do Jews later you

- online at: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-03-23/christchurch-shooting-accused-praised-blair-cottrell/10930632.
- www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2017/sep/05/united-patriots-front-trio-say-beheading-stunt-during-bendigo-mosque-protest-an-act-of-free-speech.
- at: https://www.smh.com.au/national/blair-cottrell-leader-of-aussie-patriots-upf-wanted-hitler-in-the-classroom-20151016-gkbbvz.html
- Kolowski, M., 'How Australia's far-right were divided and conquered by themselves', The Sydney Morning Herald, 11 January 2011, online at: https://www.smh.com. au/politics/federal/how-australia-s-far-right-were-divided-and-conquered-by-themselves-20190108-p50qcb.html.

#### DESCRIPTION

claim Australia organiser Monika Evers in May 2015, several neo-Nazi pasts decided to form their own anti-Islam street the United Patriots Front (UPF). Starting with a demonstraracism protest in Melbourne, the group quickly rose to nonti-Islam rhetoric and publicity stunts. The most notable of mock beheading of a black dummy in October 2015 outside Bendigo, Victoria (a key site of protest for the group due e building application from 2014).<sup>37</sup> With two of its leaders n) becoming increasingly associated with neo-Nazi rhetoric, disbanded in 2017, after which several former members supremacist group, the Lads Society, setting up clubhouses ydney. Online comments dating back to April 2016 by the , Brenton Tarrant, suggest that he was a vocal supporter of r Cottrell.<sup>38</sup>

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

erest in a democratic society to be aware of the dangers of Islam."

- Blair Cottrell, <u>defending</u> himself after being found guilty of contempt and ridicule of Muslims.<sup>39</sup>

ll physically as they are degenerate in character [...They] infiltrate enerations of other nations in a bid for world power [and are] a than the violent Islamic pillagers, who just kill and maim openly."

- Cottrell's comments on his (now defunct) Facebook page.<sup>40</sup>

on is stick to the Muslim shit and Cultural Marxism for max r you don't need to show your full hand"

- Neil Erikson, discussing UPF tactics in a Facebook conversation after Cottrell's elevation to UPF leader.<sup>41</sup>

que', The AGE, 4 October 2015, online at: https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/ -gk0zmi.htm

nton Tarrant supports Australian far-right figure Blair Cottrell', ABC News, 23 March 2019,

Australian Associated Press, 'United Patriots Front trio found guilty of inciting serious contempt of Muslims', The Guardian, 5 September 2017, online at: https://

Bachelard, M. & McMahon, L., Blair Cottrell, rising anti-Islam movement leader, wanted Hitler in the classroom', Sydney Morning Herald, 17 October 2015, online



#### SOLDIERS OF ODIN AUSTRALIA (SOOA)

LEADER Jay B. Moore

MEMBERSHIP	)
TT 1	

#### Unknown

IDEOLOGY

Anti-Muslim Populism

Anti-Government

Sentiments

White Supremacism

#### DESCRIPTION

A local chapter of a broader set of anti-migrant vigilante groups globally, Soldiers of Odin Australia (SOOA) was formally registered as a non -profit in June 2016 by Jay B. Moore in Victoria, a former member of the Patriots Defence League of Australia.42 Like TBC (see above), SOOA was comparatively short lived (at least when juxtaposed with other mainstays of Australia's anti-Islam street-protest scene such as Reclaim Australia and United Patriots Front). SOOA's main period of activism appears to have spiked in October 2016 amid what might be described as a moral panic relating to a so-called 'African Street Gang', Apex, operating in the Melbourne area via so-called 'safety patrols' of Federation Square, Birrarung Marr and at the Bourke Street Mall.<sup>43</sup> Academic accounts suggest that we should not, however, downplay the success of SOOA. Chapters are thriving in Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide, Perth, Cairns, Gold Coast, Hunter Valley and Darwin.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, and compared to the nationalist secularism of groups like the TBC, SOOA chapters tap into neo-paganism as a mode of recruitment and radicalisation. Like TBC, there is also significant potential for violence within SOOA circles, with posts often likening migrants to so-called 'invaders' that need to be vanquished in a holy war. These apocalyptic narratives can foreshadow violence by lone actors affiliated with such movements, even if SOOA remains comparatively new on the Australian scene.

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

**Anti-Muslim Populism:** "We are anti-Islam and anti-Sharia law on our soil."

- Leaflet\_distributed by SOOA in 2017.45

**Anti-Establishment Sentiments:** "Don't expect the government to fix the problem, they ARE the problem."

> -SOOA activist comment on SOOA Facebook Page (as quoted in Peucker & Smith, The Far Right in Contemporary Australia, 2019, p. 107).46

#### White Supremacism:

"We are expected to tolerate Islam hate groups and African crime gangs under the guise of 'tolerance' and 'diversity'. So I'm wondering when we can start deporting these scumbags under the guise of 'common sense'.'

> - SOOA activist Facebook page comment (as quoted in Peucker & Smith, The Far Right in Contemporary Australia, 2019, p. 108).47

Vedelago, C. & Houston, C., Vigilante-style group Soldiers of Odin patrolling Melbourne CBD', The AGE, 10 October 2019, online at: https://www.theage.com.au/ national/victoria/vigilantestyle-group-soldiers-of-odin-patrolling-melbourne-cbd-20161009-gry51g.html.

- 43 Ibid.
- <sup>44</sup> Nilan, P., Op Cit., P.108.
- <sup>45</sup> Hussein, S., 'Halal Chops and Fascist Cupcakes', Meaniin, Autumn 2017, online at: https://meaniin.com.au/essavs/halal-chops-and-fascist-cupcakes/.
- 46 Nilan, P., Far Right Contestation in Australia: Soldiers of Odin and the True Blue Crew, In: Peucker, M. & Smith, D., (eds.) The Far Right in Contemporary Australia, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), P.107.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, P.108.

	Antipodean Resistance wa website, acting as a splinter States. <sup>48</sup> It is therefore part Sonnenkrieg Division (SK in Holland and still other tional Socialist ideology, pr
ANTIPODEAN RESISTANCE (AR)	AR has gained notoriety for as well as endorsements of conducted 'stickering' cam- it held a "resistance camp
<b>LEADER</b> Unknown	according to the group's show that more recently A Melbourne's Jewish comm Security and Intelligence C one Australian Labour MP AR's logo features the Bla
MEMBERSHIP Less than 30	Akubra hat, a laurel wreat reported to be in decline, Daddy. <sup>53</sup> AR members hav among those trying to infi
IDEOLOGY	<b>Neo-Nazism:</b> "We're the Hitlers you've b
Neo-Nazism	
Anti-Semitism	Anti-Semitism: "Legalise the execution of
Homophobia	<b>Homophobia:</b> "Happy AIDS Day – Gays

