

Legislative Assembly Committee on
Law and Safety



LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY

Measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales: Final report



Report 6/58 – April 2026

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The motto of the coat of arms for the state of New South Wales is "Orta recens quam pura nites". It is written in Latin and means "newly risen, how brightly you shine".

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Chair's foreword

Right-wing extremism is a present and growing threat to the people of New South Wales. The neo-Nazi rally outside Parliament House in November last year was a wake-up call to this threat. Like many Australians, I was appalled to see members of a neo-Nazi group display an antisemitic banner in front of Australia's first Parliament.

Shocking as this was, it was not an isolated incident. NSW and Australia more broadly has seen increasing right-wing extremist violence and hate in recent years. This report sets out the danger that right-wing extremism poses to the people of NSW and makes a number of recommendations to address this threat.

The National Socialist Network (NSN), the key neo-Nazi group operating in Australia, are a particular threat. A number of concerning displays of antisemitism and hatred organised by the NSN or attended by their members are detailed in this report.

The aims of the NSN are clear. They seek power in order to establish a white ethnostate. They want to destroy our proudly free, diverse and multicultural society. While they may try to attain power through democracy, if they achieve power, they will abolish it. The Committee received evidence that despite the NSN announcing it is disbanding, neo-Nazis continue to organise on encrypted group chats. They continue to recruit, fundraise and grow their networks.

Right-wing extremists threaten community safety. They use violence and harassment as political tools to intimidate targets and drive them out of public life. This report details a number of incidents where they have attacked or threatened Jewish, Muslim, Indigenous and LGBTQIA+ communities, among many others. Extremist rhetoric can also inspire lone actors to commit acts of violence and terrorism, while giving those who incite it plausible deniability; academics call this 'stochastic terrorism'.

Right-wing extremists also seek to inject their ideas into mainstream discourse and undermine the values of our liberal democracy. They hijack people's legitimate concerns about the cost of living, housing and unemployment, and exploit them to scapegoat our Jewish and immigrant communities. They carry out provocative stunts to gain publicity and create a climate of fear. At the same time, they fine-tune their propaganda to avoid a legal crackdown.

We can see the results of this strategy in the way the 'Overton window' of acceptable speech has shifted. We see it in rhetoric that targets immigrants and smears them as a drain on our country. We see it, too, in the growing popularity of the 'manosphere' and the normalisation of misogyny online, particularly amongst young men.

The Committee considered a number of possible measures to combat right-wing extremism. The report outlines recent changes to both NSW and Commonwealth laws that aim to address the threat. It also considers the *Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025*, which is currently being considered by the NSW Parliament. While the Committee's interim report, tabled on 6 February 2026, addressed constitutional aspects of the bill, further detail on the bill, from evidence received in submissions and public hearings, is outlined in this report.

It is necessary to crack down on hateful ideology, and offences should be prosecuted; but arrests and charges are only part of the answer. We need social policy to combat the root causes of radicalisation, and encourage people to disengage from extremism before they are drawn in further.

The evidence shows that family, close friends and community are the best people to help someone out of extremism. The Committee recommends the expansion of the NSW Government's Step Together program, which provides them with advice and resources online and via a hotline. The Committee also supports expansion of the NSW Government's Engagement and Support Program, which provides at-risk individuals with a case manager and connects them to social services. The NSW Government should ensure these programs are accessible in regional NSW.

To combat right-wing extremism we must systematically target the ways right-wing extremists recruit and the vulnerabilities they exploit. Social media platforms must be held accountable for the extremist hate, disinformation and propaganda that is spread on their platforms. We know that right-wing extremists draw lonely people in by offering community and in some cases, physical training. We recommend funding community programs and social infrastructure, such as third spaces, exercise and sport. We know that right-wing extremists tap into prejudices; we recommend education programs on the differing kinds of prejudice, including antisemitism, islamophobia, racism, and gender, disability or LGBTQIA+ discrimination. We know autistic and neurodiverse communities are vulnerable to radicalisation due to isolation, social marginalisation and unmet support needs. We recommend that these needs are addressed in the education system.

This inquiry was triggered by an offensive rally, and has at times dealt with confronting subject matter. I would like to thank my Committee colleagues for studying this issue with appropriate seriousness and sensitivity. I would also like to thank the inquiry secretariat for their invaluable research, administrative and procedural advice and support. Most importantly, I would like to thank the members of the public and expert witnesses who dedicated their time and knowledge to this inquiry.

Combatting right-wing extremism requires a combination of tools. Laws and enforcement are needed to protect the community. Social policies are needed to divert people from the path of extremism. It is my sincere hope that this report can aid the fight against right-wing extremism on both counts.



Edmond Atalla MP

Chair

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Chapter One – The threat of right-wing extremism in NSW

Summary

This chapter sets out the threat of right-wing extremism in NSW. It considers key characteristics of right-wing extremists, including their methods, aims and targets. This chapter also considers the key neo-Nazi group operating in NSW, the National Socialist Network, as well as the threat of lone actors. Finally, the chapter considers what makes particular individuals susceptible to being radicalised and recruited to extremist groups.

The rise of right-wing extremism in NSW

Finding 1

Right-wing extremism poses a threat to all NSW communities. Rooted in white supremacy and antisemitism, it poses a particular threat to Jewish communities and other ethnic and religious minorities, as well as LGBTQIA+ people and women. Right-wing extremism ultimately threatens public safety, social cohesion and liberal democracy in NSW.

Background

- 1.1 On 8 November 2025, a group of neo-Nazis held a rally outside NSW Parliament House organised by the National Socialist Network.¹ Around 60 men, wearing black jackets with 'HH' on them, posed for photos in front of a banner that stated 'Abolish the Jewish Lobby' and chanted a slogan associated with Hitler Youth.² The Premier described the event as a 'shocking display of hatred and racism and antisemitism'.³
- 1.2 In response, the NSW Government introduced the *Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025* (the Bill).⁴ On 19 November 2025, the Bill was referred to this committee for inquiry and report and, on the same day, the Attorney General asked the Committee to consider the Bill as part of a broader inquiry into measures to combat right wing extremism in NSW.⁵

¹ [Submission 29](#), Youth HEAR (Holocaust Education and Remembrance), p. 2; [Submission 36](#), Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism (ASECA), p 9; [Submission 37](#), NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, p 2.

² ABC News, [NSW government to bring in tougher laws to combat public displays of Nazi ideology](#), 19 November 2025; L Ironmonger, [How Helly Hansen became the uniform of choice for neo-Nazis](#), Sydney Morning Herald, 26 November 2025.

³ A Lewis, [Police allowed neo-Nazi protest outside NSW parliament](#), ABC News, 8 November 2025, accessed 28 February 2026.

⁴ New South Wales, Legislative Assembly, [Parliamentary Debates](#), 19 November 2025, p 21, (Michael Daley, Attorney-General).

⁵ New South Wales, Legislative Assembly, [Votes and Proceedings No. 140](#), Wednesday 19 November 2025, item no. 15, p 1599.

- 1.3 The Committee tabled an interim report on 6 February 2026, with a focus on constitutional aspects of the Bill.⁶ This final report of the inquiry considers the threat that right-wing extremism poses to NSW more broadly. It considers current programs and legislation, and how these might be improved to combat the rise of right-wing extremism in NSW.

The increase in right-wing extremism in NSW

- 1.4 The Committee received evidence that right-wing extremism poses a current and escalating threat to NSW and its communities.⁷ We heard right-wing extremists are recruiting or radicalising vulnerable individuals,⁸ and intimidating marginalised communities.⁹ This activity is increasingly visible.¹⁰
- 1.5 We were provided multiple examples of right-wing extremist rallies and demonstrations in recent years.¹¹ Examples of this concerning rise include:
- An event where a neo-Nazi group stood outside the Victorian Parliament holding a banner that stated 'Jews Hate Freedom' in December 2024.¹²
 - A neo-Nazi demonstration at a queer film festival in Albury in 2024, including displaying a sign that stated 'destroy paedo freaks'.¹³
 - On 26 January 2026, members of a neo-Nazi organisation appeared and were removed from a March for Australia rally in Sydney.¹⁴
- 1.6 These events were clearly intended by participants to intimidate targeted individuals and broadcast neo-Nazi ideologies. They also appeared to be carefully orchestrated to avoid breaking hate speech laws.

⁶ Legislative Assembly Committee on Law and Safety, [Measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales: interim report](#), Report 4/58, February 2026.

⁷ [Submission 23](#), Youth Action NSW, p 3; [Submission 26](#), Equality Australia, p 4; [Submission 29](#), p 2; [Submission 34](#), Associate Professor Josh Roose, p 4; [Submission 36](#), p 9; Professor Julian Droogan, Co-Convenor, AVERT Research Network, and Editor-in-Chief, *The Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, and Head of the School of International Studies, Macquarie University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 3; Erica Hendrawan, Chair, Buddhist Council of NSW, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 21; Tia Hawli, Secretary of Board of Directors, Arab Council of Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 31; Jillian Segal AO, Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 42; Sandy Hollis, Head of Education, Sydney Jewish Museum, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 40.

⁸ [Submission 26](#), p 4; Jayne Christian, Community Knowledge Holder, Baramadagal Darug Tribal Governing Council, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 3.

⁹ [Submission 22](#), Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia, p 6; [Submission 26](#), p 5.

¹⁰ [Submission 26](#), p 4; [Submission 32](#), Australian Association of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and Descendants Inc, p 4; [Submission 29](#), p 2; Baramadagal Darug Tribal Governing Council, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 3 March 2026, p 2.

¹¹ [Submission 26](#), p 4; [Submission 34](#), p 17; [Submission 37](#), pp 3, 4; [Submission 29](#), p 2; [Submission 25](#), Justice and Equity Centre, p 3; [Submission 36](#), p 9; [Submission 39](#), Executive Council of Australian Jewry, p 3.

¹² [Submission 36](#), p 9; [Submission 37](#), p 4; [Submission 39](#), p 3.

¹³ [Submission 26](#), pp 4-5; Heather Corkhill, Legal Director, Equality Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 5; [Submission 37](#), p 3; [Submission 34](#), pp 7, 12.

¹⁴ [Submission 26](#), p 4; [Submission 34](#), pp 7, 12; [Submission 37](#), p 3; [Submission 22](#), p 6.

- 1.7 Stakeholders also mentioned the tragic shooting at Sydney's Bondi Beach in December 2025.¹⁵ Although not an attack by right-wing extremists, the shooting demonstrated the Jewish community's particular vulnerability to extremist violence and how a rise in hateful rhetoric can culminate in horrific violence. Some stakeholders viewed the attack as a culmination of growing antisemitism.¹⁶
- 1.8 Beyond these events, we heard from a number of stakeholders about the rise in hate speech, threats and vandalism that draws on right-wing extremist symbols or ideology.¹⁷ Right-wing extremism both encourages and is further sustained by the spread of hatred targeted at particular groups, such as:
- Antisemitism¹⁸
 - Islamophobia¹⁹
 - Gender-based hate²⁰
 - Racism and anti-immigration sentiment.²¹
- 1.9 Dr Josh Roose, a political sociologist at Deakin University, informed the Committee that the extreme right has 'shifted from fringe activity to a broad and adaptive threat in NSW'.²² Similarly, Equality Australia submitted that far-right extremism is 'no longer a marginal or abstract threat in Australia' but is 'a present and escalating risk'.²³
- 1.10 Stakeholders submitted that a number of factors have contributed to the growth of right-wing extremism. These include:
- Economic inequality, including insecure employment²⁴

¹⁵ [Submission 4](#), Dr Gerard Gill, p 4.

¹⁶ Michele Goldman, Chief Executive Officer, NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 12.

¹⁷ Ali Alsamail, Director, Shia Muslim Council of Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 32; Bart Shteinman, Executive Member, Jewish Council of Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 28; [Submission 26](#), p 5; [Submission 32](#), p 1; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 45.

¹⁸ Dr Gerard Gill, Post-doctoral Researcher and Member, AVERT Research Network, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 4.

¹⁹ Maryum Chaudhry, Director, Office of Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 34; Ali Alsamail, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 32; The Office of Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Answers to Supplementary Questions](#), 12 March 2026, pp 3, 7.

²⁰ Professor Michele Grossman AM, Co-Convenor, AVERT Research Network, and Chair, Deakin University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 5; Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman, Race Discrimination Commissioner, Australian Human Rights Commission, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 36.

²¹ Bart Shteinman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, pp 29-30; Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, pp 34-35

²² [Submission 34](#), p 4.

²³ [Submission 26](#), p 4.

²⁴ [Submission 27](#), AVERT Research Network, p 7.

- Growing distrust in public institutions²⁵
- The spread of misinformation and disinformation, including about targeted groups²⁶
- Loss of third spaces for young people, leading to a loss of community and sense of belonging.²⁷

1.11 While there may be no single cause, a common theme we heard from inquiry participants is that right-wing groups have exploited topical grievances surrounding gender, immigration and other marginalised groups.²⁸ Social isolation, exacerbated by COVID, has also contributed to the growth of these ideologies.²⁹ Contributing factors are discussed further below.

Targets and impacts of right-wing extremism

1.12 We heard that right-wing extremists disproportionately target marginalised and minoritised communities.³⁰ The individuals and communities who are targeted by right-wing extremists include:

- The Jewish community³¹
- LGBTQIA individuals³²
- Indigenous Australians³³
- Women³⁴
- Ethnic and religious minorities, including the Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist communities.³⁵

²⁵ [Submission 18](#), Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, p 15; [Submission 20](#), Challenging Racism Project, Western Sydney University, p 6; [Submission 27](#), p 9; Mark Duckworth, PSM, Co-Director, Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies, Deakin University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 4-5;

²⁶ Mark Duckworth, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 9; Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 34;

²⁷ [Submission 22](#), p 4.

²⁸ [Submission 23](#), p 7; [Submission 27](#), p 6; [Submission 20](#), p 5; [Submission 32](#), p 5; Dr Gerard Gill, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 4; Mark Duckworth, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 4-5.

²⁹ Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, pp 34; [Submission 27](#), p 8.

³⁰ [Submission 30](#), Dr Imogen Richards, Dr Maria O'Sullivan, Callum Jones, Cam Smith, Jordan McSwiney, Kurt Sengul, p 4; [Submission 23](#), p 5.

³¹ [Submission 39](#), p 4; [Submission 29](#), p 2; [Submission 23](#), p 5; Dr Josh Roose, Associate Professor of Politics, Deakin University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 65; [Submission 32](#), p 4.

³² [Submission 27](#), pp 4-5; [Submission 23](#), p 5; [Submission 29](#), p 2; Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 65.

³³ [Submission 29](#), pp 2-3; [Submission 34](#), p 10; Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 65; Baramadagal Darug Tribal Governing Council, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 3 March 2026, pp 3-4.

³⁴ [Submission 27](#), pp 4-5; [Submission 23](#), p 5.

³⁵ [Submission 23](#), p 5; [Submission 30](#), p 5; Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, pp 1-2; [Submission 23](#), p 5.

The Jewish community

- 1.13 Antisemitism is a core part of right-wing extremist ideology and the Jewish community has noticed a rise in neo-Nazi antisemitic harassment and violence. Stakeholders from NSW's Jewish community told us they have been targeted by right-wing extremists through antisemitic and Nazi-inspired vandalism.³⁶ This has included swastikas and other Nazi symbols being drawn on synagogues or buildings.³⁷ Bart Shteinman, from the Jewish Council of Australia, told the Committee his letter box has been 'littered with neo-Nazi pamphlets' and his house 'spray-painted with a swastika'.³⁸

The LGBTQIA+ community

- 1.14 The LGBTQIA+ community is also a particular target of right-wing extremism. Equality Australia told us neo-Nazi opposition to LGBTQIA+ people has resulted in 'intimidation, harassment and violence against LGBTQIA+ individuals and spaces across NSW'.³⁹ We also heard that LGBTQIA+ community events have been cancelled because the councils organising them were harassed or intimidated by right-wing extremists.⁴⁰ Dr Imogen Richards and colleagues explained that this has contributed to an environment where LGBTQIA+ individuals and their families do not feel safe.⁴¹
- 1.15 The Committee also heard about specific anti-trans hate being spread by far-right extremists. Dr Rory Gillard, from Trans Justice Sydney, told the Committee that when an anti-trans activist spoke at Parliament House in Melbourne in 2023, Nazi salutes were observed. Refencing the Trans Justice Project's *Fuelling Hate* report, they noted that from 2020 to 2023, 85 per cent of all trans and gender diverse participants reported significantly more online anti-trans hate, and 39 per cent saw more in-person hate.⁴²

The Muslim community

- 1.16 Similarly, the Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia told us that Muslim Australians are targeted by online hate as well as violence. They explained that, as recently as March 2026, a right-wing extremist interrupted and threatened attendees at a Ramadan community dinner in Ballarat. The Office noted a 2019 study that showed 93.1 per cent of Australian Muslims are concerned about right-wing extremist attacks.⁴³

³⁶ [Submission 32](#), p 1; Bart Shteinman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 28; [Submission 32](#), p 1; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 45;

³⁷ [Submission 32](#), p 1; Bart Shteinman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 28; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 45;

³⁸ Bart Shteinman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 28.

³⁹ [Submission 26](#), p 5.

