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

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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

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 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 accelerationists cells (often dubbed “groupuscules”) 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 2019.1

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 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.2 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.3

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 countering these hateful messages in the Australian context.

1 Here ‘radical right extremism’ is used to describe a broad plethora of paramilitary groups, groupuscules and lone-actor terrorists that could be considered as harboring violent native, authoritarian and (sometimes) non-violent populist policy ideas (Murdie, Popular Radical Right in Europe, 2007). Radical Right Extremism includes individuals and groups who actively ‘express violence’ and ‘seek the overthrow of liberal democracies’ (Carter 2005, The Theory 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, Anarch or Authoritarian, 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-Nazi and two Nazi political parties that inspire terrorist action, as well as lone-actor terrorists.

2 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 codal accelerationist terms, such as ‘Big Luau’, ‘Boogaloo’ or ‘Groenaghen’. Even if the idea of a revolutionary right overthrow of the ‘System’ in an age-old fascist and radical right tropes, 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.

3 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. Groups like Antipodean Resistance, Blood and Honour, the Southern Cross Hammerskins and Combat 18 have become a particular note of concern among security personnel and experts internationally.

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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, 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 transnationally. 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). 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).

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FIGURE 1 Overview of Australian Radical Right Extremist Groups

(Horizontal Axis: Mainstreamness of Narratives, Vertical Axis: Incidence of Violence)

EXTREMIST NARRATIVE | DEFINITION | EXAMPLE
--- | --- | ---
Alt-Right | Here, the ‘Alt-right’ is defined as “a [radical] right-wing, primarily online political movement or grouping … whose members reject mainstream conservative politics and espouse extremist beliefs and policies typically centred on ideas of white nationalism.” (Merriam-Webster, Alt-Right, 2017, online at: https://time.com/4946240/merriam-webster-alt-right-meaning/) | “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.” (The Dingoes)
Anti-Establishment Sentiment | Here, ‘Anti-Establishment Sentiments’ are defined as sustained and radical critiques of the economic, political and governmental elites. | “Don’t expect the government to fix the problem, they ARE the problem” (SOOA)
Anti-Immigration Sentiment | Here, ‘Anti-Immigration Sentiments’ are defined as particularly strident views against open immigration policies. In particular, they might involve compulsory or voluntary repatriation of non-indigenous citizens. | “Immigration is the Elephant in the room.” (Reclaim Australia)
Anti-Muslim Populism | Here, ‘Anti-Muslim Populism’ is defined as a fusion of anti-Muslim hatred and populist forms of nationalism, including tropes around Islamisation and negative depictions of Islam. | “Islam killed 270 million in 1400 years. No. Islam Sharia Law Against Mankind.” (TBC)
Anti-Semitism | Here, ‘Anti-Semitism’ is defined as expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment, including anti-Zionist positions. | “Even today, liberal Jewish intellectuals preach the slow culture-death – the down-going of the white man through forced multiculturalism and multiculturalism.” (NA)

TABLE 1: Overview of Australian Radical Right Extremist Narratives

9 Here, ‘mainstreamness’ can be measured by the adoption of moderate narratives (usually involving a broad issue agenda, anti-establishment populism and electoralism) compared to clearly extreme, esoteric positions and modus operandi taken by fringe groups (e.g. street activism and terrorism) (De Lange, Akkerman and Rooduijn 2016).
10 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, while 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.
| Chauvinism | Here, ‘Chauvinism’ is defined as actual or performative forms of violent masculinity, often in connection 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) |
|---|---|
| Ethno-Nationalism | Here, ‘Ethno-Nationalism’ is defined as the unanimity of the nation and a (usually native white) ethnic in-group, with immigration by non-white groups seen as an endangerment of this monist ideal.

“...being proud of Western culture today is like being a crippled, black, lesbian communist in 1953.” (Proud Boys Australia) |
| Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory | Here, the ‘Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory’ refers to the writings of Renaud Camus and the belief in a demographic replacement of native Europeans by non-European migrants, deemed to be facilitated by ruling elites.

“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) |
| Homophobia | Here, ‘Homophobia’ is defined as anti-gay sentiments, including tropes related to demographic depletion and degeneracy.