- <sup>49</sup> Lang, R., 'Neo-Nazi radicalisation camp held on Sunshine Coast', Sunshine Coast Daily, 5 September 2017, online at: https://www.sunshinecoastdaily.com.au/news/ neo-nazi-radicalisation-camp-held-on-sunshine-coas/3220247/
- australian-neo-nazis-deface-elderly-care-facility-housing-holocaust-survivors,
- news/asio-tracking-neo-nazi-group-willing-use-violence/3221072/
- net.au/news/2017-09-05/neo-nazi-group-antipodean-resistance/8852682.
- Campion, K., 'A "Lunatic Fringe"? The Persistence of Right Wing Extremism in Australia', Perspectives on Terrorism, 13(2) (April 2019), P.13.
- ciety7 & Begley, P, "Swastika cupcakes': private chats of neo-Nazis who stacked Young Nats', Sydney Morning Herald, 23 May 2019, online at: https://www.smh.com. au/national/swastika-cupcakes-private-chats-of-neo-nazis-who-stacked-young-nats-20190430-p51il4.html.
- Nathan, J., 'Antipodean Resistance: The Rise and Goals of Australia's New Nazis', ABC.Net, 20 April 2018, online at: https://www.abc.net.au/religion/antipodean-resistance-the-rise-and-goals-of-australias-new-nazis/10094794 Ibid.
- Jackman, J., 'Neo-Nazis plaster Melbourne street with vile "Happy AIDS Month" posters', PinkNews, 26 June 2018, online at: https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2018/06/26/ neo-nazis-gay-happy-aids-month-posters-melbourne/

#### DESCRIPTION

officially formed in October 2016 via the Iron March group from Atomwaffen Division (AWD) in the United of a global nexus of similar neo-Nazi groups such as the D) in Britain, Northern Order in Canada, Scrofa Division splinter groups transnationally (all sharing a similar Napaganda style and online communication silos). Offline, : its violently antisemitic, anti-gay and misogynist views, terrorism. Following other AWD-inspired groups, it has baigns in Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra. In June 2017 on the Sunshine Coast for "training" purposes since, vebsite, "being white is not enough".<sup>49</sup> Recent reports R has engaged in targeting 'stickering' campaigns against unity as well as various university campuses.<sup>50</sup> Australia's rganisation have monitored AR since 2017,<sup>51</sup> with at least calling for their proscription as a terrorist organisation.<sup>52</sup> ck Sun and Totenkopf (skull head; see above) with an and a swastika. As of December 2018, the group was with its website shut down by its hosting provider, Gosince been discovered to be active in Lads Society and trate the Young Liberals in NSW.54

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

been waiting for."

- <u>Slogan</u> on AR's website.<sup>55</sup>

Jews."

- Motto of one poster produced by AR.<sup>56</sup>

are a Walking Disease."

- Motto of one poster produced by AR in June 2018.<sup>57</sup>

ABC News, 20 April 2018, online at: https://www.abc.net.au/religion/antipodean-re-Times of Israel Staff Writer, 'Australian neo-Nazis deface elderly care facility housing Holocaust survivors', Times of Israel, online at: https://www.timesofisrael.com/ <sup>51</sup> Houghton, J., 'ASIO tracking neo-Nazi group 'willing to use violence", Sunshine Coast Daily, 7 September 2017, online at: https://www.sunshinecoastdaily.com.au/ Tran, D., 'Antipodean Resistance neo-Nazi group trying to sway Australia's same-sex marriage postal vote', ABC News, 5 September 2017, online at: https://www.abc.

<sup>54</sup> Graf, W., 'Antipodean Resistance and the Lads Society', White Rose Society, online at: https://thewhiterosesociety.writeas.com/antipodean-resistance-and-the-lads-so-



#### SOUTHERN CROSS HAMMERSKINS (AUSTRALIA)

LEADER Scott McGuinness

MEM	BERS	HIP
Less	than	30

#### IDEOLOGY

White	Supren	nacism
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### Ethno-Nationalisn

#### DESCRIPTION

The Australian chapter of the Southern Cross Hammerskins (SCHS), a Texas-based skinhead movement, was first introduced into the country in the 1990s by the lead singer of the neo-Nazi band, Fortress. In April 2010, controversy arose when the group put on a "Hammered Music Festival" on the Queensland tourist strip in Australia's Gold Coast where a group of about 30 skinheads turned up at a suburban restaurant in Ashmore, though the event is said to have passed without incident.<sup>58</sup> In November 2015, there was another 'memorial day' concert advertised by the group on the Gold Coast, allegedly "a family friendly event" with "food, drink and music".<sup>59</sup> Most recently, in October 2019 there was another call to ban a Southern Cross Hammerskins and Blood & Honour Australia music event further south in Melbourne.<sup>60</sup> Due to the secretive and clandestine nature of the group's events, little is known about the group's membership and aims, apart from the 'White Power Music' that it propagates. This has added to growing concern relating to the group by members of the public and politicians, which is borne out by the violent and often racist lyrics adopted by White Power metal bands.<sup>61</sup>

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

	<b>Neo-Nazism:</b> "SCHS are a fraternal group of like-minded individuals who believe in loyalty, respect, trustworthiness, strength, commitment and the 14 words."
	- <u>Text</u> on Southern Cross Hammerskins Australia website. <sup>62</sup>
	White Supremacism: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children."
n	- <u>14 words</u> from David Lane, noted as inspiration for the Hammerskins on their website. <sup>63</sup>
n	<b>Ethno-Nationalism:</b> "Ship 'em out/Send the bastards back/If they don't f***ing like it/ it'll be in body bags."
	- Quote from <u>song</u> by white power band, Fortress, who's leader founded SCHS Australia. <sup>64</sup>

- Bentley, A., 'Neo-Nazi music festival goes ahead without incident', Brisbane Times, 19 April 2010, online at: https://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/queensland/ neonazi-music-festival-goes-ahead-without-incident-20100419-smuq.html.
- Quinn, L., 'Outrage as Australian arm of a U.S. white supremacist neo-Nazi group is set to hold a 'family friendly event' on the Gold Coast', The Daily Mail, 29 November 2015, online at: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3338040/Australian-arm-white-supremacist-neo-Nazi-group-set-hold-family-friendly-event-Gold-Coast.html.
- <sup>60</sup> Smith, R., White supremacists holding music festival in Melbourne that cannot be stopped? News.Com.Au, 10 October 2019, online at: https://www.news.com.au/ national/victoria/news/white-supremacists-holding-music-festival-in-melbourne-that-cannot-be-stopped/news-story/bfca5599f12ac2dd2151cd9f8446592e.
- <sup>61</sup> Kreter, M., 'Saxony and Thuringia Strongholds of White Power Music in Germany', CARR Insights Blog, 31 January 2019, Online at: https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2019/01/31/saxony-and-thuringia-strongholds-of-white-power-music-in-germany/
- <sup>62</sup> Southern Cross Hammerskins Website, 'Home' Page, online at: <u>http://schammerskins.org/</u>. 63 Ibid.
- <sup>64</sup> Hope, Z., 'Shut down and investigate: Calls to stop neo-Nazi concert', ABC News, 19 September 2019, online at: <u>https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/shut-</u> down-and-investigate-calls-to-stop-neo-nazi-concert-20190919-p52t05.html

BLOOD AND HONOUR	Started in 1993, the Austral Blood & Honour have rece Cross Hammerskins (see al Youth daggers, "Blut und El for instance, its website decl White Racialists, promoting medium of music". <sup>67</sup> Hold Blood & Honour founder		
(AUSTRALIA)	visions in Victoria, New Sc Australia. <sup>68</sup> Several members		
<b>LEADER</b> Ian Stuart Donaldson <sup>65</sup>	threats against immigration a public. <sup>69</sup> With music noted now been banned in German bat 18, Canada.		
<b>MEMBERSHIP</b> Less than 30	<b>Neo-Nazism:</b> "We must secure the existence - 14 words from David La.		
IDEOLOGY	White Supremacism:		
Neo-Nazism	"If you really believe in savir those who share a similar go		
White Supremacism	-		
Ethno-Nationalism	<b>Ethno-Nationalism:</b> "A movement, offering peop homosexual, race mixing sce - <i>Text fo</i>		