⁴⁰ [Submission 30](#), p 6; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, pp 2-3.

⁴¹ [Submission 30](#), p 6.

⁴² Dr Rory Gillard, Policy and Advocacy Volunteer, Trans Justice Sydney, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 6.

⁴³ Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1.

Indigenous Australians

- 1.17 The Committee also heard about a recent attack by the National Socialist Network on Indigenous Australians and Camp Sovereignty, in Melbourne.⁴⁴ Dr Josh Roose described this attack as 'a significant escalation' from hateful extremism to violent extremism.⁴⁵

Intersectional threat

- 1.18 Those at particular risk of hate from extremists are doubly vulnerable if they fall into more than one of these categories. As Challenging Racism Project noted:

In reality, hate-motivated conduct is often drive by, and experienced through, overlapping forms of discrimination. People are targeted not just because of one characteristic, but at the intersection of race, gender, religion, and other protected attributes.⁴⁶

- 1.19 For example, the Office of Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia informed the Committee that Muslim women are frequently targeted both for their gender and their ethnicity. They explained that white supremacist groups are dominated by men who draw on 'chauvinistic values' to commit violence against Muslim women. Muslim women who wear hijabs or other clothing tied to their culture may also be particularly at risk of violence as 'visible' targets, identifiable through their gender and dress.⁴⁷

Right-wing extremist incidents impact everyone

- 1.20 While right-wing extremist hatred and violence is targeted at particular communities, by threatening social cohesion and stability, right-wing extremism presents a risk to everyone in NSW.
- 1.21 For example, Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia told the Committee that a Nazi-aligned speech at a recent anti-immigration protest had not only made members of their cohort less willing to participate in public life but had also 'generated fear and mistrust among diverse communities'.⁴⁸ Associate Professor Roose said that public marches, banner drops and other actions by the National Socialist Network or right-wing extremists 'deliberately reinsert fear into everyday civic spaces', causing heightened anxiety and withdrawal for targeted groups.⁴⁹
- 1.22 Attacks on marginalised communities are not just a threat to the people targeted but represent a broader threat to multiculturalism and the values that underpin social cohesion.⁵⁰ Stakeholders also informed the Committee that right-wing

⁴⁴ [Submission 29](#), p 1; [Submission 34](#), p 10.

⁴⁵ [Submission 34](#), p 10;

⁴⁶ [Submission 20](#), pp 10-11.

⁴⁷ Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 2; Chaudhry, 19 February 2026, p 34.

⁴⁸ [Submission 22](#), p 6.

⁴⁹ [Submission 34](#), p 18.

⁵⁰ [Submission 20](#), p 4; [Submission 22](#), p 6; [Submission 27](#), p 5; [Submission 39](#), p 16.

extremist views and actions pose a threat to democracy and public institutions in NSW.⁵¹ This is discussed further below.

Features, aims and methods of right-wing extremists

Finding 2

Prejudice fuels extremism. Right-wing extremists promote forms of hate such as antisemitism, racism, islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia and misogyny and encourage these forms of hate becoming part of mainstream political discourse.

Finding 3

Right-wing extremism erodes trust in democracy and public institutions and exploits topical grievances.

Characteristics of right-wing extremism

- 1.23 Stakeholders explained that right-wing extremists in NSW have built-on and borrowed from a variety of political views and ideologies.⁵² White supremacy, antisemitism, and neo-Nazi ideologies are often central,⁵³ though right-wing extremism refers to a wider range of groups and ideologies.
- 1.24 At the most extreme end are neo-Nazis – groups or individuals that promote white supremacy and antisemitism and idolise Hitler. We heard that some of the most prominent groups currently or formerly active in NSW openly draw inspiration from Nazism, national socialism and Hitler.⁵⁴ For example, Associate Professor Jose Roose explained that groups like Antipodean Resistance, an Australian neo-Nazi hate group, openly celebrated Hitler and called for violence against Jewish people, LGBTQIA+ people, and non-white Australians.⁵⁵ Another prominent neo-Nazi group, the National Socialist Network (discussed below) draws on 'national socialism' and describe themselves as 'Hitlerists'.⁵⁶
- 1.25 However, stakeholders told us that much of right-wing extremism draws on a wider range of influences.⁵⁷ This can make it harder to define and address.⁵⁸ Right-wing extremists might draw inspiration from fascism, different forms of exclusive nationalism, misogyny, sovereign citizen beliefs, or other views.⁵⁹ ASIO has recently described right-wing extremism in Australia as 'switching between

⁵¹ [Submission 20](#), p 4; [Submission 27](#), pp 5, 9-10; [Submission 32](#), p 6; [Submission 34](#), pp 16, 19.

⁵² [Submission 4](#), p 3; [Submission 27](#), pp 1, 4; [Submission 34](#), p 12; [Submission 30](#), p 4.

⁵³ [Submission 32](#), p 4; [Submission 27](#), p 1; [Submission 30](#), pp 4-5; [Submission 34](#), pp 8-9; [Submission 39](#), p 7.

⁵⁴ [Submission 34](#), pp 8-9.

⁵⁵ [Submission 34](#), p 8.

⁵⁶ [Submission 34](#), pp 9-10.

⁵⁷ [Submission 27](#), pp 1, 4; [Submission 30](#), p 4.

⁵⁸ [Submission 34](#), p 12;

⁵⁹ [Submission 4](#), pp 3-4, [Submission 27](#), p 4.

ideologies and merging components from different ones to create new, hybrid beliefs'.⁶⁰

- 1.26 Stakeholders provided examples of groups operating with these hybrid beliefs. Dr Gerard Gill explained that one group, the 'Freedom Movement', blends neo-Nazi sentiment with QAnon narratives, sovereign citizen beliefs, anti-LGBTQIA+, and anti-government and other sentiments. Similarly, members of the 'National Workers' Alliance' are a blend of neo-Nazis and conspiracy theorists.⁶¹
- 1.27 Some stakeholders noted the use of anti-Islamic rhetoric in right-wing extremist ideology. The Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia noted how right-wing extremism has been present in Australia for 90 years but has grown in the last decade, with groups emerging that are specifically threatened by Islam and Muslim immigration.⁶² Similarly, Dr Imogen Richards and colleagues explained that, from 2000, new organisations and campaigns 'framed Islam and Muslims as central threats to national security, cultural cohesion, and social order'.⁶³
- 1.28 Despite the diversity of views and influences, a critical feature of right-wing extremist views is a belief in inequality and a reliance on 'us' versus 'them', or 'in group' versus 'out group', narratives.⁶⁴ Right-wing extremist ideologies promote hierarchy and superiority based on race, religion, ethnicity, or gender.⁶⁵ As noted by Dr Gill, right-wing extremists may also believe their superiority is biologically determined.⁶⁶
- 1.29 Another key feature of right-wing extremist ideology is the feeling that their identity is under threat, often from minority 'outsiders'.⁶⁷ This may be used to justify violence in more extreme cases. Top Blokes Foundation informed us that right-wing extremists frame 'social change, diversity and gender equality as threats, and may legitimise hostility or violence in response'.⁶⁸
- 1.30 For example, the Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia noted that the Australian man who attacked a mosque in Christchurch had written a manifesto on the 'great replacement' conspiracy theory.⁶⁹ This is a view that 'Anglo-European people' are being 'socio-culturally and demographically

⁶⁰ Mike Burgess, [ASIO Annual Threat Assessment 2024](#), Australian Security Intelligence Organisation, last updated 28 February 2024, accessed 1 April 2026; [Submission 27](#), p 8.

⁶¹ [Submission 4](#), pp 3-4.

⁶² Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1.

⁶³ [Submission 30](#), p 5.

⁶⁴ [Submission 27](#), p 5; [Submission 35](#), NSW Bar Association, pp 3-4; [Submission 30](#), pp 4, 6; Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 9; Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 9;

⁶⁵ [Submission 31](#), Top Blokes Foundation, p 6.

⁶⁶ Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), p 1;

⁶⁷ [Submission 27](#), p 5; [Submission 31](#), p 6; Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 9.

⁶⁸ [Submission 31](#), p 6.

⁶⁹ Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1.

"replaced" by those of "non-Anglo European descent".⁷⁰ This conspiracy has fuelled right-wing extremist hate against immigrant and Jewish communities.⁷¹

- 1.31 Similarly, Equality Australia told us that 'neo-Nazi ideology explicitly targets sexual and gender diversity as a perceived threat to racial and social purity'. This hostility has resulted in intimidation and violence against LGBTQIA+ people in NSW.⁷²

Aims

- 1.32 A key goal of right-wing extremists is to advance the interests of Anglo-Europeans and they do so by promoting fear and hatred of targeted communities. Right-wing extremists feel that their identity is under threat.⁷³ AVERT Research Network informed the Committee that right-wing extremists might idealise the past and seek 'to restore white dominance'.⁷⁴

- 1.33 We heard from several communities about the normalisation of right-wing extremist hate. Witnesses spoke about the increasing normalisation of antisemitism in particular.⁷⁵ Bart Shteinman, from the Jewish Council of Australia, noted how right-wing extremists seek to normalise ideas such as anti-immigration. Referring to the 'Overton window', which describes subjects and arguments considered politically acceptable and legitimate to most people, Mr Shteinman told the Committee:

Ultimately, these groups don't always want to take over Australian society, but they do want to pull the Overton window to the right. I think that even if the NSN has now dissolved, they would be feeling fairly happy about the way in which the rhetoric on immigration has changed in our country today.⁷⁶

- 1.34 As well as posing a threat to marginalised groups, stakeholders informed the Committee that many right-wing extremists seek to undermine trust in liberal democracy and public institutions.⁷⁷ The AVERT Research Network explained that right-wing extremists often view the current political order as corrupt.⁷⁸ In some cases, organisations are 'accelerationist', which means they want to see the current political order and status quo crumble.⁷⁹

- 1.35 Stakeholders also explained that right-wing extremists oppose some of the key principles of liberal democracy. For example, AVERT Research Network informed the Committee that right-wing extremist movements 'share an anti-democratic

⁷⁰ Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1.

⁷¹ [Submission 32](#), p 4; Bart Shteinman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 28; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 3.

⁷² [Submission 26](#), p 5.

⁷³ [Submission 27](#), p 5; [Submission 31](#), p 6; Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 9.

⁷⁴ [Submission 27](#), p 4.

⁷⁵ Michele Goldman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 12, 16; Simone Abel, Head of Legal, Executive Council of Australian Jewry, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 12; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 42; [Submission 32](#), pp 4, 8; [Submission 34](#), p 7.

⁷⁶ Bart Shteinman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 32.

⁷⁷ [Submission 27](#), p 5; [Submission 30](#), pp 6-7; [Submission 34](#), p 19.

⁷⁸ [Submission 27](#), p 5.

⁷⁹ [Submission 4](#), p 3; [Submission 34](#), p 10; Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 3.

opposition to equality'.⁸⁰ Similarly, Dr Imogen Richards and colleagues explained that right-wing extremists oppose key values such as protections for minority groups, and freedom of press, religion and expression.⁸¹

- 1.36 However, as with ideology, stakeholders emphasised that there are different levels of opposition to democracy within right-wing extremism. For example, some far-right extremists oppose democracy entirely.⁸² However, others may work within the system to further their ideas and seek legitimate political power through elections.⁸³

Methods

- 1.37 Right-wing extremists use both violent and non-violent means to achieve their aims.⁸⁴ Dr Imogen Richards and colleagues explained that right-wing extremists have committed less violence in Australia, compared to Europe or America. However, they have attempted to erode trust in public institutions through other means.⁸⁵
- 1.38 Non-violent means include spreading conspiracy theories about electoral fraud and encouraging disinformation about minority communities. Dr Imogen Richards and colleagues informed the Committee that the Australian Electoral Commission has noted an increase of overseas electoral disinformation alongside hostility and threats towards electoral officials.⁸⁶
- 1.39 While there have been documented incidents of far-right extremist-inspired violence in NSW, Professor Droogan explained that some extremist organisations appear to be deliberately avoiding criminal activity.⁸⁷ He noted that the National Socialist Network and other Australian organisations may be telling their members to stay below 'criminal thresholds'. Instead, they are 'biding time and building up for that political shift that they see coming'.⁸⁸ This issue is discussed further below.

The risk of right-wing extremist groups and lone actors in NSW

Finding 4

Right-wing extremist organisations are actively working to increase their influence in NSW and Australia. They are building their network through donations and the support of high-profile figures overseas.

⁸⁰ [Submission 27](#), p 5.

⁸¹ [Submission 30](#), p 6.

⁸² [Submission 30](#), p 6.

⁸³ [Submission 34](#), p 10.

⁸⁴ [Submission 20](#), p 3; [Submission 27](#), p 2; [Submission 30](#), p 6.

⁸⁵ [Submission 30](#), p 6.

⁸⁶ [Submission 30](#), p 7.

⁸⁷ Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 3.

⁸⁸ Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 3.

Finding 5

Members of the National Socialist Network seek political power. As well as building support for neo-Nazi ideology, members of the National Socialist Network have tried to form a political party and continue to seek to influence political discourse.

Finding 6

Despite the National Socialist Network announcing it has disbanded, its members continue to pose a real threat to the safety of NSW communities.

- 1.40 There are known right-wing extremist groups and individuals operating in NSW and Australia more broadly. The Committee was informed about groups like the 'Antipodean Resistance' and the 'Lads Society,' two neo-Nazi groups that have now reformed into the National Socialist Network.⁸⁹ We also heard about the threat of lone actors, individuals who may be inspired by right-wing extremist ideologies to commit violence.
- 1.41 Stakeholders explained that these two risks are connected. Right-wing extremist groups are mobilising and growing support. These groups may then inspire lone actors to commit violence.⁹⁰ Key right-wing extremist figures use mass communication to incite violence while also holding onto plausible deniability. This is also known as 'stochastic terrorism'.⁹¹

The National Socialist Network

- 1.42 The National Socialist Network (NSN), a neo-Nazi group, is the key right-wing extremist organisation operating in New South Wales.⁹² The individuals who gathered outside NSW Parliament House in November 2025 were associated with the NSN.⁹³
- 1.43 The NSN emerged in 2020 and combined with offshoots from two former organisations, the Lads Society and the Antipodean Resistance group.⁹⁴ The NSN draws on national socialism and the ideologies of Hitler, including white supremacy and antisemitism.⁹⁵ Individuals associated with the NSN have openly advocated for a white Australia and for violence against Australia's Jewish community, LGBTQIA+ individuals and others.⁹⁶
- 1.44 Members of the NSN have been implicated in a number of recent violent attacks. Recent actions by NSN members include a violent attack on Camp Sovereignty in

⁸⁹ [Submission 26](#), p 4; [Submission 30](#), p 5.

⁹⁰ [Submission 4](#), p 4; [Submission 34](#), pp 12-13; Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 5.

⁹¹ [Submission 4](#), p 4; [Submission 34](#), pp 12-13.

⁹² [Submission 23](#), p 7; [Submission 24](#), Free Speech Union of Australia Limited, p 2; [Submission 26](#), p 4; [Submission 30](#), p 5; [Submission 34](#), p 7; [Submission 36](#), p 9; Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 3.

⁹³ [Submission 34](#), p 17; [Submission 36](#), p 9; Simone Abel, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 11.

⁹⁴ [Submission 26](#), p 4; [Submission 30](#), p 5.

⁹⁵ [Submission 34](#), pp 9-10.

⁹⁶ [Submission 36](#), p 9.

Melbourne.⁹⁷ Another member of the NSN was arrested for threat against politicians.⁹⁸ Dr Josh Roose described these events as part of a 'sustained campaign' to spread fear and to change Australian society 'on authoritarian, racist lines'.⁹⁹

- 1.45 Whilst the NSN has announced it is disbanding, the Committee notes the threat that members and their actions continue to pose to social cohesion and liberal democracy in NSW. The NSN announced they were disbanding in January 2026, following the announcement of new Commonwealth laws to proscribe hate groups.¹⁰⁰ If the NSN is listed as a proscribed hate group under the federal legislation, its key organisers could face a prison sentence of up to 15 years.¹⁰¹ However, stakeholders told us this did not mean their members no longer pose a threat.¹⁰²
- 1.46 Dr Josh Roose submitted that the NSN 'remains the most visible and structured manifestation' of the far-right extremist threat in NSW, 'irrespective of its recent claims to disbandment'.¹⁰³ He told us that 'their funding flows will remain intact'.¹⁰⁴ Dr Imogen Richards et al told us that NSN members are likely to continue to operate through 'informal networks or reconstituted structures'.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Dr Gerard Gill explained that disbanding was likely a 'tactical move' that avoids proscription but allows members to continue to remain active.¹⁰⁶
- 1.47 Stakeholders noted that known former NSN members have attended recent anti-immigration 'March for Australia' rallies.¹⁰⁷ Youth Action NSW submitted that the March for Australia demonstrations were in part organised and led by the NSN.¹⁰⁸ Dr Josh Roose told the Committee that the presence of NSN members at these events might also be a deliberate tactic to build support:
- This suggests strategic re-entry into public activism via softer, populist movements where sovereign citizens and a more fluid anti-immigration sentiment provides cover for more doctrinally fascist actors.¹⁰⁹
- 1.48 The Committee is concerned that the NSN continues to operate in a more covert and decentralised manner. The Free Speech Union of Australia noted that the

⁹⁷ [Submission 29](#), p 1; [Submission 34](#), p 10; Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 62; Baramadagal Darug Tribal Governing Council, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 3 March 2026, p 4.