“Happy AIDS Day – Gays are a Walking Disease.” (AR) |
| Identitarianism | According to José Pedro Zúquete (The Identitarians, 2018), Identitarians are a “quickly growing ethno-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) |
| Neo-Nazism | Here, ‘Neo-Nazism’ is defined as adherence to the ideology of national 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) |
| 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 fuses and time stands still, we are one with the old [Norse] gods who once walked and flew over our Planet.” (Aryan Unity) |
| Ultra-Nationalism | Here, ‘Ultra-Nationalism’ refers to an extreme loyalty or devotion to the nation, usually at the exclusion of others. (Collins, Ultra-Nationalism, 2019, online at: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/ultranationalism). |
| Western Chauvinism | Here, ‘Western Chauvinism’ is defined as a form of civilisationism where the ‘West’ is privileged over the ‘East’. (Brubaker, Between Nationalism and Civilizationism, 2017, online at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01419870.2017.1294700) |
| White Supremacism | Here, ‘White Supremacism’ is defined as a belief in white dominance over people of other backgrounds. It is often connected to beliefs about so-called ‘white endangerment’ and ‘white genocide’ conspiracy theories.

“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) |
LADS SOCIETY

LEADER
Tom Sewell

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY
White Supremacism, Neo-Nazism, Chauvinism

LEADER
Charlie Sargent

MEMBERSHIP
Less than 30

IDEOLOGY
Neo-Nazism, Ethno-Nationalism, Anti-Immigration Sentiment

LEADER
Kane Miller

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY
Anti-Muslim Populism, Ultra-Nationalism

DESCRIPTION

Founded in 2017 from the disbanded anti-Islam protest movement, the United Patriots Front (UPF), Lads Society is a white supremacist group with men's-only clubhouses in Sydney and Melbourne. In 2018, Lads Society launched a covert infiltration strategy for Australian right-wing political parties. Lads Society members and allies joined the Young Nationals in NSW. They also engaged in branch stacking at the May 2018 conference, trying to push an alt-right agenda by infiltrating local branches. In January 2019, the Lads Society joined other radical right extremist groups at a rally in St. Kilda against so-called African gangs, making Sieg Heil salutes and brandishing SS helmets. Their activity was highly publicised in social media, with former UPF leaders Cottrell and Erikson calling for a Cronulla-style race riot. With potential for social unrest emerging from, amongst other violent undertakings, the organisation of underground fight clubs, Lads Society presents a significant violent extremist threat. The group's founder, Blair Cottrell, has been convicted of violent assault and arson.

NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

11 Such covert infiltration replicates the same attempts by the Australian League of Rights in the 1960s.
18 Ibid.
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. 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. Five years later, there were further reports that the group had been distributing material at a Melbourne playground claiming that combat 18 should be “No Islamic Takover” and that people should “Support your local skinheads.” 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. 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).18

**Neo-Naziism:** “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 Veldhuis Handbook.*19

**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 infiltrators 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.20

**Anti-Immigration Sentiment:** “To ship all non-whites back to Africa, Asia, Arabic, alive or in body bags, the choice is theirs.”

- An excerpt from “The Aims of C18” in Combat 18’s official magazine.21

18 These are the original co-founders of the UK progeny of Combat 18. Its Australian leaders at the time of writing in June 2020 are Jacob Marshall Hort and Bradley Neil Trappitt.

19 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).

20 B.A. Today “Mosque shooter lined more than $200k,” 23 August 2010, online at: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2010-08-23/mosque-shooter-claim-investigation/1227426

21 Hill, B., Op Cit.


24 Counter Extremism Project, “Combat 18”, online at: https://www.counterextremism.com/supremacy/combat-18

25 Combat 18, “The Aims of C18”, online at: https://i001040547.com/01/f0001040547/5fb1f6/5fb1f6.png & https://i001040547.com/01/f0001040547/5fb1f6/5fb1f6.png


27 True Blue Crew, Kane Miller, speaking at the Melton anti-Muslim housing development protest.

28 “It’s a wake-up call. If you want to be in Australia, you should have to live like an Australian.”


30 Allison, T, Op Cit.


35 “It was a wake-up call. If you want to be in Australia, you should have to live like an Australian.”