- <sup>65</sup> This of course was the founder of the UK-based branch. The founder of Blood and Honour (Australia) is still unknown.
- 66 Kreter, M., Op Cit.
- 67 Ibid.
- <sup>68</sup> White, A., 'The pro-white gangs spreading race hate across Australia', Herald Sun, 7 October 2014, online at: https://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/law-order/theprowhite-gangs-spreading-race-hate-across-australia/news-story/7384aef1faabe901d9f6937756a76ea8.
- Îbid
- <sup>70</sup> Blood & Honour Australia, 'Home' Page, online at: http://www.bloodandhonouraustralia.org/home.html 71 Ibid.
- <sup>72</sup> Blood & Honour Australia, 'History' Page, online at: http://www.bloodandhonouraustralia.org/history.html

#### DESCRIPTION

ian division of the neo-Nazi rock festival organisers ntly co-organised several concerts with the Southern oove).<sup>66</sup> Named after the motto inscribed on Hitler nre", the Australian group is overtly ethno-nationalist; ares that it is "part of an international community of the cause of White Resistance through the powerful ng annual concerts in memory of, amongst others, Ian Stuart Donaldson, the group claims to have diouth Wales, Tasmania, South Australia and Western of the militant group have also been linked to death activists as well as members of the Australian general to inspire violent extremism, similar branches have ny, Spain, Russia and, most recently along with Com-

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

ce of our people and a future for white children."

ne, as found on Blood and Honour Australia's <u>Home Page</u>.<sup>70</sup>

ng the White Race, get out and start interacting with al. Individually we are weak, united we are strong!"

Text found on Blood and Honour Australia's <u>Home Page</u>.<sup>71</sup>

ble an alternative lifestyle to the drug infested, pro ene fanatically pushed by today's powers to be".

ound on Blood and Honour Australia's "<u>History</u>" Web Page.<sup>72</sup>

#### PROUD BOYS AUSTRALIA

#### PROUD BOYS (AUSTRALIA)

LEADER

Unknown

#### MEMBERSHIP

Under 30

IDEOLOGY

Anti-Muslim Populism

Ethno-Nationalism

Chauvinism

#### DESCRIPTION

Launching in March 2018 with promises to "venerate the housewife" and "glorify the entrepreneur", Proud Boys Australia has a relatively small-scale offline presence and likely limited potential for violence compared to its US progenitor, which was classified as an "extremist group with ties to white nationalism" in November 2019.73 Whilst its website purports to have chapters in all of Australia's six states,74 only a handful of Proud Boys Australia activists attended a March for Men in September 2017, March for Babies Rally in October 2019 and a food drive in November 2019.75 Moreover, the Proud Boys Australia Telegram account currently has only 34 members and requires vetting procedures in order to become a member.<sup>76</sup> The group's main claim to fame so far was an association with North Queensland MP, Bob Katter, who (despite claims of not knowing about the group) recently recited the Proud Boys induction pledge, "I am a proud western chauvinist, and I will not apologise for creating the modern world." In November 2018, founder of the male supremacist group, Gavin McInnes, was denied a visa to Australia based on an 81,000 signature petition and ban by the Australian Home Affairs department for "bad character".77 Practitioners should be cautious when ascribing the group's current purported benign intentions (especially in relation to the violent chauvinism seen at other global chapters of the group).

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

Western Chauvinism: "It's very freeing to finally admit the West is the best. That's because it's the truth."

- Comment on the "<u>About Us</u>" page of Proud Boys Australia's website.<sup>78</sup>

#### Ethno-Nationalism:

"...being proud of Western culture today is like being a crippled, black, lesbian communist in 1953."

- Comment on the "<u>About Us</u>" page of Proud Boys Australia's website.<sup>79</sup>

#### Chauvinism:

"Like Archie Bunker, we long for the days when 'girls were girls and men were men.""

- Comment on the "<u>About Us</u>" page of Proud Boys Australia's website.<sup>80</sup>

Wilson, J., 'FBI now classifies far-right Proud Boys as 'extremist group', documents say', The Guardian, 19 November 2019, online at: https://www.theguardian.com/ world/2018/nov/19/proud-boys-fbi-classification-extremist-group-white-nationalism-report

- Proud Boys Australia, Home Page, online at: https://www.proudboys.com.au/.
- <sup>75</sup> Proud Boys Australia, Proud Boys Victoria chapters attended the March for Babies Rally in Melbourne', 13 October 2019, online at: https://www.proudboys.com.au/ proud-boys-victoria-chapters-attended-the-march-for-babies-rally-in-melbourne/.
- Proud Boys Australia, Telegram Channel, online at: https://t.me/joinchat/KJEXtlP\_y4crnRosrqrpMw.

<sup>77</sup> Wilson, J., 'Gavin McInnes: founder of far-right Proud Boys denied Australian visa - report', The Guardian, 30 November 2018, online at: <u>www.theguardian.com/</u> world/2018/nov/30/gavin-mcinnes-proud-boys-australia-visa.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

LEADERS Unknown MEMBERSHIP Unknown Online Followership: 3,299 Identitarianism: (1,584 Facebook, 1,034 Instagram, 339 YouTube, 293

72 AUSTRALIA

**IDENTITY AUSTRALIA** 

Twitter, 49 Gab)<sup>81</sup>

IDEOLOGY

Identitarianism

Ethno-Nationalism

**Great Replacement** 

**Conspiracy Theory** 

"The future for our folk under the current [situation] our destiny is ripped from our person, destined to be a Brazilian, anarcho-tyrannical dystopia with no distinct identity or unifying national characteristic other than a meaningless passport."

### Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory:

"The soil on which we stand today, worked by and soaked in the blood of our European ancestors will also be the cursed ground on which we will become a minority - in the land that had been passed down to us, generation by generation"

#### **Ethno-Nationalism:** "Stop The Invasion - End Immigration."

<sup>81</sup> These figures were collected from Identity Australia and Australia Revival social media accounts on 6th January 2020.

<sup>82</sup> Identity Australia Website, 'About Us' Webpage, online at: https://web.archive.org/web/20200216231229/https://www.identityaustralia.org/.

<sup>83</sup> Identity Australia Website, 'Activism' Webpage, online at: https://web.archive.org/web/20200203074520/https://www.identityaustralia.org/copy-of-home.

<sup>84</sup> Identity Australia Website, 'Manifesto' Webpage, online at: https://web.archive.org/web/20200203074514/https://www.identityaustralia.org/ma

This was according to ID Australia chapters noted by the report's author as active on the group's (now defunct) website in December 2019.

- <sup>87</sup> Identity Australia Website, 'Manifesto' Webpage, online at: <u>https://web.archive.org/web/20200203074514/https://www.identityaustralia.org/manifesto</u>
- 88 Ibid. 89 Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Identity Australia, 'Stop The Invasion - End Immigration', YouTube, 23 September 2018, online at: https://web.archive.org/web/20180924051137/https://www. youtube.com/watch?v=4ZsRP56cOZQ.