⁹⁸ [Submission 34](#), p 10; Baramadagal Darug Tribal Governing Council, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 3 March 2026, p 4.

⁹⁹ [Submission 34](#), p 10.

¹⁰⁰ [Submission 24](#), p 6; [Submission 30](#), p 5; E Baker, [Neo-Nazi group National Socialist Network says it will disband due to proposed hate speech laws, ABC News](#), 13 January 2026, accessed 2 April 2026.

¹⁰¹ *Criminal Code Act 1995 (Cth)*, [Part 5.3B](#); [Combating Antisemitism, Hate and Extremism \(Criminal and Migration Laws\) Act 2026](#).

¹⁰² [Submission 24](#), pp 6-7; [Submission 34](#), p 17; [Submission 30](#), p 5.

¹⁰³ [Submission 34](#), p 7.

¹⁰⁴ Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 62.

¹⁰⁵ [Submission 30](#), p 5.

¹⁰⁶ Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 5.

¹⁰⁷ [Submission 26](#), p 4; [Submission 34](#), p 12.

¹⁰⁸ [Submission 23](#), p 7-8.

¹⁰⁹ [Submission 34](#), p 12.

new Commonwealth hate group laws may have pushed NSN activity underground.¹¹⁰ We also heard that encrypted messaging channels, fundraising and online propaganda continue to operate and that the NSN was raising funds, including for court cases.¹¹¹

- 1.49 The Committee heard that NSW is 'a clear target for expansion' for the NSN, although Victoria is its organisational centre. As well as their November 2025 demonstration outside Parliament House, NSN members have repeatedly appeared at Australia Day and March for Australia events in NSW. They have also delivered flyers to regional communities.¹¹²
- 1.50 The Committee is concerned that the NSN may be seeking to build a mass movement and political party that will gain power.¹¹³ Dr Josh Roose explained that, while not supported by all NSN members, he believes the group will establish a political party if they can. He told the Committee that this is a threat to democracy that should be taken seriously.¹¹⁴
- 1.51 The NSN's activities are difficult to regulate as members are careful to avoid explicitly breaching hate speech and other laws. Associate Professor Roose explained that the way the NSN operates is likely a 'deliberate strategy' to normalise extremist ideology, while ensuring they remain within the limits of legality. This includes using slogans such as 'Abolish the Jewish Lobby' or attending broader populist protests.¹¹⁵
- 1.52 The Committee does not accept that the NSN has truly disbanded. We are of the view that the NSN announced that it is disbanding in order for key figures to avoid being prosecuted for running a proscribed hate group. The Committee agrees with stakeholders that the NSN and its former members continue to pose a direct threat to the safety of NSW, and should continue to be monitored.

The threat of 'lone actors'

- 1.53 As well as extremist groups, stakeholders emphasised that lone actors pose a particular risk to the security of people in NSW.¹¹⁶ Associate Professor Roose told the Committee these actors may operate under the radar and draw inspiration from multiple violent or extremist movements.¹¹⁷ Lone actors are a particular concern as their attacks are more difficult to predict and prevent.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁰ [Submission 24](#), p 6.

¹¹¹ [Submission 34](#), p 17; [Submission 24](#), p 6; Dr Imogen Richards, Senior Lecturer, Department of Criminology and Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 6; Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 61.

¹¹² [Submission 34](#), p 17; Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 62.

¹¹³ Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 65; Dr Imogen Richards, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 6.

¹¹⁴ Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 65.

¹¹⁵ [Submission 34](#), p 17.

¹¹⁶ [Submission 34](#), 16; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 5; Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 5.

¹¹⁷ [Submission 34](#), p 13.

¹¹⁸ Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 5.

- 1.54 Lone actors are individuals who are inspired by the ideologies of right-wing extremist groups but are not members.¹¹⁹ Dr Grossman described lone actors as 'the real risk' as they are inspired by extremist ideologies but then decide on their own or in small groups to commit violence.¹²⁰ Associate Professor Roose told the Committee that recent attempted attacks or alleged plots in NSW have shown a pattern of 'lone-actor mobilisation'.¹²¹
- 1.55 For example, the Committee was informed about the actions of Brenton Tarrant. Brenton Tarrant was a far-right extremist who attacked a mosque in New Zealand in 2019, killing 51 people and injuring 40 others.¹²² Dr Josh Roose argued that other lone actors could be inspired by Tarrant's actions and explained that Tarrant's methods 'have been replicated and praised in forums by actors with similar intentions'.¹²³
- 1.56 Dr Grossman told us that social interventions may be particularly important to address the risk of lone actors.¹²⁴ Dr Imogen Richards said that it is also important to examine the online networks that may be behind them.¹²⁵
- 1.57 How lone actors become radicalised is discussed below. Ways to address this threat are discussed in Chapter Three.

Recruitment and radicalisation

Finding 7

Right-wing extremists exploit grievances with society to promote their ideas, for example grievances related to immigration, economics, and gender.

Finding 8

There is a link between right-wing extremism and misogyny. Misogynist narratives are used by right-wing extremists to recruit disaffected men.

Exploiting social grievances

- 1.58 Right-wing extremist organisations exploit and advance populist grievances and frustrations, particularly with government, as well as anti-immigration, sexist and antisemitic sentiments, to expand their support.¹²⁶
- 1.59 In particular, a number of inquiry stakeholders linked the rise of right-wing extremist ideas to a growing global distrust in public institutions and governments.¹²⁷ This may have been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic as

¹¹⁹ [Submission 34](#), pp 12-13; Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 5.

¹²⁰ Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 5.

¹²¹ [Submission 34](#), p 16.

¹²² [Submission 26](#), p 4; [Submission 34](#), pp 12-13; Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 61.

¹²³ [Submission 34](#), p 12.

¹²⁴ Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 5.

¹²⁵ Dr Imogen Richards, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 5-6.

¹²⁶ [Submission 23](#), pp 7-8; Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 5; [Submission 27](#), p 6.

¹²⁷ [Submission 18](#), p 15; [Submission 20](#), p 6; [Submission 27](#), p 9; Mark Duckworth, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 4-5.

the pandemic led to a rise in anti-government conspiracy theories,¹²⁸ as well as social isolation.¹²⁹

- 1.60 Dr Gill described right-wing extremists as 'opportunistic' in their use of the issues of the day.¹³⁰ For example, AVERT Research Network explained that during the COVID pandemic, the NSN actively tried to align their narratives with wider social anxieties.¹³¹ This helped increase their exposure.

Links to the manosphere and misogyny

- 1.61 Far-right groups exploit and promote misogyny and recruit through 'manosphere' subcultures. Manosphere subcultures are built on anxieties that men and masculinity are under threat.¹³² These subcultures have grown in recent years, potentially tied to social isolation of young men and the growth of toxic online and gaming networks.¹³³ 'The manosphere' includes groups like 'incels', short for 'involuntary celibate', who believe that women and feminism are to blame for their lack of relationships, job insecurity and other issues.¹³⁴
- 1.62 The AVERT Research Centre explained that 'incel forums, men's rights communities, and "tradwife" influencer networks' can all serve as a gateway to more extremist content.¹³⁵
- 1.63 Stakeholders told us right-wing and neo-Nazi groups are benefitting from the support of the influential 'mansphere' influencer Andrew Tate.¹³⁶ AVERT Research Network explained figures connected to Andrew Tate had been shown to be 'actively involved in recruiting young men' into groups like the NSN. These efforts have targeted 'wealthy and socially isolated teenagers' and exploited grievances.¹³⁷

Social and economic factors that contribute to extremism

Finding 9

Inequality, disadvantage, and social isolation can make extremism attractive to disaffected people. Right-wing extremists radicalise people by exploiting these unmet needs for community, identity and belonging.

¹²⁸ [Submission 27](#), p 6; [Submission 18](#), p 15; [Submission 20](#), p 5; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 2.

¹²⁹ Dr Steve Barracosa, Senior Manager, Specialist Support Unit/CVE, Youth Justice, NSW Department of Communities and Justice, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 January 2026, p 49.

¹³⁰ Dr Gerard Gill, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 4.

¹³¹ [Submission 27](#), p 6.

¹³² [Submission 27](#), p 8.

¹³³ Tiffany Papadakis, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026.

¹³⁴ Tiffany Papadakis, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 1.

¹³⁵ [Submission 27](#), p 4.

¹³⁶ [Submission 27](#), p 8; Dr Imogen Richards, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 6.

¹³⁷ [Submission 27](#), p 8.

Finding 10

Isolated young men are at particular risk of radicalisation and are targeted by right-wing extremists.

- 1.64 A number of stakeholders told us that inequality, disadvantage, and social isolation contribute to individuals becoming attracted to and radicalised within right-wing extremism.¹³⁸
- 1.65 This view reflects concerns in other relevant jurisdictions. In 2024, for example, the Senate Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs found that social inequality and social isolation are potential contributors to right-wing extremism.¹³⁹ The Victorian Legislative Council Legal and Social Issues Committee have also found that social isolation, economic insecurity and inequality are risk factors that may play a part in increasing susceptibility to extremist narratives.¹⁴⁰
- 1.66 Initiatives that improve wellbeing, build community, and reduce social isolation can act as preventive measures against right-wing extremism.¹⁴¹ These include third spaces,¹⁴² exercise and sporting programs,¹⁴³ and cultural and faith-based programs.¹⁴⁴ These are discussed further in Chapter Three.

Economic drivers of right-wing extremism

- 1.67 The Committee heard that people can be drawn to extremist movements when they are experiencing economic insecurity, socio-economic disadvantage, or inequality.¹⁴⁵
- 1.68 Academics pointed to a number of economic drivers of right-wing extremism, including:
- insecure employment

¹³⁸ [Submission 5](#), Tiffany Papadakis, p 1; [Submission 22](#), pp 4-5; [Submission 27](#), pp 7, 9; Nicky Sloan, CEO, Community Industry Group, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 37; Heather Jackson, Director, Interventions and Innovation, Women, Family and Community Safety, NSW Department of Communities and Justice, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 56.

¹³⁹ Parliament of Australia, The Senate, Right wing extremist movements in Australia, December 2024, pp 38, 40; [Submission 35](#), p 8.

¹⁴⁰ Parliament of Victoria, Legislative Council, Legal and Social Issues Committee, Inquiry into extremism in Victoria, August 2022, p 22; Dr Rory Gillard, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 11.

¹⁴¹ Nicky Sloan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 37-38; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 42; Lauren Stracey, Chief Executive Officer, Youth Action NSW, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 14; Maryum Chaudhry, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 34; Heather Jackson, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 56; Arab Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1.

¹⁴² [Submission 22](#), p 4.

¹⁴³ [Submission 34](#), p 23; Kelly-Anne Stewart, Executive Director, Youth Justice, NSW Department of Communities and Justice, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 57.

¹⁴⁴ [Submission 22](#), p 9; Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, Bishop of South Sydney, Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 25; Katie Lush, Policy Intern, Australian Christian Lobby, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 25, 27-28; Shia Muslim Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1; Arab Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026 p 1; Youth HEAR, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 2.

¹⁴⁵ Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 36; Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 3; Dr Rory Gillard, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 11;

- declines in traditionally male-dominated blue-collar and white-collar work
- worsening inflation and cost of living pressures
- perceptions of inequality.¹⁴⁶

1.69 The Committee also heard that economic issues could lead to certain communities being scapegoated. For example, Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, Jilian Segal, said that when society has economic issues, antisemitism rises.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, Sanjay Alapakkam, Legal Policy Advisor for Equality Australia, spoke about economic and other grievances being weaponised against marginalised communities,¹⁴⁸ and Dr Gerard Gill wrote that non-white immigrants are being scapegoated in the current housing crisis.¹⁴⁹

Social isolation

1.70 People who are socially isolated are particularly susceptible to right-wing extremist ideas,¹⁵⁰ and vulnerable to recruitment into right-wing extremist movements.¹⁵¹ This vulnerability is heightened for young people, who are increasingly socially isolated and deliberately targeted by right-wing extremists for recruitment.¹⁵²

1.71 Young people are increasingly socially isolated. In 2025, only 34 per cent of millennials indicated that they had a great sense of belonging in Australia, compared to 64 per cent in 2010-12.¹⁵³ We heard that this may be influenced by:

- Limited opportunities to participate meaningfully in community life and develop peer networks.¹⁵⁴
- Widespread anxiety about the future, driven by cost-of living pressures and perceptions of limited employment opportunities.¹⁵⁵
- The COVID-19 pandemic.¹⁵⁶

1.72 Social isolation makes young people particularly vulnerable for recruitment. The Committee heard that right-wing extremist movements recruit new members by providing social belonging, particularly for isolated individuals.¹⁵⁷ Lauren Stracey,

¹⁴⁶ [Submission 27](#), p 7; Mark Duckworth, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 5.

¹⁴⁷ Jilian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 45.

¹⁴⁸ Sanjay Alapakkam, Legal Policy Advisor, Equality Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 10.

¹⁴⁹ Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 3.

¹⁵⁰ [Submission 27](#), p 7; Nicky Sloan, CEO, Community Industry Group, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 37.

¹⁵¹ [Submission 22](#), p 4; Tiffany Papadakis, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 37.

¹⁵² [Submission 5](#), p 1; [Submission 22](#), p 4; [Submission 27](#), p 7; Tiffany Papadakis, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 37.

¹⁵³ Scanlon Foundation Research Institute, [Mapping Social Cohesion](#), 2025, p 7; [Submission 22](#), p 5.

¹⁵⁴ [Submission 22](#), p 4.

¹⁵⁵ [Submission 22](#), p 4.

¹⁵⁶ Dr Steve Barracosa, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 49.

¹⁵⁷ [Submission 27](#), pp 7-10; Lauren Stracey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 13; Tiffany Papadakis, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 39-40.

Chief Executive Officer, Youth Action NSW, told us that extremist movements offer connection, meaning and validation, which exploits a critical time of adolescent identity formation.¹⁵⁸ The AVERT Research Network observed that:

They [right-wing extremists] can offer an enhanced sense of belonging, efficacy and purpose, often highlighting the absence of these features within existing modern society ... The tangible rewards experienced by members of these groups, represents one of the key challenges for prevention and intervention efforts focused on right-wing extremism.¹⁵⁹

- 1.73 Involvement in right-wing extremist movements is often preceded by a weakening of informal social controls, such as family, school and community ties, and then, after interaction with members of the movement, followed by a gradual acceptance of extremist ideology.¹⁶⁰
- 1.74 The Committee recommends the NSW Government fund and support a number of different community and social programs to address the rise of right-wing extremism and risk of radicalisation of vulnerable cohorts. This is discussed further in Chapter Three.

Caste discrimination

- 1.75 The Committee heard from some stakeholders that far-right Hindu extremism is a form of right-wing extremism,¹⁶¹ and that it is causing harm to communities in NSW.¹⁶² While the Committee notes that the Hindu community, as an ethnic and religious minority, is itself a target of racism and discrimination,¹⁶³ some stakeholders argued that consideration of right-wing extremism should include consideration of far-right Hindu extremism.
- 1.76 While caste discrimination was not the focus of this inquiry, the Committee notes the views of stakeholders who raised this as a form of right-wing extremism.¹⁶⁴
- 1.77 The Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia (PATCA), an organisation representing caste-oppressed Hindu communities in Australia, argued that far-right Hindu extremism is a discrete form of right-wing extremism that is actively present in NSW sustained by diaspora organisations and networks. According to

¹⁵⁸ Lauren Stracey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 13.

¹⁵⁹ [Submission 27](#), p 10.

¹⁶⁰ Christoffer Carlsson, Amir Rostami, Hernan Mondani, Joakim Sturup, Jerzy Sarnecki and Christofer Edling, [A Life-Course Analysis of Engagement in Violent Extremist Groups](#), *The British Journal of Criminology*, Volume 60, Issue 1, January 2020, 74–92, p 82; [Submission 22](#), pp 4-5.

¹⁶¹ [Submission 7](#), Alliance Against Islamophobia (Australia), p 10; [Submission 8](#), Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia, p 6; Bilal Rauf, Senior Advisor, Australian National Imams Council, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 31.

¹⁶² Witness A, Alliance Against Islamophobia (Australia), [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 50; Witness B, Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 50; Witness C, Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 51.

¹⁶³ Sai Paravastu, President, Hindu Council of Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 21; [Submission 8](#), p 8.

¹⁶⁴ [Submission 8](#), p 6; Australian Human Rights Commission, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 16 March 2026, p 7.