36 Like UPI, True Blue Crew (TBC) emerged in early 2015 from activists involved in the 2014 “Voices of Bendigo” and “Stop the Mosques” Bendigo protests. The group rose to prominence in May 2016 when joining a protest in Melton, along with members of the United Patriots Front and the Love Australia or Leave Party, against a so-called “Muslim housing development.” This came off the back of another anti-Mosque protest in the area by the group in November 2015. From 2016 on, TBC has become increasingly violent in its anti-Islam activism, such as an August 2016 protest resulting in scuffles with anti-Muslim street patrol group the Sons of Odin. In June 2016 a knife and a knuckleduster were confiscated from TBC activists at Melbourne’s annual “Australian Pride” rally. Later that year former Reclaim Australia and TBC activist Philip Galea was convicted of terrorism-related offences, including collecting or making documents to prepare for terrorist acts, and carrying out acts in preparation for a terrorist act against Australian-based left-wing groups. In January 2018 it was reported that the UPI and TBC were planning vigilante patrols in the wake of gang violence allegedly committed by young African men in Melbourne. In keeping with its provocative demonstrations, the group was banned from Facebook in March 2019 after posting Islamophobic messages in the wake of the Christchurch massacre. Like with the UPI leadership, an online trail also links TBC with Brenton Tarrant, Tarrant having left comments on the (now defunct) Face book page. However, it is important to note that TBC became inactive before the Christchurch massacre, and even before the aforementioned January 2019 St Kilda rally, they had largely fallen silent online and appear not to exist any longer as a formal group.

**Anti-Muslim Populism:** “Islam killed 270 million in 1400 years. No Islam Sharia Law Against Mankind.”

- Banner at a ﬁght against Melbourne’s “anti-Islam housing estate” petition, February 2018.

**Ultra-Nationalism:** “It’s a wake-up call. If you want to be in Australia, you should have to live like an Australian.”

- True Blue Crew Kane Miller, speaking at the Melton anti-Muslim housing development protest.

**Neo-Naziism:** “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 Veldhuis Handbook.”

**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 infiltrators 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.

**Anti-Immigration Sentiment:** “To ship all non-whites back to Africa, Asia, Arabic, alive or in body bags, the choice is theirs.”

- An excerpt from “The Aims of C18” in Combat 18’s official magazine.
Non-Violent & Extreme Radical Right Groups in Australia

**United Patriots Front (UPF)**
- **Leaders:** Shermon Burgess, Blair Cottrell, Neil Erikson
- **Membership:** Unknown
- **Ideology:** Anti-Muslim Populism, Anti-Semitism, Neo-Nazism

**Soldiers of Odin Australia (SOOA)**
- **Leader:** Jay B. Moore
- **Membership:** Unknown
- **Ideology:** Anti-Muslim Populism, Anti-Government Sentiments, Anti-Semitism

**Antipodean Resistance (AR)**
- **Leader:** Scott McGuinness
- **Membership:** Less than 30
- **Ideology:** Neo-Nazism, White Supremacism, Homophobia

**Southern Cross Hammerskins (Australia)**
- **Leader:** Unknown
- **Membership:** Less than 30
- **Ideology:** Neo-Nazism

**Blood and Honour (Australia)**
- **Leader:** Ian Stuart Donaldson
- **Membership:** Less than 30
- **Ideology:** Neo-Nazism

**Proud Boys Australia**
- **Leader:** Unknown
- **Membership:** Under 30
- **Ideology:** Anti-Muslim Populism, Anti-Semitism, Ethno-Nationalism

**Identity Australia**
- **Leader:** Unknown
- **Membership:** Unknown
- **Online Followership:** 3,231 (2,253 Facebook, 965 Twitter, 13 YouTube)
- **Ideology:** White Supremacism, Anti-Semitism, Ethno-Nationalism

**Nationalist Alternative (Australia)**
- **Leader:** Unknown
- **Membership:** Unknown
- **Online Followership:** 3,299 (1,584 Facebook, 1,034 Instagram, 339 YouTube, 293 Twitter, 49 Gab)
- **Ideology:** Identitarianism, Great Replacement, Conspiracy Theory, Ethno-Nationalism
NON-VIOLENT & EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA

WOMEN FOR ARYAN UNITY

LEADER
Unknown

MEMBERSHIP
Under 30

IDEOLOGY
Odinism

THE DINGOES

LEADER
Unknown

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

Online Presence: The Convict Report Podcast and #DingoTwitter Hashtag

IDEOLOGY
Alt-Right

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY
Anti-Semitism

UNITED PATRIOTS FRONT (UPF)

LEADERS
Shermon Burgess, Blair Cottrell, Neil Erikson

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY
Neo-Nazism

DESCRIPTION
After a split with Reclaim Australia organiser Monika Evers in May 2015, several activists with alleged neo-Nazi pasts decided to form their own anti-Islam street protest movement, the United Patriots Front (UPF). Starting with a demonstration against an anti-racism protest in Melbourne, the group quickly rose to notoriety through its anti-Islam rhetoric and publicity stunts. The most notable of such stunts was the mock beheading of a black dummy in October 2015 outside council buildings in Bendigo, Victoria (a key site of protest for the group due to a putative Mosque building application from 2014). With two of its leaders (Cottrell and Erikson) becoming increasingly associated with neo-Nazi rhetoric, the group reportedly disbanded in 2017, after which several former members formed a new white supremacist group, the Lads Society, setting up clubhouses in Melbourne and Sydney. Online comments dating back to April 2016 by the Christchurch attacker, Brenton Tarrant, suggest that he was a vocal supporter of the then UPF leader Blair Cottrell.

NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

Anti-Muslim Populism:
“It is in the public interest in a democratic society to be aware of the dangers of Islam.”
- Blair Cottrell, defending himself after being found guilty of contempt and ridicule of Muslims.

Anti-Semitism:
“The Jews are as small physically as they are degenerate in character [...They] infiltrate and subvert entire generations of other nations in a bid for world power [and are] a much deadlier enemy than the violent Islamic pillagers, who just kill and maim openly.”
- Cottrell’s comments on his (now defunct) Facebook page.

Neo-Nazism:
“My personal opinion is stick to the Muslim shit and Cultural Marxism for max support do Jews later 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.

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. 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 related 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. 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. 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.”


**Anti- Establishment Sentiments:**
“Don’t expect the government to fix the problem, they ARE the problem.”


**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 them.”


**IDEOLOGY**

- **Anti-Muslim Populism**
- **Anti-Government Sentiments**
- **White Supremacism**

**MEMBERSHIP**

Unknown

**ANTIPEDEAN RESISTANCE (AR)**

**Description**

Antipodean Resistance was officially formed in October 2016 via the Iron March website, acting as a splinter group from Atomwaffen Division (AWD) in the United States. It is therefore part of a global nexus of similar neo-Nazi groups such as the Sonsenking Division (SKD) in Britain, Northern Order in Canada, Scrofa Division in Holland and still other splinter groups transnationally (all sharing a similar National Socialist ideology, propaganda style and online communication style). Online, AR has gained notoriety for its violently antisemitic, anti-gay and misogynist views, as well as endorsements of terrorism. Following other AWD-inspired groups, it has conducted ‘stickering’ campaigns in Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra. In June 2017 it held a “resistance camp” on the Sunshine Coast for “training” purposes since, according to the group’s website, “being white is not enough.” Recent reports show that more recently AR has engaged in targeting ‘stickering’ campaigns against Melbourne’s Jewish community as well as various university campuses. Australia’s Security and Intelligence Organisation have monitored AR since 2017, with at least one Australian Labour MP calling for their proscription as a terrorist organisation. AR’s logos feature the Black Sun and Totenkopf (skull head; see above) with an Akubra hat, a laurel wreath and a swastika. As of December 2018, the group was reportedly to be in decline, with its website shut down by its hosting provider, GoDaddy. AR members have since been discovered to be active in Lads Society and among those trying to infiltrate the Young Liberals in NSW.

**NARRATIVE EXAMPLES**

**Neo-Nazism:**
“We’re the Hitlers you’ve been waiting for.”

- Slogan on AR’s website.

**Anti-Semitism:**
“Legalise the execution of Jews.”

- Meme of one poster produced by AR.

**Homophobia:**
“Happy AIDS Day – Gays are a Walking Disease.”

- Meme of one poster produced by AR in June 2018.

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10. Ibid.
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.61

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”.62 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.63 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.64

Neo-Nazism:
“SCHS are a fraternal group of like-minded individuals who believe in loyalty, respect, trustworthiness, strength, commitment and the 14 words.”

- Text on Southern Cross Hammerskins Australia website.62

White Supremacism:
“We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.”

- 14 words from David Lane, noted as inspiration for the Hammerskins on their website.63

Ethno-Nationalism:
“Ship ‘em out/Send the bastards back/If they don’t f*cking like it/it’ll be in body bags.”

- Quote from song by white power band, Fortress, who’s leader founded SCHS Australia.64

Blood & Honour Australia

Started in 1993, the Australian division of the neo-Nazi rock festival organisers Blood & Honour have recently co-organised several concerts with the Southern Cross Hammerskins (see above).65 Named after the motto inscribed on Hitler Youth daggers, “Blut und Ehre”, the Australian group is overtly ethno-nationalist; for instance, its website declares that it is “part of an international community of White Racist[s], promoting the cause of White Resistance through the powerful medium of music”.66 Holding annual concerts in memory of, amongst others, Blood & Honour founder Ian Stuart Donaldson, the group claims to have divisions in Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia.67 Several members of the militant group have also been linked to death threats against immigration activists as well as members of the Australian general public.68 With music noted to inspire violent extremism, similar branches have now been banned in Germany, Spain, Russia and, most recently along with Combat 18, Canada.