#### DESCRIPTION

With its online presence only dating from February 2018, Australia's chapter of Generation Identity describes itself as "awakened European Australians [whose duty is] to raise awareness of our plight and to galvanise racial consciousness in the millions of young Australians of European heritage."82 Mainly involved in 'stickering' campaigns, publicity stunts and community-style forms of activism, its ideology and messaging is largely reminiscent of European-based chapters.83 Fighting "a meta-political battle, to instill [sic] a greater consciousness [sic] inside the hearts and minds of European blooded Australians",<sup>84</sup> the group has a limited offline presence; a few handfuls of activists seem to be concentrated in Queensland, Sydney, and the greater New South Wales area.<sup>85</sup> More recently, and like other Australian radical right extremist groups, ID Australia has been engaged in sinophobic activism, with the group railing against what it sees as "Chinese Imperialism".<sup>86</sup> Whilst rejecting violence on its (now defunct) website, the immediacy and crisis framing of IA's narratives are a cause for concern, such as in encouraging followers to "join the battle" against an "ethnocidal invasion of Australia".87

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

- Statement on "Manifesto" page of Identity Australia Website.<sup>88</sup>

- Statement on "Manifesto" page of Identity Australia Website.<sup>89</sup>

- Slogan of <u>banner</u> dropped by the group near Sydney Harbour Bridge in September 2018.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Proud Boys Australia, 'About Us' Page, online at: https://www.proudboys.com.au/about-us/.

Again this was according to images and posts on the ID Australia activism page noted by the report's author on the group's (now defunct) website in December 2019.



#### NATIONALIST ALTERNATIVE (AUSTRALIA)

### LEADER

Unknown

#### MEMBERSHIP

Online Followership: 3,231 (2,253 Facebook, 965 Twitter, 13 YouTube)91

#### IDEOLOGY

White Supremacism

Anti-Semitism

**Ethno-Nationalism** 

#### DESCRIPTION

Set up in 2014, Nationalist Alternative (Australia) is a racial nationalist group situated in open opposition to Australia's liberal democracy. Like similar groups listed above, they propagate a racially exclusive form of nationalism, they openly endorse white superiority, and are explicitly antisemitic.<sup>92</sup> Claiming to be a "growing organisation with members, supporters and contacts in several Australian states", 93 the group is one of the founding members of the Australian Coalition of Nationalists (ACN), a radical right coalition that includes the Australia First Party, Australian Protectionist Party, Nationalist Alternative, the Eureka Youth League and the Hellenic Nationalists of Australia (the Australian branch of Golden Dawn).<sup>94</sup> With its activism largely online, it is hard to see the group as anything beyond an incubator of radical right sentiment (with its only offline potential lying in its ACN links, or in 'stickering' and leafletting campaigns.)95

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

#### White Supremacism:

"If what is occurring to Whites is a program of Genocide, why not call it what it is?"

- An excerpt taken from a Nationalist Alternative Blog post titled "White Genocide vs. White Dispossession.""

#### Anti-Semitism:

"Even today, liberal Jewish intellectuals preach the slow culture-death - the down-going of the white man through forced multiracialism and multiculturalism"

- An excerpt taken from Nationalist Alternative's "<u>Anti-Jerusalem Declaration</u>".<sup>97</sup>

#### Ethno-Nationalism:

"So while Australia is a white country – along with Bulgaria, Poland, Lithuania, Italy, Greece - it is more accurate to say that it is defined largely by its Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Celtic character".

- An excerpt taken from Nationalist Alternative's "Manifesto 1".98

These figures were collected from Nationalist Alternative social media accounts on 6 January 2020.

- Peucker, M., Smith, D. & Iqbal, M., 'Not a Monolithic Movement: The Diverse and shifting Messaging of Australia's Far-Right', In: Peucker, M. & Smith, D., (eds.) The Far-Right in Contemporary Australia, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019), P.81.
- Nationalist Alternative Website, 'About Us' Page, online at: https://www.natalt.org/about/
- <sup>94</sup> Nationalist Alternative Website, 'The formation of the Australian Coalition of Nationalists', 21 October 2016, online at: https://www.natalt.org/2016/10/21/formation-australian-coalition-nationalists
- Nationalist Alternative Website, 'Downloads' Page, online at: https://www.natalt.org/downloads/.
- <sup>96</sup> Nationalist Alternative Website, 'White Genocide vs. White Dispossession', 11 April 2016, online at: https://www.natalt.org/2016/04/11/white-genocide-vs-white-disnossession/
- Nationalist Alternative Website, 'Anti-Jerusalem Declaration', online at: https://www.natalt.org/the-anti-jerusalem-declaration/.
- Nationalist Alternative Website, 'Nationalist Alternative Manifesto 1', 8 September 2008, online at: https://www.natalt.org/2008/09/08/nationalist-alternative-manifes-<u>to-1/</u>.



#### WOMEN FOR ARYAN UNITY

LEADER

Unknown

#### MEMBERSHIP

#### Under 30

IDEOLOGY

Odinism

**Odinism:** "As the collective spirit of the spellbound audience and dancers fuses and time stands still, we are one with the old [Norse] gods who once walked and flew over our Planet."

- An excerpt from WAU Ezine "Women of The Southern Legion".<sup>103</sup>

### Anti-Semitism:

Anti-Semitism

Ethno-Nationalism

"We shall never find the path to our race ethnic sould [sic] and indigenous spirituality by following a Jewish roadmap or any path or system which is not our own." - An excerpt from 2006 WAU Ezine "Women of The Southern Legion".<sup>104</sup>

Ethno-Nationalism:

- <sup>99</sup> Women for Aryan Unity Website, 'About Us' Page, http://wau14.com/WAUAustralia/welcome-to-wau-australia/. 100 Ibid.
- <sup>101</sup> Women for Aryan Unity Website, 'Colouring Book Project Book of Runes,' online at: <u>http://wau14.com/WAUAustralia/colouring-book-project-book-of-runes/</u>.
- - tion-fund/
- <sup>105</sup> WAU Australia Website, 'Home' Page, online at: http://wau14.com/WAUAustralia/.

#### DESCRIPTION

Founded in 1992, the Australian chapter of Women for Aryan Unity was founded to "ensure the survival of our great race".<sup>99</sup> Acting as a rallying point for female racial nationalists and partners of imprisoned white nationalists, WAU Australia established magazines in 1999 (entitled Women of The Southern Legion and Raven's Caw) before ceasing publication in 2003, the stated reasons being "some members having other commitments as well as moving overseas".<sup>100</sup> Taking its inspiration from David Lane and Odinist mythology, WAU Australia has engaged in fundraising activities to help imprisoned racial nationalists. More recently it has tried to rally support around the issue of an alleged 'white genocide' committed against South African farmers. Perhaps most concerning is the group's work with children, such as putting together its own neo-Nazi colouring book<sup>101</sup> and setting up a Children's Education Fund to help keep "our culture/heritage alive'.<sup>102</sup> Whilst not significant in the offline space to date, its potential for youth radicalisation and international links makes it a concerning group.

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

"United to preserve the beauty, heritage and culture of our race."

- Motto displayed on the WAU Australia website.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Women for Aryan Unity Website, 'Children's Education Fund', 21 October 2016, online at: http://wau14.com/WAUAustralia/fundraising-activities/childrens-educa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> WAU Australia, Women of Southern Legion', Issue 8, January 2012, p.6, online at: <u>http://wau14.com/WAUAustralia/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/WOSL-8.pdf</u>. <sup>104</sup> WAU Australia, Women of Southern Legion', Issue 6, p. 22, online at: <u>http://wau14.com/WAUAustralia/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/WOSL6.pdf</u>.