PATCA, by reproducing caste hierarchies, far-right Hindu extremism excludes and silences certain groups.¹⁶⁵

- 1.78 PATCA submitted that second generation youth and recent migrants are the primary targets for recruitment by far-right Hindu extremist networks. These groups are vulnerable to exploitation as they may be experiencing identity insecurity, racism and marginalisation in broader society, coupled with a desire for belonging, pride, and cultural affirmation.¹⁶⁶
- 1.79 Alliance Against Islamophobia argued that ethno-religious nationalist movements, including Hindutva-aligned networks, impact South Asian Muslim communities, Sikh communities and caste-oppressed Hindu communities.¹⁶⁷ Hindutva is a Hindu nationalist political ideology characterised by religious majoritarianism, ethno-nationalism, and the normalisation of caste-based supremacy.¹⁶⁸
- 1.80 However, Sai Paravastu, representing the Hindu Council of Australia, told the Committee that Hindutva is a cultural philosophy of self-development and social responsibility and is incorrectly conflated with extremism.¹⁶⁹ The Committee notes that Hindutva is distinct from Hindu faith or belief. This was stressed by stakeholders, who argued that it is a politically motivated ideology.¹⁷⁰
- 1.81 The Australian Human Rights Commission recommend that there should be explicit legal protections against caste discrimination. They told us that an opportunity exists for the NSW Government to consider caste discrimination as a protected attribute under the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977*.¹⁷¹
- 1.82 The Committee notes the views of some stakeholders that caste discrimination and far-right Hindu extremism are aspects of far-right extremism and thanks those stakeholders for bringing this to the attention of the Committee.

¹⁶⁵ [Submission 8](#), pp 5, 7, 8.

¹⁶⁶ [Submission 8](#), p 8.

¹⁶⁷ [Submission 7](#), pp 6-7.

¹⁶⁸ [Submission 7](#), p 7; [Submission 8](#), p 5; Felix Pal, Nisha Thapliyal, and Gauri Gandbhir, [Taking ideology out: finding the diasporic Hindu far-right down under](#), Australian Journal of International Affairs, Volume 79, No 5, 691-708, 30 June 2025, p 695, referred to in [Letter from Witness C](#) to the Committee Manager, 27 February 2026, p 2.

¹⁶⁹ Sai Paravastu, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 20.

¹⁷⁰ Witness A, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 50-52; Witness B, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 52; Witness C, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 51.

¹⁷¹ Australian Human Rights Commission, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 16 March 2026, pp 6-7; Australian Human Rights Commission, [National Anti-Racism Framework](#), November 2024, pp 17, 3.

Chapter Two – Legislation and enforcement

Summary

This chapter outlines the current legislative framework relating to right-wing extremism in NSW as well as enforcement and reporting mechanisms. It considers how right-wing extremism is addressed in the criminal and civil law in NSW and stakeholder views on the adequacy of these laws. This chapter also outlines recent federal legislative changes and considers the *Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025* currently under consideration by the NSW Parliament.

The current NSW legislative framework

Finding 11

Right-wing extremist groups have been able to exploit gaps in existing criminal laws to promote and spread hate.

Criminal offences under existing NSW legislation

2.1 Right-wing extremism in NSW is regulated largely through the criminalisation of certain conduct – violence, racial vilification and spreading hate, as well as displaying Nazi symbols. As discussed in Chapter One, right-wing extremism may involve varying types and degrees of both violent and non-violent conduct.¹⁷² The Committee notes that as a result, right-wing extremism is difficult to combat with legislation alone.

Existing NSW framework

2.2 The primary legislative instruments in NSW criminalising right-wing extremist conduct are the *Crimes Act 1900* (the **Crimes Act**) and the *Summary Offences Act 1988* (the **Summary Offences Act**).

2.3 The *Crimes Act* prohibits public acts that threaten or incite violence or racial hatred, under the following provisions:

- Section 93Z: prohibits public acts that intentionally or recklessly threaten or incite violence on the grounds of race, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity or intersex or HIV/AIDS status.¹⁷³
- Section 93ZAA: prohibits public acts that incite racial hatred on the grounds of race, where the act would cause a reasonable person the target of the act (or a member of that group) to fear harassment, intimidation or violence or fear for their safety.¹⁷⁴

2.4 In addition, section 93ZA prohibits the public display of a Nazi symbol.

¹⁷² [Submission 30](#), Dr Imogen Richards, Dr Maria O'Sullivan, Callum Jones, Cam Smith, Jordan McSwiney, Kurt Sengul, p 6; [Submission 35](#), NSW Bar Association, p 5.

¹⁷³ *Crimes Act 1900*, [s 93Z](#).

¹⁷⁴ *Crimes Act 1900*, [s 93ZAA](#).

- 2.5 The *Summary Offences Act* also prohibits offensive language and conduct:
- Section 4A: prohibits the use of offensive language in or near, or within hearing of, a public place or school.¹⁷⁵
 - Section 4: prohibits offensive conduct in or near, or within hearing of, a public place or school.¹⁷⁶

Recent amendments to NSW legislation

- 2.6 A number of recent legislative changes have strengthened the legislative framework in NSW.
- 2.7 The *Crimes Amendment (Inciting Racial Hatred) Act 2025*, which came into force in March 2025, introduced section 93ZAA, into the *Crimes Act*, the offence of intentionally and publicly inciting racial hatred.
- 2.8 The *Terrorism and Other Legislation Amendment Act 2025* was passed on 24 December 2025. This Bill was introduced as a result of the Bondi Beach terror attack on 14 December 2025. In her second reading speech, the Minister for Police, Yasmin Catley stated that:

The Government is taking steps to protect the community and enhance social cohesion in the wake of these terrorist acts by placing sensible limits on the authorisation of public assemblies.

We are also criminalising the knowing and public display of terrorist organisation symbols and ensuring that police have the powers they need to identify individuals whom they reasonably suspect have committed any offence during a public assembly.¹⁷⁷

- 2.9 The *Terrorism and Other Legislation Amendment Act 2025* made further amendments to the *Crimes Act*, including inserting section 93ZB, making it an offence for a person to knowingly display, by public act and without reasonable excuse, a prohibited terrorist organisation symbol. The Act also made changes to the *Law Enforcement (Powers and Responsibilities) Act 2002* and the *Terrorism (Police Powers) Act 2002*, granting police officers further powers regarding public assemblies.

Civil law

- 2.10 Civil law avenues are also available for victims of hate crimes, including racial vilification, to seek recourse. Rather than criminalising conduct, most civil law avenues provide civil remedies for victims. However, compared to criminal legislative provisions, civil law is limited in its effectiveness at combatting right-wing extremism.

¹⁷⁵ *Summary Offences Act 1988*, [s 4A](#).

¹⁷⁶ *Summary Offences Act 1988*, [s 4](#).

¹⁷⁷ New South Wales, Legislative Assembly, [Parliamentary Debates](#), 22 December 2025, (Yasmin Catley, Minister for Police).

- 2.11 Inquiry stakeholders told the Committee that one possible way victims of racial vilification can seek recourse is under the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977*.¹⁷⁸ Under that Act, it is 'unlawful for a person, by a public act, to incite hatred towards, serious contempt for, or severe ridicule of, a person or group of persons on the ground of race of the person or members of the group'.¹⁷⁹

Adequacy and gaps in the current legislative framework

- 2.12 Criminalising and penalising certain conduct is an important way of addressing violent conduct, and serves as an important deterrent for certain behaviour as well as a clear statement of what conduct is acceptable. However, both criminal and civil law is limited in how it can address right-wing extremism. The law cannot address behaviour that falls below criminality or racial vilification thresholds, and does not prevent the spread of right-wing extremist ideas.
- 2.13 The Committee heard mixed views regarding the effectiveness of the current legislative framework in NSW in combatting right-wing extremism. Some stakeholders said the existing framework was sufficient in addressing extremism¹⁸⁰ or vilification.¹⁸¹ However, a number of stakeholders considered that there were gaps in the legislative framework.¹⁸² Stakeholders gave differing views of where these gaps lie.

Criminal law thresholds

- 2.14 Right-wing extremism is addressed in the current legislative framework under criminal law but much of the activity of right-wing extremists falls below criminal thresholds. The Committee heard that right-wing extremists, in particular groups such as the National Socialist Network (NSN), are able to stay beneath criminal thresholds,¹⁸³ or on the 'fringes of legality'.¹⁸⁴ Members of groups such as the NSN are told to avoid the 'limelight' and to wait and build momentum for a 'political shift that they see coming'.¹⁸⁵ As a result, extremist actors can be 'legally ambiguous'.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁸ [Submission 33](#), Australian Christian Lobby, p 5; Justice and Equity Centre, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 17 March 2026, p 2; Bilal Rauf, Senior Advisor, Australian National Imams Council, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 34.

¹⁷⁹ *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977*, [section 20C](#).

¹⁸⁰ [Submission 33](#), p 4; Mark Davis, Director, Federal Politics, Australian Christian Lobby, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 24.

¹⁸¹ [Submission 7](#), Alliance Against Islamophobia (Australia), p 9; Tia Hawli, Secretary of Board of Directors, Arab Council of Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 31; Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 11 March 2026, p 3.

¹⁸² [Submission 22](#), Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia, p 13; [Submission 34](#), Associate Professor Josh Roose, pp 4, 5, 26; [Submission 39](#), Executive Council of Australian Jewry, pp 3, 15; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 3.

¹⁸³ [Submission 34](#), p 25; Professor Julian Droogan, Co-Convenor, AVERT Research Network, and Editor-in-Chief, *The Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, and Head of the School of International Studies, Macquarie University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February, p 3.

¹⁸⁴ Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 60; Michele Goldman, Chief Executive Officer, NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 14.

¹⁸⁵ Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 3.

¹⁸⁶ [Submission 34](#), p 5.

- 2.15 An example of this was the neo-Nazi rally held by the NSN on 8 November 2025 outside NSW Parliament House. The rally was a clear display of racism and antisemitism, with a banner displayed with the words 'Abolish the Jewish Lobby', and a slogan chanted that is associated with Hitler Youth.¹⁸⁷ Despite the clear intent behind the rally, participants could not be charged as their conduct did not constitute an offence.¹⁸⁸
- 2.16 A number of stakeholders criticised the high bar of offences,¹⁸⁹ and the inclusion of exceptions, which has impacted the availability of prosecutions.¹⁹⁰ For example, forms of hate speech such as microaggressions, belittling and negative stereotypes, often do not meet criminal thresholds. As a result, these are exploited by extremists with impunity.¹⁹¹

Criminalising hate speech

- 2.17 Restrictions on hate speech are an important measure in combatting right-wing extremism. However, regulating speech is complex.
- 2.18 Hate speech is a threat to everyone in New South Wales. The Committee heard that hate speech can cause indirect and direct harm to people and communities.¹⁹² It contributes to a climate of fear,¹⁹³ marginalisation and subjugation of groups.¹⁹⁴ For extremists, it is a means to mobilise and rally supporters.¹⁹⁵ A number of stakeholders also noted that hate speech can precede and may progress to hate crimes, such as physical harm or intimidation.¹⁹⁶
- 2.19 The Committee heard that laws regulating speech must be carefully drafted so they can be enforced appropriately and understood by the public.¹⁹⁷ Legal experts raised the risk of regulating speech on the implied freedom of political communication.¹⁹⁸ The Free Speech Union of Australia cautioned against any 'censorship' legislation, stating it 'will not materially improve the situation'.¹⁹⁹

¹⁸⁷A Lewis, [Police allowed neo-Nazi protest outside NSW parliament](#), ABC News, 8 November 2025, accessed 2 April 2026.

¹⁸⁸J McSweeney and P Begley, [Neo-Nazis didn't break race hate laws: Police](#), Sydney Morning Herald, 1 April 2026, accessed 2 April 2026.

¹⁸⁹[Submission 39](#), p 4; Peter Wertheim AM, Co-Chief Executive Officer, Executive Council of Australian Jewry, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 13; Michele Goldman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 14; Jillian Segal AO, Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 43.

¹⁹⁰[Submission 34](#), p 25; Peter Wertheim, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 13; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 42-43;

¹⁹¹The Office of Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 3.

¹⁹²[Submission 20](#), Challenging Racism Project, Western Sydney University, p 7; Jonathon Hunyor, Chief Executive Officer, Justice and Equity Centre, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 21.

¹⁹³[Submission 34](#), pp 10-11.

¹⁹⁴Amarinder Bajwa, Board Member, National Sikh Organisation Inc., [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 14.

¹⁹⁵[Submission 20](#), p 9.

¹⁹⁶Maryum Chaudhry, Director, Office of Australia's Special Envoy to combat Islamophobia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, pp 34, 35; Michele Goldman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 18.

¹⁹⁷[Submission 35](#), p 7; Jonathon Hunyor, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 21.

¹⁹⁸Professor Emerita Anne Twomey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 22.

¹⁹⁹[Submission 24](#), Free Speech Union of Australia Limited, p 4.

- 2.20 However, some stakeholders, including academics and Jewish organisations, were supportive of regulating harmful speech.²⁰⁰ They considered that, in order to protect community safety there should be a clear line drawn regarding speech that causes harm, marginalisation or exclusion, and free speech.²⁰¹
- 2.21 The concept of regulating speech and banning slogans was discussed in this Committee's inquiry into measures to prohibit slogans that incite hatred [report](#).

Online spaces

- 2.22 Current laws do not adequately regulate right-wing extremist activity that occurs and spreads online. As discussed in Chapter Three, much extremist activity occurs online,²⁰² and does not always involve direct violence.²⁰³
- 2.23 As a result of what Dr Josh Roose called a 'legal grey zone', online spaces can be exploited by extremists.²⁰⁴ Without adequate regulation and moderation of online spaces, extremists are able to reach broader audiences,²⁰⁵ target vulnerable individuals,²⁰⁶ and recruit members.²⁰⁷ A number of stakeholders called for greater regulation of online spaces.²⁰⁸

Adequacy of the current civil law framework

- 2.24 As noted above, stakeholders noted there is some opportunity for people to seek remedies for racial vilification under the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977*.²⁰⁹ However, they also raised issues with the effectiveness of the current racial vilification provisions.
- 2.25 The Challenging Racism Project from Western Sydney University submitted that there is an under-utilisation of the racial vilification provision. A reason they provided was due to the high-standard of proof required to satisfy the provision,

²⁰⁰ [Submission 20](#), pp 7-8; [Submission 26](#), Equality Australia, p 6; [Submission 37](#), NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, p 6; Dr Rachel Sharples, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Sciences, and Member, Challenging Racism Project, Western Sydney University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 10; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 44; Jonathon Hunyor, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 21.

²⁰¹ Dr George Foster OAM, President, Australian Association of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and Descendants Inc., [Transcript of Evidence](#), [18 February 2026](#), p 14; Peter Wertheim, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 17; Dr Rachel Sharples, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 11.

²⁰² [Submission 4](#), Dr Gerard Gill, pp 3-4; [Submission 5](#), Tiffany Papadakis, p 1; [Submission 17](#), National Emergency Management Agency, p 1; [Submission 18](#), Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, p 18; [Submission 22](#), p 6; [Submission 26](#), p 8; [Submission 27](#), AVERT Research Network, p 6; [Submission 30](#), pp 8-9; [Submission 34](#), pp 13, 14, 16; [Submission 37](#), p 3; [Submission 39](#), pp 7, 12; Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 3; Youth HEAR, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 2-3; Arab Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 2.

²⁰³ [Submission 22](#), p 13.

²⁰⁴ [Submission 34](#), p 5.

²⁰⁵ [Submission 22](#), p 8; Dr Rateb Jneid, President, Australian Federation of Islamic Councils, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 36.

²⁰⁶ [Submission 5](#), p 1.

²⁰⁷ [Submission 22](#), pp 5, 9; Dr Rateb Jneid, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 36.

²⁰⁸ [Submission 20](#), p 9; [Submission 22](#), pp 11, 12; [Submission 37](#), p 6; [Submission 39](#), p 13; Trans Justice Sydney, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 13 March 2026, pp 3, 4.

²⁰⁹ Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, Bishop of South Sydney, Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 24.

which acts as a barrier for reports.²¹⁰ Similarly, Professor Emerita Anne Twomey criticised the use of the term 'hatred' in the provision, arguing that it involves an 'impressionistic rather than empirical' assessment.²¹¹

- 2.26 In addition, the Committee heard criticism that the vilification provision only covers race, and fails to cover other protected attributes.²¹² The Sydney Jewish Museum suggested there is room for reform of the racial vilification protections in NSW.²¹³
- 2.27 The Committee notes that the *Anti-Discrimination Act 1977* is currently being reviewed by the NSW Law Reform Commission.²¹⁴

Recent changes to Commonwealth legislation

- 2.28 This section outlines the recent federal *Combatting Antisemitism, Hate and Extremism (Criminal and Migration Laws) Act 2026 (Cth)*. The rise in right-wing extremism is a nationwide issue that other Australian jurisdictions are also seeking to address. Recent federal legislative changes are particularly relevant to this inquiry and a number of stakeholders commented on them.
- 2.29 The federal changes are relevant not only because they seek to address the same issue but also because consistency between NSW and federal laws is an important part of combatting right-wing extremism. Stakeholders raised the importance of coherence between NSW and Commonwealth legislation.²¹⁵ The Australian Human Rights Commission stressed the importance of this to avoid inconsistent standards and uncertainty amongst communities and law enforcement.²¹⁶ Academics provided that state-based reforms must be developed with close regard to Commonwealth provisions to avoid constitutional infirmity.²¹⁷

Combatting Antisemitism, Hate and Extremism (Criminal and Migration Laws) Act 2026 (Cth)

- 2.30 Following the attack at Bondi Beach in December 2025, the Australian Government strengthened Commonwealth hate crime protections via the *Combatting Antisemitism, Hate and Extremism (Criminal and Migration Laws) Act 2026 (Cth)*. The Act, which came into force on 3 February 2026 while this inquiry was on foot, amended the *Criminal Code Act 1995 (Cth)* along with other relevant legislation.