Neo-Nazism:
“We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.”

- 14 words from David Lane, as found on Blood and Honour Australia’s Home Page.76

White Supremacism:
“If you really believe in saving the White Race, get out and start interacting with those who share a similar goal. Individually we are weak, united we are strong!”

- Text found on Blood and Honour Australia’s Home Page.77

Ethno-Nationalism:
“A movement, offering people an alternative lifestyle to the drug infested, pro-homosexual, race mixing scene fanatically pushed by today’s powers to be”.

- Text found on Blood and Honour Australia’s “History” Web Page.78

SOUTHERN CROSS HAMMERSKINS (AUSTRALIA)
LEADER
Scott McGuinness

MEMBERSHIP
Less than 30

IDEOLOGY
Neo-Nazism
White Supremacism
Ethno-Nationalism

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.61

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”.62 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.63 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.64

Neo-Nazism:
“SCHS are a fraternal group of like-minded individuals who believe in loyalty, respect, trustworthiness, strength, commitment and the 14 words.”

- Text on Southern Cross Hammerskins Australia website.62

White Supremacism:
“We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.”

- 14 words from David Lane, noted as inspiration for the Hammerskins on their website.63

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“Ship ‘em out/Send the bastards back/If they don’t f**king like it/it’ll be in body bags.”

- Quote from song by white power band, Fortress, who’s leader founded SCHS Australia.64

BLOOD AND HONOUR (AUSTRALIA)
LEADER
Ian Stuart Donaldson

MEMBERSHIP
Less than 30

IDEOLOGY
Neo-Nazism
White Supremacism
Ethno-Nationalism

DESCRIPTION
Started in 1993, the Australian division of the neo-Nazi rock festival organisers Blood & Honour have recently co-organised several concerts with the Southern Cross Hammerskins (see above).65 Named after the motto inscribed on Hitler Youth daggers, “Blut und Ehre”, the Australian group is overtly ethno-nationalist; for instance, its website declares that it is “part of an international community of White Racist[s], promoting the cause of White Resistance through the powerful medium of music”.66 Holding annual concerts in memory of, amongst others, Blood & Honour founder Ian Stuart Donaldson, the group claims to have divisions in Victoria, New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia and Western Australia.67 Several members of the militant group have also been linked to death threats against immigration activists as well as members of the Australian general public.68 With music noted to inspire violent extremism, similar branches have now been banned in Germany, Spain, Russia and, most recently along with Combat 18, Canada.

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- Text found on Blood and Honour Australia’s “History” Web Page.78
### Proud Boys Australia

**Leader**
- Unknown

**Membership**
- Under 30

### Ideology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anti-Muslim Populism</th>
<th>Ethno-Nationalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td></td>
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### 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 “About Us” page of Proud Boys Australia's website.

**Ethno-Nationalism:**
“...being proud of Western culture today is like being a crippled, black, lesbian communist in 1953.”
- Comment on the “About Us” page of Proud Boys Australia's website.

**Chauvinism:**
“Like Archie Bunker, we long for the days when 'girls were girls and men were men.'
- Comment on the “About Us” page of Proud Boys Australia's website.

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### Identity Australia

**Leaders**
- Unknown

**Membership**
- Unknown

**Online Followership:**
- 3,209 Facebook, 1,034 Twitter, 49 Gab

**Ideology**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity or unifying national characteristic other than a meaningless passport.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ETHNO-NATIONALISM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

**Identitarianism:**
“The future for our folk under the current [situation] our destiny is ripped from our person, destined to be a Brazilian, anarcho-tyranical dystopia with no distinct identity or unifying national characteristic other than a meaningless passport.”
- Statement on “Manifesto” page of Identity Australia Website.

**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”
- Statement on “Manifesto” page of Identity Australia Website.

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### Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory

**Ethno-Nationalism:**
“Stop The Invasion - End Immigration.”
- Slogan of banner dropped by the group near Sydney Harbour Bridge in September 2018.