### **NON-VIOLENT & MAINSTREAM RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA**



28

#### THE DINGOES

LEADERS Unknown

#### MEMBERSHIP Unknown Online Presence: The Convict Report Podcast and

#DingoTwitter Hashtag

#### IDEOLOGY

Alt-Right

White Supremacism

Homophobia

#### DESCRIPTION

The Dingoes are an Australian online-based alt-right group responsible for constructing localised memes as well as for the podcast Convict Report. Commencing its online activity in 2015, this collective has described themselves as "politically incorrect larrikins" against "the premise of universal humanism", and in favour of "white identity".<sup>106</sup> The former Labour leader turned One Nation candidate, Mark Latham, as well as National MP George Christensen, have both appeared on the group's podcast.<sup>107</sup> In May 2017, the group organised a convention in Sydney which they called "DingoCon". In attendance were The Right Stuff founder, noted neo-Nazi activist Mike Enoch, with tickets costing \$88 (the numerical code-phrase for the Nazi slogan "Heil Hitler").<sup>108</sup> Perhaps the group's main claim to infamy are its links to the Christchurch attacker, Brenton Tarrant, who used jokes and phrases popularised by the group (including a "Hold still while I glass you" meme (above) on 8chan in a post when writing of the (then) forthcoming Mosque attack).<sup>109</sup>

#### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

Alt-Right:

"The alt-right is effective, efficient. We deliver results that the nominal right can only dream of. This is an attractive feature for a lot of ex-libertarians."

- Comments by Dingoes activist, Kev Renner, in an interview with News. Aus. Com.<sup>110</sup>

White Supremacism:

"White Man: Tired of Anti-White Propaganda. You're Not Alone."

- <u>Meme</u> retweeted by Dingoes Twitter Account<sup>111</sup>

#### Homophobia:

"Get in faggot, we're making America great again."

- Tweet by Dingoes activist, Kev Renner, in an interview with News. Aus. Com<sup>112</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Craw, V, 'The Dingoes claim to be 'growing' part of Australian alternative-right political scene', News.Com.Au, 5 December 2016, online at: https://www.news.com. au/technology/online/the-dingoes-claim-to-be-growing-part-of-australian-alternativeright-political-scene/news-story/d6ae348e0e1c6a3189dac86914d538d3.

106 Ibid

<sup>107</sup> Begley, P., 'Alleged Mosque Shooters Meme Popular with Australian Far Right Group', The Sydney Morning Herald, 15 March 2019, online at: <u>https://www.smh.com.</u> au/national/nsw/alleged-mosque-shooter-s-meme-popular-with-australian-far-right-group-20190315-p514ns.html.

108 Iggulden, T., 'George Christensen tries to stop visit from neo-Nazi Mike Enoch for DingoCon convention.' ABC News, 14th May 2017, online at: https://www.abc. net.au/news/2017-05-15/george-christensen-tries-to-stop-visit-from-neo-nazi-mike-enoch/8525672.

<sup>109</sup> Begley, P., Op Cit, 15 March 2019.

<sup>110</sup> Craw, V., Op Cit, 5 December 2016.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. 112 Ibid.



#### **RECLAIM AUSTRALIA**

LEADERS Wanda Marsh, John Oliver Catherine Brennan

MEMBERSHIP 500 (EST.)

#### IDEOLOGY

Ultra-Nationalism





#### **RECLAIM AUSTRALIA**

#### LEADERS

Wanda Marsh. John Oliver Catherine Brennan

#### MEMBERSHIP

500 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

Anti-Muslim Populism

Ultra-Nationalism

Anti-Immigration

Sentiment

### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

#### **Anti-Muslim Populism:**

to "eliminate the leaders of the left".118

"We have an extreme ideology called Islam which is starting to gain a foothold in our societies."

- A protestor <u>speaking</u> at Reclaim Australia's April 2015 rally.<sup>119</sup>

#### Ultra-Nationalism:

"The Reclaim Australia group said its rallies on Saturday were [...] a protest against minority groups who want to change the Australian cultural identity."

- An ABC news report on several Reclaim Australia rallies in April 2015.<sup>120</sup>

#### Anti-Immigration Sentiment:

"Immigration is the Elephant in the room."

- A placard at a Reclaim Australia rally in July 2015.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

- 114 Dye, J., 'Founders of 'anti-Islamic' group Reclaim Australia make first television appearance on Channel Seven's Sunday Night' The AGE, 19 October 2015, online at: www.theage.com.au/entertainment/tv-and-radio/founders-of-antiislamic-group-reclaim-australia-make-first-television-appearance-on-channel-sevens-sundav-night-20151018-gkc5vk.html.
- 115 Whitford, T., Reclaim Australia re-energises radical nationalism' The Conversation, 24 July 2015, online at: https://theconversation.com/reclaim-australia-re-energises-radical-nationalism-45103.
- <sup>116</sup> Sutton, C., 'The anti-Muslim rally by far-right group Reclaim Australia was a fizzer, with more police and media turning up than protesters', Herald Sun, 29 January 2019, online at: https://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/the-antimuslim-rally-by-farright-group-reclaim-australia-was-a-fizzer-with-more-police-and-media-turning-upthan-protesters/news-story/ed41b1d49adeaa7451a8781568c2e867
- <sup>117</sup> ABC News, 'Reclaim Australia, No Room for Racism protests: Demonstrators clash as rival groups kick off nationwide rallies', 18 July 2015, online at: <u>https://www.</u> abc.net.au/news/2015-07-18/no-room-for-racism-and-reclaim-australia-protesters-clash/6630358
- 118 Australian Associated Press, 'Far-right extremist Phillip Galea found guilty of plotting terror attacks in Melbourne', The Guardian, 5 December 2019, online at: https://
- www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/dec/05/far-right-extremist-phillip-galea-found-guilty-of-plotting-terror-attacks-in-melbourne. <sup>119</sup> ABC News, 'Reclaim Australia clashes with opposing groups at rallies around the country over extremism and tolerance', 4 April 2015, online at: <u>www.abc.net.au/</u> news/2015-04-04/reclaim-australia-extremism-rallies-face-tolerance-groups/6370672.

#### 121 Ibid.

## SUMMARY

The above survey of Australian-based radical right actors reveals a constellation of anti-Muslim populist, ethno-nationalist, white supremacist and ultra-nationalist narratives. The potential for violence has been demonstrated not just by the actions of individuals affiliated the aforementioned groups, but through the inspiration and cross-dissemination of extremist narratives to radical right terrorist actors, including most notoriously Brenton Tarrant, but also Bradley Neil Trappitt (Combat 18) and Phillip Galea (Reclaim Australia and other groups). The graphic below illustrates some of the lines of influence between radical right extremist actors in Australia and the New Zealand murderer of 51 innocent worshippers on 15 March 2019.