²¹⁰ [Submission 20](#), p 8.

²¹¹ Professor Emerita Anne Twomey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 20.

²¹² Bilal Rauf, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 34; Justice and Equity Centre, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 17 March 2026, p 2.

²¹³ Sydney Jewish Museum, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 7 March 2026, p 4.

²¹⁴ Law Reform Commission NSW, [Anti-Discrimination Act review](#), last updated 13 January 2026, accessed 8 April 2026.

²¹⁵ [Submission 21](#), Australian Human Rights Commission, p 2; [Submission 30](#), p 14.

²¹⁶ [Submission 21](#), p 2.

²¹⁷ [Submission 30](#), p 21.

- 2.31 The new provisions include:
- an aggravated offence for preachers and leaders who advocate or threaten violence²¹⁸
 - an aggravated sentencing factor for hate crimes²¹⁹
 - new offences and a new framework to proscribe 'hate groups', that may not have met the threshold for proscription as a 'terrorist organisation'²²⁰
 - an aggravated offence for using a carriage service for violent extremist material²²¹
 - strengthening of hate symbol offences.²²²
- 2.32 The new Act also increased maximum penalties and expanded Australian Federal Police powers.²²³

Stakeholder views

- 2.33 The Committee heard a range of perspectives regarding the Commonwealth legislative reforms and how they would interact with NSW legislative reforms to combat right-wing extremist conduct. Stakeholders discussed the new framework for proscribing a hate group in particular.
- 2.34 A number of stakeholders, including the Executive Council of Australian Jewry and Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, were in support of the Commonwealth reforms.²²⁴ The Executive Council of Australian Jewry referred to the inclusion of 'prohibited hate groups' in the new legislation, as 'a meaningful and necessary aspect of marginalising extremism'. They told the Committee that they hope the provision will disrupt and destroy organisations engaging in right-wing extremist conduct.²²⁵ Similarly, Dr Josh Roose considered proscription of extremist groups as effective where it is part of a package of disruption of these groups.²²⁶
- 2.35 However, the Committee heard a number of concerns from other stakeholders that particular organisations can be listed as 'prohibited hate groups' through regulation.²²⁷ Legal experts referred to this provision as potentially infringing on procedural fairness as it does not clearly offer avenues for groups to challenge a decision,²²⁸ and restricts rights to freedom of association.²²⁹ In addition, the NSW

²¹⁸ [Combating Antisemitism, Hate and Extremism \(Criminal and Migration Laws\) Act 2026 \(Cth\)](#), sch 1, Part 1.

²¹⁹ [Combating Antisemitism, Hate and Extremism \(Criminal and Migration Laws\) Act 2026 \(Cth\)](#), sch 1, Part 3.

²²⁰ [Combating Antisemitism, Hate and Extremism \(Criminal and Migration Laws\) Act 2026 \(Cth\)](#), sch 1, Part 4.

²²¹ [Combating Antisemitism, Hate and Extremism \(Criminal and Migration Laws\) Act 2026 \(Cth\)](#), sch 1, Part 5.

²²² [Combating Antisemitism, Hate and Extremism \(Criminal and Migration Laws\) Act 2026 \(Cth\)](#), sch 1, Part 6.

²²³ [Submission 35](#), p 6.

²²⁴ [Submission 39](#), pp 2, 12; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 43.

²²⁵ [Submission 39](#), p 12.

²²⁶ [Submission 34](#), pp 19-20.

²²⁷ [Combating Antisemitism, Hate and Extremism \(Criminal and Migration Laws\) Bill 2026 \(Cth\)](#), [sch 1, part 4](#).

²²⁸ [Submission 35](#), pp 7-8; Justice and Equity Centre, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 17 March 2026, p 1.

²²⁹ [Submission 35](#), p 8.

Bar Association noted the substantial maximum periods of imprisonment for the associated offences.²³⁰

- 2.36 Academics suggested that proscribing hate groups would not have the desired effect intended by the legislation of preventing right-wing extremism. The Committee heard there is a chance that proscribed hate groups will simply 'rebrand'.²³¹ For example, the Committee heard that the National Socialist Network announced it has disbanded as a result of Commonwealth law. However, as noted in Chapter One, the Committee was told that this would not hinder the NSN as they will likely go 'underground' and become more difficult to monitor.²³²
- 2.37 An additional concern some stakeholders referred to was the Act's focus on race, national or ethnic origin.²³³ Justice and Equity Centre submitted that right-wing extremists target a range of groups, yet the legislation limits the types of hatred that is covered. They provided that this 'sends the message that some kinds of hatred are less serious than others' and means that not all targets of right-wing extremism will be protected by the new law.²³⁴

Proposed NSW legislative change – *Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025*

Recommendation 1

That the House consider the evidence from this report when debating any legislation that involves hate crime offences.

- 2.38 As noted in Chapter One, in response to the neo-Nazi rally outside Parliament House in November 2025, the *Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025* (the Bill) was introduced on 19 November 2025. The Bill proposes reforms to the *Crimes Act* and *Summary Offences Act*.
- 2.39 The Committee considered constitutional aspects of the Bill in an interim report on 6 February 2026. At the time of the Committee's hearings on 18 and 19 February and when the Committee considered this report in April, the Bill was being considered by Parliament.
- 2.40 The proposed provisions in the Bill would amend the *Crimes Act* by expanding on existing section 93ZA to introduce offences of engaging in conduct associated with Nazi ideology. Further detail about the provisions of the Bill can be found in the Committee's interim [report](#).

²³⁰ [Submission 35](#), p 8.

²³¹ [Submission 24](#), pp 4, 6-7; [Submission 30](#), pp 5, 18; Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 3.

²³² [Submission 24](#), p 6-7; [Submission 30](#), p 18; [Submission 34](#), pp 19, 17; Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 62.

²³³ [Submission 26](#), pp 6-7; Justice and Equity Centre, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 17 March 2026, p 1.

²³⁴ Justice and Equity Centre, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 17 March 2026, p 1-2.

Stakeholder views

- 2.41 Stakeholders raised a number of concerns regarding the proposed offences in the Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025.
- 2.42 The Committee heard that the proposed offences lack clarity,²³⁵ particularly around key terms and definitions.²³⁶ The key concept of Nazi ideology is not defined in the Bill.²³⁷ This was a concern for a number of legal experts who argued that ambiguity is an inappropriate standard for criminal law.²³⁸
- 2.43 Professor Emerita Anne Twomey explained that ambiguous terms, such as 'hatred' are difficult for courts to define as they 'involve impressionistic rather than empirical assessments'.²³⁹ The NSW Bar Association noted that criminal law requires clarity and consistency to avoid misinterpretation by the public and predictable enforcement.²⁴⁰
- 2.44 This concern was echoed by religious groups, who warned that ambiguity may lead to 'unintended consequences'.²⁴¹ The Australian Christian Lobby (ACL) noted that right-wing extremist groups often use typically Christian symbols and were concerned that the legislation may have the effect of banning Christian symbols.²⁴² The Coptic Orthodox Diocese of Sydney and Affiliated Regions raised that there is a risk that lawful religious teachings or moral discourse may be mischaracterised, despite being non-violent and expressed in good faith.²⁴³
- 2.45 Additionally, the Committee heard that the reasonable person test in the proposed section 93ZA(3) could also be problematic. Proposed section 93ZA(3) provides that the person's conduct would cause a reasonable person to fear harassment, intimidation or violence or fear for the person's safety. The Committee heard that this is a 'harms based test' and that moving from an objective to a subjective test is problematic.²⁴⁴

²³⁵ Professor Emerita Anne Twomey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 20; Jonathon Hunyor, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 21; [Submission 18](#), p 7; NSW Bar Association, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 17 March 2026, p 6; Professor Emerita Anne Twomey, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 4 March 2026, p 2.

²³⁶ [Submission 18](#), p 7; [Submission 33](#), p 3; Mark Davis, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 23; Professor Emerita Anne Twomey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 20; Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), p 3.

²³⁷ Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 26; Professor Emerita Anne Twomey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 20; Jonathon Hunyor, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 23.

²³⁸ [Submission 35](#), p 7; Professor Emerita Anne Twomey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 20.

²³⁹ Professor Emerita Anne Twomey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 20.

²⁴⁰ [Submission 35](#), p 7.

²⁴¹ [Submission 18](#), pp 10, 12; [Submission 27](#), p 15; [Submission 33](#), p 5; Tia Hawli, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 31; Jonathon Hunyor, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 21; Mark Duckworth, PSM, Co-Director, Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies, Deakin University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 10; Australian Human Rights Commission, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 16 March 2026, p 6; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), p 6.

²⁴² Katie Lush, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 26.

²⁴³ [Submission 15](#), Coptic Orthodox Diocese of Sydney and Affiliated Regions, p 1.

²⁴⁴ Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 24; [Submission 18](#), p 9; Professor Emerita Anne Twomey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, pp 21-22; Jayne Christian, Community Knowledge Holder, Baramadagal Darug Tribal Governing Council, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 2; NSW Bar Association, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, pp 5-6.

- 2.46 A number of stakeholders noted their support of the Bill. Jewish organisations were supportive of the proposed legislation but raised that it could go further in its protections for Jewish people.²⁴⁵ Peter Wertheim from the Executive Council for Australian Jewry, told the Committee that he was pleased with the shift away from 'incitement' offences. He said that there have been cases of antisemitic conduct that did not result in prosecutions as the current test to prove incitement 'is so complex and difficult to prove to the criminal standard'.²⁴⁶
- 2.47 Other stakeholders were also of the view that the proposed legislation should go further. Dr Sera Yilmaz from Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia told the Committee that legislative measures that are more preventative are needed, particularly in regards to social media.²⁴⁷ Additionally, as some stakeholders noted that the Bill does not cover all targets of right-wing extremism,²⁴⁸ it was recommended by some that the Bill be widened in its application.²⁴⁹

Enforcement and reporting mechanisms

Recommendation 2

That the NSW Government fund community reporting services for hate crimes directed at specific communities.

Recommendation 3

That the NSW Police develop internal training and guidance to support the enforcement of offences that target right-wing extremism.

Recommendation 4

That the NSW Police review internal training and guidance on existing police powers relating to public assemblies and offences that can be employed against right-wing extremist conduct.

- 2.48 The Committee heard of the importance of adequate enforcement and reporting mechanisms to support legislation.²⁵⁰ Some stakeholders called for an improvement in how existing laws are enforced before new laws are introduced.²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ Simone Abel, Head of Legal, Executive Council of Australian Jewry, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 13, 18; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 42; Annita Stucken, Assistant Director, Legal, Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 43.

²⁴⁶ Peter Wertheim, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 13.

²⁴⁷ Dr Sera Yilmaz, Strategic Development Manager, Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 38.

²⁴⁸ Heather Corkhill, Legal Director, Equality Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 5; Jonathon Hunyor, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 21; Sydney Jewish Museum, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 7 March 2026, p 3.

²⁴⁹ [Submission 25](#), Justice and Equity Centre, p 2; [Submission 26](#), p 6.

²⁵⁰ [Submission 18](#), p 15; [Submission 27](#), p 1; [Submission 34](#), p 4; [Submission 39](#), p 2.

²⁵¹ Mark Davis, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 24; Tia Hawli, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 31; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 6.

- 2.49 The Committee heard that the requirement in some of the current legislation to prove intent has been difficult to enforce,²⁵² and has led to an 'enforcement gap'.²⁵³ Senior Advisor to the Australian National Imams Council, Bilal Rauf, noted that this may point to misunderstandings of existing laws, rather than an issue with the laws themselves.²⁵⁴

Reporting

- 2.50 The Committee heard that reporting pathways for victims of hate crimes could be improved to be better suited to particular communities. The Challenging Racism Project from Western Sydney University submitted that research indicates Australians do not report incidents of racism. They found that this is largely due to a 'lack of trust in statutory agencies' and responses received from giving racism reports.²⁵⁵ Trans Justice echoed this statement, stating that past institutional failures to act on reports represent a main barrier for LGBTQIA+ people in reporting hate crime incidents.²⁵⁶
- 2.51 A number of stakeholders, including religious groups and academics, stressed the need for alternative solutions to increase reporting for vulnerable and minority groups targeted by hate crimes.²⁵⁷ Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia recommended community-led monitoring and reporting pathways for non-violent extremist harm including caste-based discrimination and religious vilification.²⁵⁸ Similarly, Heather Corkhill from Equality Australia proposed community-based reporting for the LGBTQIA+ community. She referred to the Islamophobia Register as a useful example.²⁵⁹ The Committee was also informed that the Jewish Board of Deputies maintains a platform for reporting antisemitic incidents and hate speech.²⁶⁰
- 2.52 The Committee notes the National Security Hotline allows members of the public to report information of concern regarding national security. These concerns can include expressions of extremist ideology, concerning behavioural changes, attempts to radicalise others, and indicators of preparation for violence.²⁶¹ However, the hotline does not directly service particular targeted communities.
- 2.53 The Committee recommends that the NSW government fund community reporting services to allow specific communities to report hate crimes within their community.

²⁵² [Submission 33](#), p 6; [Submission 34](#), pp 5, 11; [Submission 35](#), p 7.

²⁵³ [Submission 39](#), p 3.

²⁵⁴ Bilal Rauf, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 34.

²⁵⁵ [Submission 20](#), p 8.

²⁵⁶ Trans Justice Sydney, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 13 March 2026, p 5.

²⁵⁷ [Submission 8](#), Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia, pp 6, 10; [Submission 20](#), p 8; Dr Rory Gillard, Policy and Advocacy Volunteer, Trans Justice Sydney, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, pp 8-9; Heather Corkhill, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 8; Australian Human Rights Commission, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 16 March 2026, p 4.

²⁵⁸ [Submission 8](#), pp 6, 10.

²⁵⁹ Heather Corkhill, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 8.

²⁶⁰ [Submission 37](#), p 4.

²⁶¹ [Submission 17](#), p 1.

Training and guidance

- 2.54 A number of stakeholders recommended that law enforcement agencies receive guidance and training on the operation of existing legislative provisions.²⁶² The importance of this is to ensure consistent enforcement and public understanding.²⁶³ Some Jewish organisations recommended that the guidance should include a list of common Nazi symbols and, if the *Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025* is made law, a list of conduct that may indicate support for Nazi ideology.²⁶⁴
- 2.55 Similarly, Equality Australia stressed the need for police to be trained on how to identify hate speech and hate crimes as they are experienced by LGBTQIA+ communities.²⁶⁵ Heather Corkhill from Equality Australia gave the example of neo-Nazis demonstrating outside a queer film festival in Albury, holding a banner that said 'Destroy paedo freaks'.²⁶⁶ Further, Trans Justice Sydney referred to a number of examples of police failing to act to protect LGBTQIA+ communities.²⁶⁷ These examples suggest a need for further police training and guidance on hate crimes experienced by all targeted communities.
- 2.56 With regards to demonstrations, such as the neo-Nazi rally in November 2025, the Committee heard from stakeholders who suggested the police receive guidance on protests.²⁶⁸ Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead suggested this training should be on when to permit protests, when to regulate them and when to use move on powers.²⁶⁹ Similarly, Dr Gerard Gill provided that police should have training on recognising and reporting hate incidents and should have clearer escalation protocols.²⁷⁰

Social programs alongside legislation

Finding 12

Right-wing extremism is a social issue as well as a criminal and security issue. Along with legislation that targets offending, social policies and programs are needed to promote social cohesion and prevent radicalisation.

- 2.57 While legislation is an important piece of the puzzle in combatting right-wing extremism, stakeholders overwhelmingly argued that social and education programs are vitally important. Stakeholders argued that the focus should be on education, early intervention and public information campaigns to promote social

²⁶² [Submission 36](#), Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, p 2; [Submission 39](#), p 6; Michele Goldman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 12; Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 27; Equality Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 11 March 2026, p 6.

²⁶³ [Submission 36](#), p 2; [Submission 39](#), p 12; Michele Goldman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 12.

²⁶⁴ [Submission 36](#), p 2; [Submission 39](#), p 6; Michele Goldman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 12.

²⁶⁵ Equality Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 11 March 2026, p 6.

²⁶⁶ Heather Corkhill, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 5.

²⁶⁷ Trans Justice Sydney, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 13 March 2026, p 6.

²⁶⁸ Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 27; Peter Wertheim, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 15; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 6.

²⁶⁹ Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 27.

²⁷⁰ Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 6.

cohesion and combat the spread of fear and hatred that is encouraged by right-wing extremism.²⁷¹

- 2.58 The Committee repeatedly heard about the need for a multi-agency, unified approach to combatting right wing extremism and promoting social cohesion, including both legislative and soft measures.²⁷² Stakeholders warned of relying solely on the criminal law to address right-wing extremism,²⁷³ noting the law can be a 'blunt' tool.²⁷⁴ Appropriate social measures to combat right wing extremism will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

²⁷¹ [Submission 18](#), p 10; [Submission 21](#), p 2; [Submission 32](#), Australian Association of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and Descendants Inc, p 6; Dr Sera Yilmaz, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 38; Michele Goldman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 15-16; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 42; Heather Corkhill, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February, p 5; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), pp 3-4.