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### Notes

75 Wilson, J., ‘FBI now classifies far-right Proud Boys as 'extremist group'...’
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
80 Ibid.
84 Proud Boys Australia, Home Page, online at: https://www.proudboys.com.au/.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
89 These figures were collected from Identity Australia and Australia Revival social media accounts on 6th January 2020.
90 Identity Australia, ‘Manifestos’ Webpage, online at: https://www.identityaustralia.org/manifestos.
91 Identity Australia, ‘About Us’ Webpage, online at: https://www.identityaustralia.org/about-us.
92 Identity Australia, ‘Stop The Invasion - End Immigration!’, YouTube, 23 September 2018, online at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4ZsRP56cOZQ.
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.101 Claiming to be a "growing organisation with members, supporters and contacts in several Australian states",102 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 Goldstein’s League).103 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).104

NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

White Supremacism: “If what is occurring to Whites is a program of Genocide, why not call it what it is?”

- An excerpt 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 from Nationalist Alternative’s “Anti-Jerusalem Declaration”.

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 from Nationalist Alternative’s “Manuskript I”.

Women for Aryan Unity

LEADER

Unknown

MEMBERSHIP

Under 30

IDEIOLOGY

Anti-Semitism

Odnism

Ethno-Nationalism

NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

Odnism: “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”.

Anti-Semitism: “We shall never find the path to our race ethnic soul [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”.

Ethno-Nationalism: “United to preserve the beauty, heritage and culture of our race.”

- Motto displayed on the WAU Australia website.

Women of Aryan Unity

LEADER

Unknown

MEMBERSHIP

Under 30

IDEOLOGY

Ethno-Nationalism

NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

Ethno-Nationalism: “Women of the Southern Legion”

- An excerpt from 2006 WAU Ezine “Women of The Southern Legion”.

- Motto displayed on the WAU Australia website.
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”. 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. 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”). 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).

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.”

White Supremacism:
“White Man: Tired of Anti-White Propaganda. You’re Not Alone.”
- Meme retweeted by Dingoes Twitter Account

Homophobia:
“Get in faggot, we’re making America great again.”
- Tweet by Dingoes activist, Kev Renner, in an interview with News.Aus.Com

107 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid.
Anti-Muslim populism: “We have an extreme ideology called Islam which is starting to gain a foothold in our societies.”

- A poster speaking at Reclaim Australia’s April 2015 rally.120

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 2015.120

Anti-immigration sentiment: “Immigration is the elephant in the room.”

- A placard at a Reclaim Australia rally in July 2015.121

If you have any further questions or need assistance with another document, feel free to let me know!
FIGURE 2  Linkages between Australia Far Right and Christchurch Attacker
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).

Whilst it might be unprofitable to contest the factual veracity of the orientation statement (see p. 6 of the RRCN Expert Workshop Report), both the action and solution sections of the narrative might be more profitably contested. The rationale behind such a technique is that radical right extremists tend to do most harm in how they interpret and offer solutions to what is happening ‘out there’, and how they frame reality. Opinions are also a softer target than facts, and this maps onto how extremists use grievances to add their own ideological ‘twist’ on real world events. Therefore disputing the action and resolution statement are more profitable as it means practitioners are disputing the ideological interpretation of the truth (or factual reality) presented, rather than the reality itself. Below are some key counter-narratives that could be deployed by 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. 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.

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

125 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 contesting 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). 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 non-violent 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 tarred to counter-narrative campaigns, Australia is notable due to one systematic, large-scale programme, which started as Community Action for Preventing Extremism’s (CAPE) ‘Exit White Power’ project. Set up in 2012 by an 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”. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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.
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.132

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.135

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)136 and suggests that looking both at narratives and personal circumstances when constructing radical right counter-narratives is crucial.

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133 Ibid., p. 38.
136 Aly, A. and Zeiger, S., Op Cit, p. 84
In addition to messaging, finally, most participants in the “White Power?” discussion page were at one or other of the phases of engagement with terrorist content known as the captivation (i.e. visiting interactive blogs related to violent extremist material) or persuasion (i.e. participatory discussion topics posed on the forum. Such an unexpected development then “created a challenge for the project’s counsellor moderating the posts”. It also subsequently resulted in a shift within the CAPE project towards training frontline staff in anti-radicalisation strategies. Training frontline staff in anti-radicalisation strategies would be advised to find ways of disrupting permissive environments 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 disrupt 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 right counter-narrative campaigns capable of disrupting and delegitimising right populist, ethno-nationalist, white supremacist and ultra-nationalist narratives propagated in Australia.

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 needed to foster sustained attitudinal and behavioural change away from radical right sympathy and toward more mainstream forms of activism.

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 terrorist 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. 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 environments 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 disrupt right counter-narratives in the Australian context; namely, CAPE’s “Exit White Power” project.

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

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.