Drawing upon recent academic research into the Australian radical right,<sup>122</sup> narratives from the above groups and activists can be summarised as the following:

- 1. Anti-Migrant Narratives: Antipathy towards nonwhite immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees, with people harbouring prejudice towards non-white immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees suggesting special treatment vis-à-vis 'indigenous white' populations, leading to so-called 'white marginalisation' or even 'white genocide'. Key Terms: Sinophobia & Islamophobia.
- 2. Examples of Cultural Protectionist Narratives: Western values are under threat, mandating a so-

#### DESCRIPTION

Formed in early 2015, Reclaim Australia describe themselves as a "public response to Islamic extremism and a protest against minority groups who want to change the Australian cultural identity."113 Emerging out of an instance of tit-for-tat radicalisation - where one form of extremism feeds off another - one of the group's main spokespersons, Catherine Brennan, described the 2014 Sydney Lindt Café siege as a key turning point for her activism within the movement.<sup>114</sup> Lacking a formal structure or leadership, the group embarked on several nationwide rallies in April and July of 2015 and in February of 2016.<sup>115</sup> In January 2017, a rally in Sydney was

attended by only dozens of the some 400 people who had registered to attend,

likely due to the creation of several splinter groups.<sup>116</sup> Owing to the presence of significant counter-movement protests, serious violence became a key feature of Reclaim Australia protests between 2015 and 2017, with the group's April 2015 Melbourne protest seeing four arrests for violent disorder.<sup>117</sup> Another notable feature of the group's protest has been the presence of more established figures from

Australia's anti-Islam scene, including the President of Catch Fire Ministries, Danny

Nalliah; leader of the One Nation Party, Pauline Hanson; and National Party MP,

George Christensen. Yet the group has lost traction recently. Despite this, activists

should not be ignored for their violent potential; for example, one former activist,

Philip Galea, was recently convicted on terrorism charges of plotting attacks on

Melbourne anarchist and socialist groups between August 2015 and 2016 in order

called 'defence' of Australia's citizens from political correctness and multiculturalism. Such defence can be undertaken through ensuring free speech and giving so-called 'ordinary Australians' priority access to housing, welfare and state resources. Key Term: Nativism.

- 3. Accelerationist<sup>123</sup> Narratives: The system is degenerate and corrupt, we must therefore engage in violent socio-political and economic conflict in order to bring about the revolution and race war that will hasten in a new 'pure' & 'white' system or world order. Key Terms: White Genocide Conspiracy Theory.
- 4. 'Traditional Values' Narratives: Feminism promotes the destruction of traditional gender norms; feminists and LGBT are so-called 'traitors' to the nation, and are responsible for low birth-rates among the native (white) population; it is essential to return to an imagined heteronormative past. Key Terms: Anti-Feminism and Chauvinism.
- 5. Anti-establishment Narratives: Elites contribute to systemic corruption. They do this through their collaboration with migrants/outsiders. Radical renewal is needed through strong political leadership, populist participation and restricted representation. Key Terms: Sovereignty and Populism.

<sup>122</sup> Dean, G., Bell, P. & Vakhitova, Z., 'Right-wing extremism in Australia: the rise of the new radical right', Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism, 11(2) (2016), 121-142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> In addition to information about accelerationism contained in footnote 3, it is important to note that accelerationism has its origins in anti-democratic neo-reactionary doctrine from the 1990s in Nick Land's Dark Enlightenment and has since been massaged and adopted by a number of radical right extremist groups, including neo-Nazi solo actor terrorists and groupuscules. Inspired more specifically by US neo-Nazi ideologue, James Mason, the doctrine of 'accelerationism' - literally helping to accelerate revolution, race war or even more apocalyptic scenarios - has been a notable theme amongst violent radical right solo-actors and groups - including the Australian-born Christchurch shooter. (See: Beauchamp, Z., 'Accelerationism: the obscure idea inspiring white supremacist killers around the world', Vox, 18 November 2019, online at: https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/2019/11/11/20882005/accelerationism-white-suprer nacy-christchurch)



FIGURE 2 Linkages between Australia Far Right and Christchurch Attacker



## PART TWO RADICAL RIGHT COUNTER-NARRATIVES & COUNTER-NARRATIVE CAMPAIGNS IN AUSTRALIA

03

### TAPPING INTO ANTI-MUSLIM, POPULIST, ETHNO-NATIONALIST, WHITE SUPREMACIST AND ULTRA-NATIONALIST NARRATIVES

If attempting to construct counter-narratives in order to disrupt, delegitimise and/or devalue the appeal of the above narratives, it is useful to identify what we can call 'entry points' within the structure of extremist narratives in order to unpick their veracity, authenticity and believability. Such radical right counter-narratives can be done by breaking down such narratives into their orientation (i.e. who, what, where, how & when), action (i.e. evaluation of orientation) and resolution (i.e. prescribed course of action).<sup>124</sup> Whilst it might be unprofitable to contest the factual veracity of the orientation statement (see p. 6 of the RRCN Expert Workshop Report), both the action and solution sections of the narrative might be more profitably contested. The rationale behind such a technique is that radical right extremists tend to do most harm in how they interpret and offer solutions to what is happening 'out there', and how they frame reality. Opinions are also a softer target than facts, and this maps onto how extremists use grievances to add their own ideological 'twist' on real world events. Therefore disputing the action and resolution statement are more profitable as it means practitioners are disputing the ideological interpretation of the truth (or factual reality) presented, rather than the reality itself. Below are some key counter-narratives that could deployed by practitioners to respond to the Australian radical right extremist messages identified above, and could include:

- 1. Anti-Migrant Counter-Narratives: Highlighting the positive contribution of Asian migrants to a country's livelihood and past, acknowledging prejudice but fostering more open viewpoints and a less formulaic or rigid conception of Islam, refugees and migrants.
- 2. Cultural Protectionist Counter-Narratives: Advance a new, inclusive definition of cultural and national identity, one which champions the achievements of multicultural society.<sup>125</sup> Contest the definition of Australian 'culture' on which so-called 'cultural protectionism' rests and move beyond a reductive view of essentialised cultures and towards an embrace of working together towards a positive and inclusive Australian national identity.

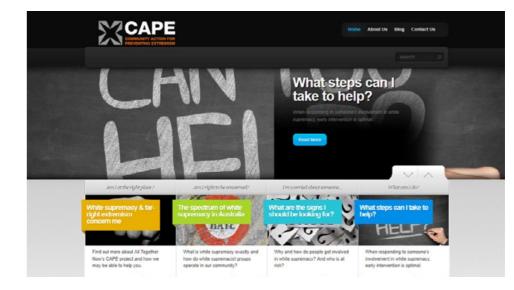
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> This is a simplified version of a similar schema, laid out in: Laboy, W., & Waletzky, J., 'Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience', Journal of Narrative & Life History, 7(1-4), 1997, 3-38, online at: <u>http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/jnlh.7.02nar</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> As national official narratives have been promoting this for decades, and the Scanlon Survey continues to show very high support amongst mainstream Australians for multiculturalism, this might be less fruitful than combating the notion of 'culture' instrumentalised by cultural protectionists.

- **3.** Accelerationist Counter-Narratives: Emphasise democratic legitimacy of domestic institutions. Engage critically with the nihilistic nature of accelerationism and how it leads to the erosion of moral values. Try to emphasise the causal inconsistencies between violence and a return to a stable social order.
- 4. 'Traditional Values' Counter-Narratives: Openness to a new, inclusive definition of masculinity as well as masculinity's destructive elements (e.g. violent masculinity and male forms of gender-based murder and domestic violence).<sup>126</sup> Stress the positive contribution by feminists and LGBT movement to the life of the nation (including greater equality, tolerance and inclusion of diverse viewpoints). Reduce threat perception by stressing allegiances in thought and shared interests.
- 5. Anti-Establishment Counter-Narratives: Again, emphasise democratic legitimacy of domestic institutions. Talk of efficiencies and benefits of the current representative system as well as the benefits of nonviolent extra-parliamentary activism.
- 6. 'Strong State' Counter-Narratives: Educate citizens regarding what they can and cannot expect from their governments, media and the state (including limitations on (hate) speech). Be transparent about steps the government is taking to teach Australian values. Ask what perspectives are not listened to and need to be included in any national conversation.