²⁷² [Submission 34](#), p 14; [Submission 36](#), p 6; Bilal Rauf, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 34.

²⁷³ [Submission 18](#), p 10; [Submission 35](#), p 8.

²⁷⁴ [Submission 35](#), p 7; Bilal Rauf, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 31; Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman, Race Discrimination Commissioner, Australian Human Rights Commission, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 37; Adjunct Professor Trent Glover SC, Chair, Human Rights Committee, New South Wales Bar Association, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2025, p 21.

Chapter Three – Targeting radicalisation and recruitment

Summary

This chapter makes recommendations for social and education programs to combat right-wing extremism. These include early intervention programs and disengagement programs to prevent radicalisation. They also include community building programs to target the social factors that can lead to extremism, such as social isolation; and education programs to target antisemitism and racism. This chapter also considers how individuals can become radicalised online, including examining how social media promotes right-wing extremist content and how right-wing extremists exploit particular vulnerabilities to radicalise people online.

Early intervention, disengagement, deradicalisation and exit programs

Recommendation 5

That the NSW Government continue to fund and develop early intervention programs to prevent individuals from becoming radicalised.

Recommendation 6

That the NSW Government prioritise funding and developing early intervention programs that are co-designed and run by people with lived experience in their respective communities.

Recommendation 7

That the NSW Government continue to fund, expand and promote Step Together and the Engagement and Support Program, in collaboration with the Australian Government.

Recommendation 8

That the NSW Government prioritise providing early intervention, disengagement, deradicalisation and support programs in regional and rural NSW.

Important features of early intervention programs

- 3.1 The Committee heard that early intervention and deradicalisation programs are needed to prevent individuals from being radicalised into right-wing extremism.²⁷⁵ Early intervention programs may include exit programs, which assist members of a right-wing extremist group to leave, and disengagement programs, which aim to redirect at-risk individuals from becoming extremists.

²⁷⁵ [Submission 21](#), Australian Human Rights Commission, p 2; [Submission 22](#), Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia, p 12; [Submission 23](#), Youth Action NSW, p 9; [Submission 27](#), AVERT Research Network, p 1.

Stakeholders overwhelmingly argued for programs that address the social and emotional needs of a person.

- 3.2 Stakeholders noted a number of existing programs that provide counselling and mentoring for people to leave right-wing extremism. The Executive Council of Australian Jewry mentioned the 'EXIT-Deutschland' program in Germany, which has been found to 'reduce recidivism and disrupt recruitment pipelines'.²⁷⁶ The Aarhus Model in Denmark also identifies at-risk individuals and provides tailored support, linked to police, social services, schools and mental health professionals.²⁷⁷
- 3.3 Stakeholders overwhelmingly argued that programs that address a person's social and emotional needs are more effective than programs that target ideology alone. It is important that early intervention programs focus on encouraging people to sever social ties with extremists and support them to build a life away from extremism.²⁷⁸ Dr Gerard Gill described how these programs prevent individuals from only socialising with like-minded people in right-wing extremist movements.²⁷⁹
- 3.4 These programs, often referred to as 'disengagement programs', contrast with programs that aim to change a person's belief systems.²⁸⁰ We heard that disengagement programs focus on emotional, social and psychological needs and are therefore more effective than interventions that only challenge ideology.²⁸¹ According to Dr Josh Roose, 'international evidence demonstrates that disengagement is far more likely than ideological conversion, particularly for individuals with entrenched extremist worldviews'.²⁸²
- 3.5 Stakeholders also noted other elements of effective intervention programs such as:
- Support for family and close friends around people who are being radicalised²⁸³
 - Involving people with lived experience of extremism, including former extremists²⁸⁴

²⁷⁶ [Submission 39](#), Executive Council of Australian Jewry, p 9.

²⁷⁷ [Submission 39](#), p 9; [Submission 34](#), Associate Professor Josh Roose, pp 4, 21.

²⁷⁸ [Submission 34](#), p 23-24; [Submission 18](#), Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, p 17; [Submission 36](#), Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, p 10.

²⁷⁹ Dr Gerard Gill, Post-doctoral Researcher, and Member, AVERT Research Network, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 6.

²⁸⁰ [Submission 34](#), p 23-24; [Submission 18](#), p 17.

²⁸¹ [Submission 27](#), p 14; [Submission 34](#), p 23-24; [Submission 18](#), p 17; [Submission 39](#), p 9.

²⁸² [Submission 34](#), p 23.

²⁸³ Professor Michele Grossman AM, Co-Convenor, AVERT Research Network, and Chair, Deakin University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 6, 8.

²⁸⁴ [Submission 18](#), p 17; Laura Cameron, Policy Officer, Youth Action NSW, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 17.

- Co-ordination between multiple government agencies, such as health, education and police²⁸⁵
- Community-led as at-risk individuals may be distrustful of government.²⁸⁶

3.6 Additionally, the Committee heard that former extremists are valuable messengers and co-designers of preventative and disengagement programs.²⁸⁷ The Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney quoted a European Commission report which stated, referring to ex-extremists:

Their personal experience within the VRWE [violent right wing extremism] scene can give them a powerful credibility and create possibilities for meaningful discussions with extremists willing to leave the scene.²⁸⁸

Step Together

- 3.7 Multiple witnesses raised the Step Together program run by NSW Department of Communities and Justice as a best-practice disengagement and support program. The Committee recommends that the existing work to fund and expand the program nationally continue.
- 3.8 Step Together is a telephone and website-based support service for people who are concerned that someone they know is becoming involved in violent extremism.²⁸⁹ The helpline provides callers with professional support and allows callers to talk through what they are seeing and receive advice on who to turn to for further support.²⁹⁰ The website has more detailed information about violent extremism and additional resources.²⁹¹
- 3.9 Stakeholders praised Step Together as an effective anti-extremism program and supported its continued funding and expansion.²⁹² Step Together strengthens an important 'off-ramp' for individuals at risk of radicalisation, which is the family, close friends and other people around them.²⁹³
- 3.10 Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia wrote that Step Together 'builds resilience and reduces susceptibility to radicalisation'.²⁹⁴ AVERT Research Centre submitted that the program enables better early intervention and support for

²⁸⁵ [Submission 34](#), p 26.

²⁸⁶ [Submission 23](#), pp 9-10, 11; Dr Rateb Jneid, President, Australian Federation of Islamic Councils, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 36; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 5.

²⁸⁷ [Submission 18](#), p 17; [Submission 22](#), pp 10, 11; [Submission 23](#), pp 10, 11.

²⁸⁸ [Submission 18](#), p 17; European Commission, [Contemporary manifestations of violent right-wing extremism in the EU: An overview of P/CVE practices](#), 2021, p 8

²⁸⁹ Heather Jackson, Director, Interventions and Innovation, Women, Family and Community Safety, NSW Department of Communities and Justice, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 51-52; Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 8.

²⁹⁰ Heather Jackson, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 51-52; Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 8; [Submission 33](#), Australian Christian Lobby, p 11.

²⁹¹ Heather Jackson, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 51-52.

²⁹² Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 8; [Submission 23](#), p 11; [Submission 26](#), Equality Australia, p 9; [Submission 22](#), p 8;

²⁹³ Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 6, 8.

²⁹⁴ [Submission 22](#), p 8.

people who are becoming radicalised and that the initial NSW trial was based on robust research.²⁹⁵

- 3.11 At the time of writing, Step Together is in the process of being rolled out Australia-wide through the Australian Government Department of Home Affairs.²⁹⁶ Professor Michele Grossman AM told us that Step Together is also in the process of being rolled out in regional areas.²⁹⁷ This will help to address the issue of right-wing extremism in regional NSW, as discussed further below. The Committee supports this work and recommends the continued funding and expansion of the Step Together program.

Engagement and Support Program

- 3.12 Another disengagement program the Committee heard about was the 'Engagement and Support Program', also run by the NSW Department of Communities and Justice.²⁹⁸
- 3.13 The Engagement and Support Program is a disengagement program that provides case management for people who are vulnerable to or have engaged in violent extremism. ESP case managers help individuals make personal goals and access programs and services to address these goals, such as education, employment and mental health support. Case managers can also link people with social and community support.²⁹⁹ The program can take referrals from community members, family members and government agencies.³⁰⁰
- 3.14 Youth Action NSW supported the Engagement and Support Program, describing it as being successful in disengaging clients. It noted that staff have expertise in extremist and clients' psychology and social background, and provide non-stigmatising support.³⁰¹

Early intervention programs in regional NSW

- 3.15 There is a particular need for early intervention, disengagement and deradicalisation programs in regional NSW. The Committee heard that right-wing extremists are increasingly recruiting in and gathering resources from regional NSW.³⁰²
- 3.16 Dr Josh Roose provided multiple examples of right-wing extremists connected with or inspired by the NSN emerging from regional centres including Albury, Tamworth, Jervis Bay, and Newcastle. He also noted that the NSN had repeatedly

²⁹⁵ [Submission 27](#), p 11.

²⁹⁶ Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 8; [Submission 23](#), p 11; [Submission 27](#), p 11.

²⁹⁷ Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 8.

²⁹⁸ [Submission 23](#), p 11.

²⁹⁹ NSW Department of Communities and Justice, [NSW Engagement and Support Program](#), accessed 9 April 2026.

³⁰⁰ Heather Jackson, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, pp 51, 52.

³⁰¹ [Submission 23](#), p 11.

³⁰² Jayne Christian, Community Knowledge Holder, Baramadagal Darug Tribal Governing Council, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 3; Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 7.

appeared at Australia Day events in regional towns such as Corowa and had delivered flyers in Wollongong and Wagga Wagga.³⁰³

- 3.17 Professor Michele Grossman AM, co-convenor of the AVERT Research Network told us that there is a gap in rural and regional communities in terms of addressing right-wing extremism. She noted that regional and rural communities are not well-placed or well-resourced to provide 'off-ramping' from extremism.³⁰⁴
- 3.18 Given this growth of extremism and the resourcing gap, the Committee recommends the NSW Government target rural and regional NSW for resourcing of disengagement, deradicalisation and exit programs.

Community-building programs

Recommendation 9

That the NSW Government fund and support community programs and social infrastructure to address social isolation. This could include third spaces, exercise and sporting programs.

- 3.19 The Committee recommends that the NSW Government fund and support community programs and social infrastructure to address the social factors that make individuals vulnerable to right-wing extremism, such as social isolation.
- 3.20 A number of inquiry participants recommended community-building initiatives.³⁰⁵ The Committee heard that community building initiatives help decrease social isolation and strengthen social cohesion.³⁰⁶ In doing so, they make individuals less vulnerable to exploitation by right-wing extremists.³⁰⁷
- 3.21 Stakeholders told us that community-building programs should include initiatives that are grassroots,³⁰⁸ youth-led,³⁰⁹ inclusive and diverse.³¹⁰ They should also

³⁰³ [Submission 34](#), p 16-17.

³⁰⁴ Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 7.

³⁰⁵ Nicky Sloan, CEO, Community Industry Group, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 37-38; Jillian Segal AO, Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 42; Lauren Stracey, Chief Executive Officer, Youth Action NSW, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 14; Maryum Chaudhry, Director, Office of Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 34; Heather Jackson, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 56; Arab Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1.

³⁰⁶ Nicky Sloan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 37; [Submission 22](#), p 9; Arab Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1.

³⁰⁷ [Submission 22](#), p 9; Professor Julian Droogan, Co-Convenor, AVERT Research Network, and Editor-in-Chief, *The Journal of Policing, Intelligence, and Counter Terrorism*, and Head of the School of International Studies, Macquarie University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 7; Arab Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1.

³⁰⁸ Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 7; Arab Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1.

³⁰⁹ Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 7; Lauren Stracey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 14.

³¹⁰ [Submission 22](#), p 9; Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 2; Arab Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1.

provide spaces and services that are informal, flexible, and meet young people where they are.³¹¹

- 3.22 This can be achieved by community-building programs delivered by and with local communities. Nicky Sloan, CEO, Community Industry Group, told us that empowered, inclusive and connected communities are better equipped to combat extremism. She recommended investing in local, place-based community development initiatives delivered by not-for-profit organisations.³¹²

Third spaces

- 3.23 The reintroduction of third spaces (a social environment separate from school and the home) for young people would also help young people to feel less isolated, reducing the risk of radicalisation. Multicultural Disability Australia told the Committee that a decline in physical third spaces has significantly limited opportunities for young people to gather, socialise and build community outside of school and the home.³¹³
- 3.24 The NSW Government should support third-spaces and ensure that they are public and accessible. Third spaces should be affordable, welcoming and inclusive to enable young people to form offline peer relationships and develop a sense of belonging.³¹⁴
- 3.25 Youth Action NSW advocated for investment in youth hubs.³¹⁵ Youth hubs are a locally-based, integrated support service where young people can spend time with qualified youth workers and build connections with their peers.³¹⁶ Youth hubs bring together different services such as health, mental health and education, as well as case workers, in an inclusive, safe and supervised third-space.³¹⁷

Exercise and sporting programs

- 3.26 The Committee recommends that the NSW Government support community exercise and fitness programs, to foster belonging and community, and to potentially disrupt exercise and fitness programs used by right-wing extremists to recruit new members.
- 3.27 The Committee heard that far-right extremists leverage exercise and fitness as a means of recruitment and radicalisation. Far-right groups offer physical training

³¹¹ Lauren Stracey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 13; Kelly-Anne Stewart, Executive Director, Youth Justice, NSW Department of Communities and Justice, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 57.

³¹² Nicky Sloan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 37.

³¹³ [Submission 22](#), p 4.

³¹⁴ [Submission 22](#), p 4.

³¹⁵ Lauren Stracey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 16.

³¹⁶ Youth Action NSW, [From Fragmented to Coordinated: Building stronger systems for young people through Youth Hubs](#), November 2025, p 5.

³¹⁷ Lauren Stracey, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 16; Youth Action NSW, [From Fragmented to Coordinated: Building stronger systems for young people through Youth Hubs](#), November 2025, p 5.

at gym-based networks, referred to as 'active clubs', and use these for recruitment.³¹⁸

- 3.28 Dr Josh Roose submitted that community building initiatives should mirror the functional, psychological, and social appeal of extremist groups, without the ideology. To achieve this, programs should provide structured physical activity, mentoring, skills development, and pathways to social and economic participation.³¹⁹
- 3.29 The Committee recommends that the NSW government fund exercise and sporting programs as a prosocial alternative to extremist groups. For example, we heard about the success of Confit Pathways, an organisation where reformed ex-prisoners provide mentorship and fitness training to incarcerated and at-risk youth.³²⁰ PCYC NSW also serves as an example of best practice in providing community sport and recreation programs.³²¹

Cultural and faith-based programs

- 3.30 The Committee also heard about the role that faith communities and intercultural dialogue can provide in building resilient communities and combating right-wing extremism.³²²
- 3.31 Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, Bishop of South Sydney, Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, told the Committee that faith communities provide a sense of belonging, can counter harmful narratives, and model good citizenship.³²³ Dr Stead argued that Multicultural NSW grants could be targeted to support programs in faith communities which build community and promote intercultural and interfaith understanding.³²⁴
- 3.32 Other inquiry participants also supported programs that foster intercultural and interfaith dialogue to promote social cohesion and build resilience against extremist narratives and the social divisions they manipulate.³²⁵ We heard that the COMPACT (Community Partnership Action) Program, delivered by Multicultural NSW, supports community building programs across cultural and

³¹⁸ [Submission 34](#), p 23; Parliament of Australia, [The Senate, Right wing extremist movements in Australia](#), December 2024, pp 32-33.

³¹⁹ [Submission 34](#), p 23.

³²⁰ Kelly-Anne Stewart, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 55; Confit Pathways, [What we do](#), accessed 31 March 2026.

³²¹ [Submission 34](#), p 23; PCYC, [About PCYC](#), accessed 31 March 2026.

³²² [Submission 22](#), p 9; Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, Bishop of South Sydney, Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 25; Katie Lush, Policy Intern, Australian Christian Lobby, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 25, 27-28; Shia Muslim Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1; Arab Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1; Youth HEAR, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 2.

³²³ Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 25.

³²⁴ Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 28.

³²⁵ [Submission 22](#), p 9; Shia Muslim Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1; Arab Council of Australia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 1; Youth HEAR, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 2.

religious boundaries. Some of these programs have been targeted to address right-wing extremism and stakeholders were in support of expanding these.³²⁶

Online radicalisation

Finding 13

A major way people become radicalised is online. Social media algorithms help promote and normalise extremism.

Recommendation 10

That the NSW Government work with the Australian Government to ensure that social media platforms remove extremist content and that their algorithms do not promote it.

How radicalisation happens online

- 3.33 The Committee heard that a key way a person can become radicalised is in online communities such as forums and gaming platforms. These online spaces provide a sense of belonging and facilitate the spread of disinformation and right-wing extremist narratives. Social media algorithms further promote right-wing extremist content, increasing exposure to extremism and helping to normalise it.
- 3.34 The Committee recommends that the NSW Government work with the Australian Government to strengthen regulation of online spaces and ensure that social media platforms remove extremist content and that their algorithms do not promote this content.