Moving on from looking at counter-narratives themselves to counter-narrative campaigns, Australia is notable due to its lack of countering violent extremism initiatives targeted at radical right extremist groups. To date, there has been only one systematic, large-scale programme, which started as Community Action for Preventing Extremism's (CAPE) 'Exit White Power' project. Set up in 2012 by anti-racism NGO, All Together Now, it has moved through several stages. It does, however, show the scalability and necessity of a counter-narrative response, with groups like Reclaim Australia and the United Patriots Front having likened practising Islam to so-called 'barbarism', while crassly encouraging participants at their rallies to "insult and vilify Islam five times a day if you want to".127 Targeted mainly at committed or radicalising individuals, it started with a website and Facebook page but has quickly become one of Australia's premier RRCN resources (as detailed below). Amongst the most innovative Australian-based Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) sector organisations countering radical right extremist narratives in Australia has been the CAPE programme at All Together Now. Its website acts as a useful resource for those wishing to learn more about white supremacist narratives in Australia, as well as drivers of national involvement in extremist organisations.<sup>128</sup> Broken down into sections on "Am I in the right place?"; "Am I right to be concerned?"; "What are the signs to be looking for?"; and "What Steps can I take to help?", the site guides users through key radical right narratives, alongside advice on how to provide alternative narratives for those involved in these movements.<sup>129</sup> The All Together Now website also provides "Responding to Far-Right Extremism" training days for front-line public officials who may increasingly encounter individuals vulnerable to extremism. 130

Unfortunately, to date counter-narratives are limited to one pulldown box, the minimalist nature of such a resource is in contrast to previous counter-narrative and CVE programmes made available by CAPE (presented below). The website rectifies this lack in its "FAQs", however.<sup>131</sup> Answers here directly tie into radical right extremist narratives, such as "Why shouldn't I expect people who come here to 'FIT IN' also?"; "Why are only 'WHITE' nations like Australia expected to open their borders?"; and "Is Discriminating Against Muslims Racist?" This section of the website addresses difficult and challenging tropes in a way that should be emulated in radical right extremist counter-narrative work elsewhere, not least in order to foster debate and dialogue without legitimising the core narratives themselves.









#### Why are only "WHITE" nations like Australia expected to open their borders?

Some people believe that only "white" nations are expected to open their borders to immigration while "non-white" nations are not.

People who use this argument refer to "white" nations as those with a white majority like Australia, Canada, United States and United Kingdom while nations in Africa, Asla and the Middle East are "non-white".







Some people say discriminating against Muslims is racist. Others say it isn't racist because Islam is a religion, not a race. We think it doesn't matter either way: discrimination is offensive and illegal.

FIGURE 4 All Together Now (2019) "FAQs" Page.

<sup>131</sup> All Together Now, 'FAQs' Page, 2019, online at: <u>https://alltogethernow.org.au/racism/faq/</u>.





#### How can I behave in a culturally respectful way?

It is impossible to answer this question directly, because there are hundreds of cultures from around the world, and every culture has its own customs. Nobody is an expert on all of these cultures, so it is ok to be ignorant of what is culturally respectful in a specific culture.





#### What can I personally do to help erase Racism?

Practise ways of safely speaking up against racism. And see our infographic on how to respond if you witness racism on the bus

Get involved in helping All Together Now thrive by making a tax deductible donation to support our ongoing work. 37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> The latter forms of identity-based violence have been notable in Australia during recent years and might tackle more society-based drivers for violent radical right extremism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Connery, G., Reclaim Australia Rally drowns out counter protesters', The Canberra Times, 6 February 2016, online at: <u>https://www.canberratimes.com.au/sto-ry/6054582/reclaim-australia-rally-drowns-out-counter-protesters/</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> CAPE Project, 'Home Page', 2019, online at: <u>https://cape.alltogethernow.org.au/</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> CAPE Project, What steps can I take to help?', 2019, online at: <u>https://cape.alltogethernow.org.au/how-can-i-help/</u>.

<sup>130</sup> CAPE Project, Responding to Far Right Extremism', 2019, online at: https://cape.alltogethernow.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/CAPE-Training-Program-2.jpg



FIGURE 5 "ExitWhitePower.Com" Website (L) & "White Power? Discussion Page" (R)

Another ground-breaking counter-narrative intervention provided by CAPE and All Together Now was an exitwhitepower.com website, with a related Facebook forum established ("White Power? Discussion Page") for those tempted by radical right extremist movements. According to the programme's manager, Stevie Voogt, the number of Australians engaging with CAPE's website and forum "significantly exceeded" numbers originally anticipated: there were 22,000 unique views of its website between 2013-2015 and 2000 "likes" of its Facebook page in the first year alone. Moreover, of the (small) number of users who filled out evaluation questionnaires linked to the main website, a majority claimed that they were yet to be involved in a white supremacist group due to the intervention. Moreover, of a subset already active, around half have reassessed their involvement with extremist movements as a result of the intervention.<sup>132</sup>

Looking beyond the evaluation questionnaires, one of the key innovations and successes of the CAPE initiative was the tailored nature of the online discussions, alongside CAPE's openness to incorporating feedback from police, academics and former radical right extremists. For example, CAPE volunteers were able to use the Facebook page to post questions relating to radical right involvement (such as "Do you share your opinions about white nationalism with your friends and family?" and "Do you get a hard time for what you believe?"). They were also able to differentiate responses for users with a limited vocabulary as opposed to those who link their extremist beliefs to more intellectual arguments about race, migration and multiculturalism. The addition of the online forum, furthermore, came in direct response to practitioners at a Radicalisation Awareness Network meeting.133 This is obviously less reliable than polling a wider pool of users, but the results nonetheless reveal the importance of professional feedback and tailoring in the ongoing development of online counter-narrative projects.

Another 2015 article by Sara Zeiger (Hedayah) and Anne Aly (Curtin University) focused in on the specific messaging and background characteristics that best described users of CAPE's "White Power?" Facebook discussion page. Interestingly, this independent analysis finds that the Australian page had a reach of 19,529 users (that is, those who saw the page) and that it engaged 10,266 users (those who liked, commented on or shared posts) over the lifetime of the project.134 Buttressing CAPE's own figures, Zeiger and Aly also found that there were 24,323 visits to the page, and a total of 3,086 comments in response to the 24 discussion starters.

Most pertinent for radical right counter-narrative work in general, Zeiger and Aly's analysis found that, overall, discussion starters that were aimed at ideological beliefs relating to white supremacy attracted more comments than those focusing on the social or personal reasons for their involvement in a radical right group (p.84). This gently pushes back at the view that belonging and brotherhood are the overriding factors in radical right extremist participation (rather than ideological affinity)<sup>135</sup> and suggests that looking both at narratives and personal circumstances when constructing radical right counter-narratives is crucial.

#	Discussion Starter
1	Is multiculturalism the death of White Austra
2	Do you share your opinions about white nation your friends and family? Do you get a hard ti you believe?
3	There's a fair few passages in the Bible promi violence against infidels (or non-believers) - : people more worried about similar quotes fro Qu'ran?
4	Should white nationalists in Australia try to h themselves to higher personal standards e.g. or drugs, not engaging in violence? Do white you know achieve this?
5	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KDAQ4 anybody catch this show? What do you make story?
6	How often do you question what you read? H know which sources to trust?
7	Rock music has its roots in Africa. Beer was f Ancient Egypt. The surfboard was first develor Polynesia. The list goes on. Can we say that multiculturalism doesn't benefit us if some of cherished cultural icons first came from other countries?
8	Do you think white nationalism has a good im Australia? Is it something you can feel proud of?
9	Of the many people who have left white pow decent amount used to be quite senior withir interesting is that since leaving, these very pe that they see the error of their beliefs, and th joined because of things missing in their pers How much confidence does that give you ab leaders in these organisations and whether th believe what they're telling you?
10	How do you think being a vocal white national your future prospects?