Online communities provide a sense of belonging and expose people to increasingly extremist content

- 3.35 Isolated and vulnerable individuals who are at particular risk of radicalisation are drawn to online communities which provide them with a sense of belonging and connection. As these individuals spend more time online, they are exposed to extremist content more often, which can lead to radicalisation.³²⁷ This risk is heightened as extremists deliberately target those looking for connection online.
- 3.36 Individuals are exposed to increasingly extreme content online which gradually draws them towards right-wing extremism. A person who first encounters moderate content on mainstream platforms may eventually be led to join encrypted services or dedicated right-wing extremist websites.³²⁸ Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia described a similar pathway, of exposure to extremist propaganda, which led to engagement in forums, and could eventually result in a person creating extremist content themselves, or carrying out violent acts.³²⁹

³²⁶ Professor Julian Droogan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 7-8; Youth HEAR, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 2; Multicultural NSW, [COMPACT](#), accessed 31 March 2026.

³²⁷ [Submission 5](#), Tiffany Papadakis, p 1

³²⁸ Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 3.

³²⁹ [Submission 22](#), p 9-10.

3.37 Exposure to increasingly extreme content is often subtle and hidden. Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia submitted that 'extremist content is introduced incrementally and framed as humour, grievance-based discussion or peer bonding'.³³⁰ This process is also known as 'subversive exposure' and was illustrated in a 2020 paper by the Geneva Centre, which the Committee was directed to by the Australian Christian Lobby:

Subversive exposure involves the use of disinformation, deception, duplicity, and the normalization of extremist right-wing ideas to lure ignorant and vulnerable people, like youth (and especially gamers), into right-wing groups, without them knowing that it is a radical group. For example, extremist groups use memes (an idea, message, or joke spread over the internet, usually a combination of a visual and a text overlay) to create inside jokes with supremacist undertones that are commonly shared on websites like Instagram.³³¹

3.38 Right-wing extremists deliberately use online platforms to share and normalise their views and to radicalise young men in particular.³³² Dr Josh Roose wrote that extreme right movements are effective at using digital spaces to provide affirmation, status and identity to young men.³³³ This is often not done overtly but through coded messaging in jokes and memes. Top Blokes submitted that young men encountered extremist-adjacent content framed as jokes, conspiracy theories or 'alternative viewpoints'.³³⁴

3.39 As discussed in Chapter One, lonely and isolated young men are at particular risk of radicalisation by right-wing extremists. Memes are used to recruit young men into right-wing extremism by exploiting their desire for belonging because the hidden meanings in online jokes and memes contribute to individuals feeling part of a privileged 'in group'. Dr Josh Roose explained:

There's also the use of memes and humour. Very often they use these in-jokes, and that forms a sort of online community because if you get the in-joke you feel like you're part of something bigger than yourself. What these young men are looking for ... is that sense of empowerment and belonging ...³³⁵

Algorithms expose people to a feedback loop of extremist content

3.40 The risk of exposure to right-wing extremism and radicalisation is heightened by social media algorithms. Multiple stakeholders told us that social media algorithms promote extremist content.³³⁶ This means individuals are repeatedly

³³⁰ [Submission 22](#), p 5.

³³¹ Geneva Centre for Security Policy, [White Crusade: How to Prevent Right-Wing Extremists from Exploiting the Internet](#), noted in [Submission 18](#), p 14.

³³² [Submission 30](#), Dr Imogen Richards, Dr Maria O'Sullivan, Callum Jones, Cam Smith, Jordan McSwiney, Kurt Sengul, p 8; [Submission 23](#), p 3.

³³³ [Submission 34](#), p 23.

³³⁴ [Submission 31](#), Top Blokes Foundation, p 11.

³³⁵ Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 64.

³³⁶ Steve Barracosa, Senior Manager, Specialist Support Unit/CVE, Youth Justice, NSW Department of Communities and Justice, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 49; Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 63; Erica Hendrawan, Chair, Buddhist Council of NSW, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 22; Ali Alsamail, Secretary of Board of Directors, Arab Council Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 33.

exposed to escalating extremist content, reinforcing and normalising right-wing extremist ideologies.

- 3.41 The Committee was provided statistics that a brand new social media profile would be fed extremist content within 15-20 minutes.³³⁷ Hayden McCullough, a youth worker at Top Blokes, told the Committee how young men in particular are targets of online extremist content:

... by simply being a young man online, we're routinely exposed to polarising content. With algorithms at play, without actively seeking things, our feeds push content, whether it be about masculinity, race or identity. It's all designed to provoke and divide. Young men are not logging on looking for extremism. They're looking for connection, humour, community and entertainment. But the systems take advantage of this. Algorithms are built to escalate content, reward outrage and encourage division. The targeting is real; exposure is often automatic.³³⁸

- 3.42 Social media algorithms make it difficult to avoid extremist content online even if a person is trying to. Hayden McCollough noted that even if young people try to avoid extremist content, social media algorithms still continue to promote it.³³⁹ This was supported by other stakeholders, who noted the lack of individual agency in what people see in their social media feeds.³⁴⁰

- 3.43 Stakeholders also raised concerns that social media algorithms create an 'echo chamber', where a person's views are continually affirmed and reinforced.³⁴¹ For example, the Office of Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia noted that echo chambers could lead people to 'progressively become more aligned with right-wing extremists'.³⁴² Dr Josh Roose described a similar concept of 'algorithmic amplification', whereby people access certain material and are then drawn into more extreme material, eventually leading to radicalisation.³⁴³

Policy responses to online radicalisation

- 3.44 The Committee heard there is a need to regulate online platforms to reduce online radicalisation. This could include imposing a duty on social media platforms to take down extremist content. We also heard about the need to create alternative positive online spaces to counter extremist content.

³³⁷ Dr Sera Yilmaz, Strategic Development Manager, Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 40; Melissa Abu-Gazallah, Managing Director and Founder, Top Blokes Foundation, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 46;

³³⁸ Hayden McCullough, Youth Worker, Top Blokes Foundation, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 41.

³³⁹ Hayden McCullough, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 46.

³⁴⁰ Melissa Abu-Gazaleh, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 46.

³⁴¹ Erica Hendrawan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 22; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 3; [Submission 39](#), p 8; Ali Alsamail, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 33; [Submission 18](#), p 14.

³⁴² The Office of Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 12 March 2026, p 2.

³⁴³ Dr Josh Roose, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 63.

- 3.45 Multiple stakeholders recommended mechanisms to require online platforms to remove extremist content.³⁴⁴ Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia further recommended that governments work with platforms to create clear guidelines addressing the spread of misogynistic, racist and radicalising content.³⁴⁵
- 3.46 Existing mechanisms for removing extremist content are insufficient. The Challenging Racism Project noted that online platforms rely on communities reporting incidents of hate, and do not have transparent complaint mechanisms or provide adequate recourse to people targeted by hate on their platforms.³⁴⁶
- 3.47 We also heard that social media platforms have reduced their content moderation, which has led to extremist content being easier to find and less likely to be removed. In some cases, online platforms refused to moderate or take down extremist content when requested. We were provided the example of the Wakeley church stabbing, where X (formerly Twitter) declined to comply with requests from the Australian eSafety Commissioner to take down certain material.³⁴⁷
- 3.48 Equality Australia submitted that governments should impose a duty on social media platforms to remove extremist content. They further submitted that if action is not taken at a federal level, the NSW Government should establish a mechanism to order that violent extremist material is taken down.³⁴⁸
- 3.49 Some stakeholders also highlighted the need for alternative online spaces that are positive. Dr Josh Roose submitted there is a need for supportive online communities for young men who experience isolation and other grievances.³⁴⁹

Autistic and neurodiverse communities

Finding 14

Disability advocates identified autistic and neurodiverse people as being particularly vulnerable to online radicalisation as they are at particular risk of isolation, marginalisation in education, and unmet support needs.

Recommendation 11

That the NSW Department of Education review its disability inclusion policies for students, focusing on increased support for the needs of autistic and neurodiverse people.

- 3.50 The Committee heard that people with disability, including autistic and neurodiverse people, are particularly vulnerable to right-wing extremist ideas and

³⁴⁴ [Submission 30](#), p 17; [Submission 20](#), p 3; Dr Gerard Gill, [Answers to supplementary questions](#), 10 March 2026, p 4.

³⁴⁵ [Submission 22](#), p 11.

³⁴⁶ [Submission 20](#), p 6.

³⁴⁷ [Submission 30](#), pp 10-11.

³⁴⁸ [Submission 26](#), p 8.

³⁴⁹ [Submission 34](#), p 23.

movements. This is due in part to the heightened risk of social isolation experienced by members of the disability community.³⁵⁰

- 3.51 Nicky Sloan, CEO, Community Industry Group, told us that people living with disability represent some of the most isolated people and therefore have a greater vulnerability to radical extremism.³⁵¹
- 3.52 Marginalisation in education and unmet support needs contribute to this vulnerability.³⁵² We heard from Tiffany Papadakis, a disability advocate, that autistic people face isolation in school from 'the lack of knowledge, support and understanding from peers and teachers, and unmet support needs.'³⁵³
- 3.53 Autistic and neurodiverse people also spend a disproportionate amount of time online, increasing their risk of coming across extremist content and becoming radicalised. The Committee was told that marginalisation and exclusion often leads people with disability to find their community online,³⁵⁴ where they are exposed to right-wing extremist material.³⁵⁵
- 3.54 A 2025 eSafety Commissioner report found that young people with disability spend longer online than those without a disability.³⁵⁶ 90 per cent of young people with disability had played online games in the past year, with 42 per cent of young gamers with disability spending more than 12 hours a week playing online games.³⁵⁷
- 3.55 Stakeholders representing those with disability also told the Committee that people with autism or neurodiversity are targeted by right-wing extremists online.³⁵⁸ Tiffany Papadakis submitted that, while online gaming creates a collective identity and belonging, it also creates a space for exploitation. She argued that right-wing extremists target young, particularly autistic, individuals online by building trust through shared experiences, and validating pain 'while redirecting blame towards society, women, minorities, or imagined elites'.³⁵⁹
- 3.56 The Committee recommends that the NSW Department of Education review its disability inclusion policies for students, focusing on increased support for the needs of autistic and neurodiverse people. This will help to disrupt the trend of

³⁵⁰ [Submission 22](#), p 5; Nicky Sloan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 38; Tiffany Papadakis, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 37.

³⁵¹ Nicky Sloan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 38.

³⁵² Tiffany Papadakis, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 37.

³⁵³ Tiffany Papadakis, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 37.

³⁵⁴ Nicky Sloan, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 41.

³⁵⁵ [Submission 5](#), p 1.

³⁵⁶ eSafety Commissioner, [It's more than fun and games: The online gaming experiences of children and young people with disability](#), July 2025, pp 10, 12.

³⁵⁷ eSafety Commissioner, [It's more than fun and games: The online gaming experiences of children and young people with disability](#), July 2025, p 10.

³⁵⁸ [Submission 22](#), p 5; Tiffany Papadakis, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 37; Australian Federal Police, [Holiday season warning: Extremists infiltrating online and gaming platforms to recruit young Australians](#); Media release, 3 December 2023.

³⁵⁹ [Submission 5](#), pp 1-2.

social isolation and marginalisation leading vulnerable young people to find community online, where they are targeted by far-right extremists.

Education programs

Recommendation 12

That the NSW Government ensure that there are education programs in schools that address specific forms of discrimination and intolerance, including antisemitism, islamophobia, racism, misogyny and discrimination based on gender, disability or LGBTQIA+ status.

- 3.57 Many stakeholders recommended education programs to combat right-wing extremism.³⁶⁰ These would teach school students about specific forms of discrimination and intolerance, to counter right-wing extremist narratives. Building knowledge about different identities can also lead to more acceptance of those identities.³⁶¹

Key features of education programs

- 3.58 The Committee heard from various stakeholders about the key features education programs should contain in order to effectively combat right-wing extremism. Some stakeholders argued that education programs in primary school are particularly important as children are still in the process of forming beliefs.³⁶² Tia Hawli, representing the Arab Council of Australia, argued that education programs should be co-designed with the communities that are the targets of bigotry.³⁶³
- 3.59 Representatives of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry argued that different kinds of bigotry require distinct, tailored education programs.³⁶⁴ Peter Wertheim AM, Co-Chief Executive Officer, stated:

One of the aspects of education which we think needs to be emphasised is the need to differentiate between different forms of prejudice ... We can't treat every form of

³⁶⁰ Dr Imogen Richards, Senior Lecturer, Department of Criminology and Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 6; Professor Michele Grossman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 7; Mark Davis, Director, Federal Politics, Australian Christian Lobby, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 24; Rateb Jneid, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 36; Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 42; Maryum Chaudhry, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 34; Bart Shteinman, Executive Member, Jewish Council of Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, pp 29, 31; Sandy Hollis, Head of Education, Sydney Jewish Museum, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, pp 39-40.

³⁶¹ Dr Rory Gillard, Policy and Advocacy Volunteer, Trans Justice Sydney, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 9.

³⁶² Michele Goldman, Chief Executive Officer, NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 14; Sandy Hollis, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 40;

³⁶³ Tia Hawli, Secretary of Board of Directors, Arab Council Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 35, 36;

³⁶⁴ Simone Abel, Head of Legal, Executive Council of Australian Jewry, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 15.

racism or bigotry as the same, because they have different histories, manifestations and dynamics. Therefore each requires a bespoke solution.³⁶⁵

Antisemitism

- 3.60 Stakeholders from the Jewish community told the Committee there should be education programs about antisemitism. Education about Jewish history, identity, culture and antisemitism would promote understanding and counter prejudice.³⁶⁶
- 3.61 These stakeholders argued for education about antisemitism specifically, distinct from education about racism more generally. According to Jillian Segal AO, Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, this is required because antisemitism has unique features compared to other forms of racism.³⁶⁷ Similarly, Michele Goldman from the NSW Jewish Board of Deputies noted that antisemitism has unique aspects such as conspiracy theories and tropes that need to be explained and understood.³⁶⁸
- 3.62 Jewish stakeholders also argued for additional education about the Holocaust.³⁶⁹ The Australian Association of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and Descendants submitted that Holocaust and genocide education is effective at countering extremist ideology as it shows the impacts of 'hate, conspiracy and scapegoating'.³⁷⁰

Racism

- 3.63 The Committee heard that anti-racism education is critical to promote social inclusion and provide a counter-narrative to racism, a key value of right-wing extremism. According to Race Discrimination Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman:
- [Right-wing extremist movements are] very often based on notions of white supremacy and the desire to inflict violence on those who are not seen as white ... If you want to counter this extremism, you must counter racism.³⁷¹
- 3.64 Several stakeholders recommended that the NSW Government adopt the Australian Human Rights Commission's National Anti-Racism Framework, particularly its recommendations on education.³⁷² Relevant recommendations from the National Anti-Racism Framework include:

³⁶⁵ Peter Wertheim AM, Co-Chief Executive Officer, Executive Council of Australian Jewry, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 14.

³⁶⁶ [Submission 37](#), NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, p 5.

³⁶⁷ Jillian Segal, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 45.

³⁶⁸ Michele Goldman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 17.

³⁶⁹ [Submission 37](#), p 5.

³⁷⁰ [Submission 32](#), Australian Association of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and Descendants Inc, p 6.

³⁷¹ Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 34.

³⁷² Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 37; Tia Hawli, Secretary of Board of Directors, Arab Council Australia, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, pp 32, 35; Dr Rory Gillard, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 6; Bart Shteinman, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 29.

- Co-designed and nationally consistent antiracism resources and educational materials for staff and students that focus on recognising and rejecting racism.
- Material about the historical and ongoing impacts of settler colonisation, co-designed in partnership with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander organisations.
- Material about Australia's migration history, contemporary forms of racism, and ongoing impacts of discriminatory policies.³⁷³

LGBTQIA+

3.65 The Committee also heard there is a gap in education about LGBTQIA+ discrimination. Dr Rory Gillard from Trans Justice Sydney told the Committee that a previous program about LGBTQIA+ identities ('Safe Schools') had been defunded. As Dr Gillard told the Committee:

My concern there is that if you're not teaching kids about gender, sexuality diversity and people who have variations in sex characteristics—also called people who are intersex—it's not going to build the base knowledge that they need to be accepting of those communities.³⁷⁴

Education about misinformation and disinformation

3.66 The Committee also heard there is a need for education about misinformation and disinformation, and for digital literacy. Mark Duckworth PSM from the Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies at Deakin University told us that social media literacy was 'fundamental', as without it, people are unable to adequately analyse and assess information.³⁷⁵

3.67 Dr Rachel Sharples from the Challenging Racism Project at Western Sydney University told us that it was important to help people identify misinformation, disinformation and conspiracy theories online.³⁷⁶ This could help reduce their vulnerability to being radicalised by misinformation.³⁷⁷

³⁷³ Australian Human Rights Commission, [The National Anti-Racism Framework: A roadmap to eliminating racism in Australia](#), November 2024, p 19.

³⁷⁴ Dr Rory Gillard, [Transcript of evidence](#), 19 February 2026, p 9.

³⁷⁵ Mark Duckworth, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 9.

³⁷⁶ Dr Rachel Sharples, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Sciences, and Member, Challenging Racism Project, Western Sydney University, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 9.

³⁷⁷ Dr Rachel Sharples, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 9; Rateb Jneid, [Transcript of evidence](#), 18 February 2026, p 36.