**TABLE 2** Top 10 "White Power? Discussion Page" Discussion Starters<sup>136</sup>
 (Discussion Types - IB = Ideologically-based & GI= Group Identification-based)

	Туре	Likes	Comments
lia?	IB	74	149
onalism with me for what	GI	23	51
oting so why are om the	IB	36	149
old no drinking nationalists	GI	30	136
zHiqvo Did e of his	GI	7	39
łow do you	GI	171	63
rst made in oped in our most r, non-White	IB	48	106
age in to be part	GI	136	222
er groups, a them. Also cople said at they only onal lives. but the ley actually	GI	43	59
alist affects	GI	10	15

<sup>132</sup> I.Stevie Voogt, 'Countering far-right recruitment online: CAPE's practitioner experience', Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism, 12:1 (2017), 34-46, cited p. 39. <sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>134</sup> Aly, A. and Zeiger, S., 'Countering Violent Extremism Online in Australia: Research and Preliminary Findings', in Aly, A. and Zeiger, S., eds., Countering Violent Extremism: Developing an Evidence-base for Policy and Practice (Hedayah and Curtin University, 2015), pp. 81-89.

<sup>135</sup> For examples, see: Bjørgo, T., Grunenberg, S. & Van Donselaar, J., 'Exit from right-wing extremist groups: Lessons from disengagement programmes in Norway, Sweden and Germany', In: Bjorgo, T. & Horgan, J., Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement, London: Routledge, 2009 & Dechesne, M., 'Deradicalization: Not Soft but Strategic', Crime, Law, and Social Change, 2011, PP. 287-292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Aly, A. and Zeiger, S., Op Cit, p. 84

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In addition to messaging, finally, most participants in the "White Power?" discussion page were at one or other of the phases of engagement with terroristic content known as the captivation (i.e. visiting interactive blogs related to violent extremist material) or persuasion (i.e. participation in communicative exchanges) stages.<sup>137</sup> As a result, users were less susceptible to having their beliefs changed than using exchanges to reaffirm "survivalist" and "victimhood" narratives around white marginalisation and endangerment.<sup>138</sup> According to Zeiger and Aly, the personal identity and social integration functions of social media should be used for future radical right counter-narrative campaigns, underscored by trying to not simply meet opinions with factual arguments to be convincing.139

Turning back to another insider account of the CAPE "Exit White Power" Project, the 2019 book chapter by All Together Now founder and managing director, Priscilla Brice, shines an interesting light upon what she terms as "the only project of its kind by a civil society organisation in Australia." Brice argues that there was a "counter-narrative shift" early on in the project away from ideology per se and towards an emphasis on lifestyle choices.<sup>140</sup> In terms of rationale, such a shift was instigated through en-

gaging with research - conducted in 2012 by the European Union's Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN)141 - which suggested that offering support for entrenched activists to make life decisions was as important as, or was even more important than, addressing ideology when helping individuals out of radical right movements.<sup>142</sup>

Another key shift, or turning point, in the project's trajectory came at the end of the extension funding awarded to All Together Now. This was a result of heated arguments instigated on the "White Power?" Facebook page by antiracist activists in 2015 in response to some of the discussion topics posed on the forum. Such an unexpected development then "created a challenge for the project's counsellor moderating the posts".<sup>143</sup> It also subsequently resulted in a shift within the CAPE project towards training frontline staff in anti-radicalisation strategies.<sup>144</sup> This episode, in turn, highlights the importance of planning for unintended responses by external groups when it comes to counter-narrative initiatives (for example, thinking about who might respond and contingencies that can be put in place to minimise the impact of antagonistic outside groups from hijacking a radical right counter-narrative).

## **RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

This report has tracked Australian radical right extremist narratives and counter-narratives at a time of increased activity with respect to radical right extremism in Australia. Moving from street-based activism into more direct action and even terroristic forms of political violence, this report has highlighted links with the New Zealand Christchurch attacker and other violent international radical right groups able to be traced back to Australia.145 It has also highlighted several groups (Antipodean Resistance, Combat 18 & Women for Aryan Unity) whose narratives paint a metastasising threat picture (both in terms of potential and actual radicalisation of Australian citizens). Furthermore, it is clear that anti-Muslim populist, ethno-nationalist, white supremacist and ultra-nationalist narratives have a broad resonance in the Australian context, suggesting a wider pool of support than Australian radical right extremist groups' collective membership at present, with potentially alarming consequences for mobilisation and radicalisation (especially by white males under 30).

In response to these challenging circumstances, practitioners would be advised to find ways of disrupting permissive envi-

ronments where, for instance, anti-female and anti-minority viewpoints are left to fester. This is best achieved through tailored and targeted counter-narrative projects that help dispel persistent myths and rumours. Here, it is important to note that only one notable programme to date has attempted to distribute radical right counter-narratives in the Australian context; namely, CAPE's "Exit White Power" project. Needless to say, there is a great opportunity to both scale up and deepen radical right counter-narrative campaigns capable of disrupting and delegitimising radical right populist, ethno-nationalist, white supremacist and ultra-nationalist narratives propagated in Australia.146

Going forward, ultimately, such campaigns need to take a targeted approach, especially when dealing with the violent end of radical right subcultures such as neo-Nazism. Accordingly, in order to counter radical right extremist narratives, this might involve the following:

practice and highlighting what is need to foster sustained attitudinal and behavioural change away from radical right sympathy and toward more mainstream forms of activism.

145 This is in addition to known links between the attacker and European-based far right groups. See: Wilson, J., 'Christchurch shooter's links to Austrian far right 'more

<sup>137</sup> For more information, see: Weimann, G & Von Knop, K., 'Applying the Notion of Noise to Countering Online-Terrorism', Studies in Conflict and Terrorism. 31(10) (2008), pp. 883-902.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Aly, A. and Zeiger, S., Op Cit, p. 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Ibid, pp. 87 & 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>141</sup> RAN, Proposed Policy Recommendations For the High Level Conference', RAN Prison & Probation Working Group, December 2012, online at: https://ec.europa. eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation\_awareness\_network/ran-high-level-conference/docs/proposed\_policy\_recommenda tion ran p and p en.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Brice, 2019, Op Cit, p. 207.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 200.

extensive than thought", The Guardian, 16 May 2019, online at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/16/christchurch-shooters-links-to-austrian-far-right more-extensive-than-though

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> This could be done through either tackling the bases of group identification or ideological beliefs inherent to radical right extremism.

- 1. Long-term and sustained work in challenging formulaic or rigid conceptions of Islam, refugees and migrants circulating in radical right extremist milieus (both online and offline);
- 2. A re-emphasis upon the centrality of domestic institutions and a new vision of democratic participation, in order to counter accusations of so-called 'degeneracy' and 'corruption' among extremist circles as well as the nihilistic tendency among some accelerationist radical right extremists;
- 3. Counter-narrative responses that directly tackle misogynist tropes, especially by placing more of a stress

on the positive contribution by feminists and LGBT movement to the life of the Australian nation;

4. Honest dialogue regarding what grievances are not being listened to, how these might be addressed, and pathways for inclusion in the Australian national conversation.

By embarking on radical right extremist counter-narrative projects and by including these new and sensitised perspectives into strategic communications work, going forwards Australia will have a far greater chance in immunising citizens against the perils of radical right extremism and the violent ideology contained therein.







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