Appendix One – Terms of reference

That the Committee on Law and Safety inquire into and report on:

1. The Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025, in particular on constitutional aspects of the bill.
2. Measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales, with particular reference to:
 - a) The threat that right-wing extremist movements and organisations in New South Wales pose to the community and impact that they have on particular members in the community, including those they seek to recruit;
 - b) Australian and international examples of best practice to combat right-wing extremism;
 - c) Methods and practices the Government might adopt to combat right-wing extremism, including:
 - i. Community building programs
 - ii. Deradicalisation programs
 - iii. Any other mechanisms the Committee considers appropriate;
 - d) Existing offences and powers in both New South Wales and Commonwealth legislation;
 - e) Any other related matters.

That the Committee prepares an interim report on the constitutional aspects of the Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025 by 6 February 2026 and a report on measures to combat right-wing extremism by 23 April 2026.

VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS NO. 140, WEDNESDAY 19 NOVEMBER 2025

11 SUSPENSION OF STANDING AND SESSIONAL ORDERS—CRIMES AND SUMMARY OFFENCES AMENDMENT BILL 2025

Mr Ron Hoenig moved, That standing and sessional orders be suspended to provide that upon the conclusion of the Attorney's second reading speech, the Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025 stand referred forthwith to the Legislative Assembly Committee on Law and Safety for inquiry and report.

Question put and passed.

15 CRIMES AND SUMMARY OFFENCES AMENDMENT BILL 2025

Mr Michael Daley moved, pursuant to notice given this day, That a bill be introduced for an Act to amend the Crimes Act 1900 in relation to displaying Nazi symbols and engaging in conduct that indicates support for Nazi ideology; to amend the Summary Offences Act 1988 in relation to public assemblies; and for related purposes.

Question put and passed.

Bill introduced and read a first time.

Mr Michael Daley moved, That this bill be now read a second time.

Mr Michael Daley gave the mover's second reading speech.

In accordance with the resolution of the House of this day bill stands referred to the Legislative Assembly Committee on Law and Safety for inquiry and report.

Appendix Two – Conduct of inquiry

Terms of reference

On 19 November 2025 the Attorney General, The Hon Michael Daley MP, referred an inquiry to the Committee into measures to combat right wing extremism, alongside a resolution from the House that the Committee inquire and report on the *Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025*.

The Committee met on 24 November 2025 and resolved to conduct the inquiry.

The terms of reference for the inquiry are at Appendix One.

The Committee tabled an interim report into the *Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025* on 6 February 2026.

Submissions

The Committee called for submissions and wrote to key stakeholders inviting them to make a submission. The closing date for submissions was 6 February 2026.

The Committee received 39 submissions from academics, cultural and religious communities, peak bodies, advocacy groups; and members of the community.

A list of submissions is at Appendix Three.

Hearings

The Committee held public hearings on 18 February 2026 and 19 February 2026. 54 witnesses appeared at the hearings. They included officials from the Department of Communities and Justice NSW, the Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, and representatives from cultural and religious communities, academics, lawyers, community advocates, and youth diversionary programs.

A full list of the witnesses who appeared at the hearings is at Appendix Four.

Appendix Three – Submissions

No.	Author
1	Confidential
2	Mr Robert Heron
3	Mr Todd Beaton
4	Dr Gerard Gill
5	Ms Tiffany Papadakis
6	Confidential
7	Alliance Against Islamophobia (Australia)
8	Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia
9	Confidential
10	Confidential
11	Mr William Cochran
12	Confidential
13	Mr Doug McIntyre
14	Mrs Maxine Beale
15	Coptic Orthodox Diocese of Sydney & Affiliated Regions
16	Ms Helen Hayden
17	National Emergency Management Agency
18	Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney
19	Confidential
20	Challenging Racism Project, Western Sydney University
21	Australian Human Rights Commission
22	Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia
23	Youth Action NSW
24	Free Speech Union of Australia Limited
25	Justice and Equity Centre
26	Equality Australia
27	AVERT Research Network
28	Sydney Jewish Museum
29	Youth HEAR
30	Dr Imogen Richards, Dr Maria O'Sullivan, Mr Callum Jones, Mr Cam Smith, Mr Jordan McSwiney, Mr Kurt Sengul
31	Top Blokes Foundation
32	Australian Association of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and Descendants Inc

No.	Author
33	Australian Christian Lobby
34	Associate Professor Josh Roose
35	New South Wales Bar Association
36	Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism (ASECA)
37	NSW Jewish Board of Deputies
38	Confidential
39	Executive Council of Australian Jewry

Appendix Four – Witnesses

18 February 2026

Parliament House, Macquarie Room, Sydney, NSW

Witness	Organisation
Dr Rachel Sharples Senior Lecturer, School of Social Sciences	Challenging Racism Project, Western Sydney University
Dr Imogen Richards Senior Lecturer, Department of Criminology	Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University
Mr Mark Duckworth PSM Co-Director	Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies, Deakin University
Dr Gerard Gill Post-Doctoral Researcher	
Professor Julian Droogan Co-Convenor, AVERT; Editor-in-Chief the Journal of Policing, Intelligence, and Counter Terrorism; Head of the School of International Studies, Macquarie University	AVERT Research Network
Professor Michele Grossman AM Co-Convenor, AVERT and Research Chair, Deakin University	AVERT Research Network
Mrs Michele Goldman CEO	NSW Jewish Board of Deputies
Mr Peter Wertheim AM Co-CEO	Executive Council of Australian Jewry
Ms Simone Abel Head of Legal	Executive Council of Australian Jewry
Dr George Foster OAM President	Australian Association of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and Descendants Inc
Mr Sai Paravastu President	Hindu Council of Australia
Ms Erica Hendrawan Chair	Buddhist Council of NSW
Rt Rev. Dr Michael Stead Bishop of South Sydney	Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney
Rev. Fr John Sorial Director of Public Affairs	Coptic Orthodox Diocese of Sydney & Affiliated Regions
Mr Mark Davis Director, Federal Politics	Australian Christian Lobby
Ms Katie Lush Policy Intern	Australian Christian Lobby

Mr Bilal Rauf Senior Advisor	Australian National Imams Council
Dr Ali Alsamail Director	Shia Muslim Council of Australia
Ms Tia Hawli Secretary of Board of Directors	Arab Council Australia
Dr Rateb Jneid President	Australian Federation of Islamic Councils
Mr Keysar Trad Board member	Australian Federation of Islamic Councils
Ms Tiffany Papadakis Disability Advocate	
Ms Nicky Sloan CEO	Community Industry Group
Dr Sera Yilmaz Strategic Development Manager	Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia
Miss Marwah Almomani Systemic Advocate	Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia
Ms Jillian Segal AO Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism	Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism
Ms Annita Stucken Assistant Director, Legal, Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism	Office of the Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism
In-camera Witness A	Alliance Against Islamophobia (Australia)
In-camera Witness B	Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia
In-camera Witness C	Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia

19 February 2026

Parliament House, Macquarie Room, Sydney, NSW

Witness	Organisation
Ms Jayne Christian Community Knowledge Holder	Baramadagal Darug Tribal Governing Council
Dr Rory Gillard Policy and advocacy volunteer	Trans Justice Sydney
Mr Sanjay Alapakkam Legal Policy Advisor	Equality Australia
Ms Heather Corkhill Legal Director	Equality Australia
Mr Mark Franklin President	Multicultural Communities Council of NSW

Ms Lauren Stracey Chief Executive Officer	Youth Action NSW
Miss Laura Cameron Policy Officer	Youth Action NSW
Mr Amarinder Bajwa Board Member, National Sikh Organisation Inc. and Chair, Multicultural Communities Council of Australia	National Sikh Organisation Inc.
Professor Emerita Anne Twomey	
Mr Jonathon Hunyor Chief Executive Officer	Justice and Equity Centre
Adjunct Professor Trent Glover SC Chair, Human Rights Committee, NSW Bar Association; Adjunct Professor of Law, College of Business, Law and Governance, James Cook University	New South Wales Bar Association
Mr Bart Shteinman Executive Member	Jewish Council of Australia
Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman Race Discrimination Commissioner	Australian Human Rights Commission
Miss Maryum Chaudhry Director	Office of Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia (OSECI)
Ms Melissa Abu-Gazaleh Managing Director and Founder	Top Blokes Foundation
Mr Hayden McCullough Youth Worker	Top Blokes Foundation
Mr Joshua Kirsh Director	Youth HEAR
Ms Sandy Hollis Head of Education	Sydney Jewish Museum
Ms Kelly-Anne Stewart Executive Director, Youth Justice	Department of Communities and Justice NSW
Ms Jennifer Quincey Executive Director, Women Family and Community Safety	Department of Communities and Justice NSW
Ms Heather Jackson Director, Interventions and Innovation, Women Family and Community Safety	Department of Communities and Justice NSW

Dr Steve Barracosa Senior Manager Youth Justice NSW Specialist Support /CVE Unit	Department of Communities and Justice NSW
Dr Danielle Matsuo A/Assistant Commissioner, Strategy & Policy Corrective Services NSW	Department of Communities and Justice NSW
Dr Josh Roose Associate Professor of Politics	Deakin University

Appendix Five – Extracts from minutes

MINUTES OF MEETING NO 18

8:36 AM, 24 November 2025

Macquarie Room and via videoconference

Members present

Mr Atalla (Chair), Dr McDermott (Deputy Chair), Mr Toole (all in-person) Mr Donato, Ms Stuart, and Mr Vo (all via videoconference)

Apologies

Adjunct Professor Smith

1. Confirmation of minutes

Resolved, on the motion of Mr Vo: That the minutes of the meeting of 22 September 2025 be confirmed.

2. ***

3. Inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales

The Chair introduced secretariat staff who will be managing the inquiry.

3.1 Terms of reference

The Committee noted the following extract from the Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings No. 140, Wednesday 19 November 2025:

SUSPENSION OF STANDING AND SESSIONAL ORDERS – CRIMES AND SUMMARY OFFENCES AMENDMENT BILL 2025
Mr Ron Hoenig moved, That standing and sessional orders be suspended to provide that upon the conclusion of the Attorney's second reading speech, the Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025 stand referred forthwith to the Legislative Assembly's Committee on Law and Safety for inquiry and report. Question put and passed.
...
CRIMES AND SUMMARY OFFENCES AMENDMENT BILL 2025
Mr Michael Daley moved, pursuant to notice given this day, That a bill be introduced for an Act to amend the Crimes Act 1900 in relation to displaying Nazi symbols and engaging in conduct that indicates support for Nazi ideology; to amend the Summary Offences Act 1988 in relation to public assemblies; and for related purposes.
Question put and passed.
Bill introduced and read a first time.
Mr Michael Daley moved, That this bill be now read a second time.
Mr Michael Daley gave the mover's second reading speech.
In accordance with the resolution of the House of this day bill stands referred to the Legislative Assembly Committee on Law and Safety for inquiry and report.

The Committee also noted correspondence from the Hon Michael Daley MP, Attorney General, requesting the committee inquire into and report on the measures proposed in the Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025 and measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales, and attaching proposed terms of reference:

"That the Standing Committee on Law and Safety inquire into and report on the Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025. The Committee is asked to provide an interim report by 6 February 2026 to allow the Bill to proceed. The Standing Committee on Law and Safety also inquire into measures to combat right wing extremism in New South Wales, with particular reference to:

- a) The threat that right wing extremist movements and organisations in New South Wales pose to the community and impact that they have on particular members in the community, including those they seek to recruit;
- b) Australian and international examples of best practice to combat right wing extremism;
- c) Methods and practices the Government might adopt to combat right wing extremism, including:
 - a. Community building programs
 - b. Deradicalisation programs
 - c. Any other mechanisms the committee considers appropriate;
- d) Existing offences and powers in both New South Wales and Commonwealth legislation.
- e) Any other related matters.

The Committee is asked to provide its final report by mid April 2026."

Discussion ensued.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded Mr Vo:

- That the Committee on Law and Safety inquire into and report on:
 1. The Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025, in particular on constitutional aspects of the bill.
 2. Measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales, with particular reference to:
 - a) The threat that right-wing extremist movements and organisations in New South Wales pose to the community and impact that they have on particular members in the community, including those they seek to recruit;
 - b) Australian and international examples of best practice to combat right-wing extremism;
 - c) Methods and practices the Government might adopt to combat right-wing extremism, including:
 - i. Community building programs
 - ii. Deradicalisation programs
 - iii. Any other mechanisms the committee considers appropriate;

- d) Existing offences and powers in both New South Wales and Commonwealth legislation;
 - e) Any other related matters.
- That the Committee prepares an interim report on the constitutional aspects of the Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025 by 6 February 2026 and a report on measures to combat right-wing extremism by 23 April 2026.
 - That the Chair writes to the Hon Michael Daley, Attorney General to acknowledge the correspondence and inform him that the Committee has adopted the terms of reference.

3.2 Inquiry work plan

Part 1

Part 1 will consist of consideration of constitutional issues of the bill, including any possible amendments to the bill.

Request legal advice	December 2025
Committee to consider legal advice, with input from small number of constitutional law experts	January 2026
Report deliberative	End Jan or start Feb 2026
Report tabling	Fri 6 February 2026

Part 2

Submissions from stakeholders	Due 3 February 2026
Public hearing/s	February 2026
Report deliberative	Mon 20 April 2026
Report tabling	Thurs 23 April 2026

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded Ms Stuart:

- That the Committee conducts the inquiry in two separate parts, with part 1 considering the bill, focusing on constitutional issues, and part 2 considering measures to combat right-wing extremism.
- That the Committee advertise the inquiry on the Committee's webpage and that the secretariat is authorised to publish a note advising stakeholders on the parts of the inquiry, with the Chair to approve the wording.

3.3 Inquiry part 1

Resolved, on the motion of Mr Donato, seconded Dr McDermott:

- That the Clerk obtain independent legal advice from senior counsel on behalf of the Committee on constitutional aspects of the bill, with particular reference to the constitutional validity of the bill and potential amendments.
- That the Chair and Clerk of the Legislative Assembly compile a further list of up to 3 constitutional experts to consult on the bill.

3.4 Inquiry part 2 – submissions

Resolved, on the motion of Ms Stuart, seconded Mr Donato: That, for part 2 of the inquiry, the Committee is to call for submissions from stakeholders by Tuesday 3 February 2026.

The Chair is to circulate a list of draft stakeholders by the end of the week with additional stakeholders to be agreed to by email.

4. Next meeting

The meeting adjourned at 2:12 pm until a date and time to be confirmed.

MINUTES OF MEETING NO 22

1:30 PM, 5 February 2026

Room 1254

Members present

Mr Atalla (Chair), Dr McDermott (Deputy Chair), Adjunct Professor Smith, Ms Stuart, Mr Toole and Mr Vo

Apologies

Mr Donato

1. Confirmation of minutes

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Dr McDermott: That the minutes of the meeting of 29 January 2026 be confirmed.

2. Inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in NSW

2.1 Resolution permitting recording of video meeting

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Ms Stuart: That the Committee agrees to record the meeting for the purposes of Committee staff preparing the minutes and report amendments, and that the recording be deleted once the report is tabled.

2.2 Independent Legal Advice

Resolved, on the motion of Mr Vo, seconded by Mr Toole: That the Committee notes the independent legal advice from Senior Counsel, dated 21 January 2026, in the custody of the Clerk.

2.3 Consideration of Chair's draft interim report

The Committee considered the Chair's draft report, which was circulated on 2 February 2026.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Adjunct Professor Smith: That the Committee agrees to consider the Chair's draft report in globo.

Resolved, on the motion of Ms Stuart, seconded by Mr Vo:

1. That the draft report be the report of the Committee and that it be signed by the Chair and presented to the House.
2. That the Chair and Committee staff be permitted to correct stylistic, typographical and grammatical errors.
3. That, once tabled, the report be posted on the Committee's webpage.
4. That the Chair issue a media release announcing the tabling of the Committee's report.

2.4 Correspondence – report tabling

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Mr Toole: That, once the interim report has been tabled, the Chair write to the Attorney General and Premier advising them of the tabling of the interim report.

2.5 Briefing – Attorney General's Office

Resolved, on the motion of Mr Vo, seconded by Dr McDermott: That the Chair and secretariat be authorised to meet with representatives from the Attorney General's Office to brief them on the contents of the interim report later this day.

2.6 Submissions – accepting and publishing

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Ms Stuart:

- That the Committee accept and publish submissions 2-5, 7-8, 11, 13-18 and 20-30 in full, with names and contact details redacted.
- That the Committee accept and keep confidential submissions 1, 6, 9-10, 12 and 19.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Mr Vo:

- That the Committee not accept as submissions but instead treat as confidential correspondence, 6 additional submissions listed in the confidential attachment for members.

2.7 Submissions – extension requests

Resolved, on the motion of Mr Toole, seconded by Dr McDermott: That the Committee note and accept the extension of time granted to the organisations and individuals as attached.

2.8 Hearing witnesses

Resolved, on the motion of Mr Vo, seconded by Ms Stuart:

- That the Committee invite the witnesses as attached to the public hearings on 18 and 19 February 2026.
- That Committee members have until 5pm Monday 9 February 2026 to email additional witnesses to the secretariat for the Chair's approval.

3. Next meeting

The meeting adjourned at 1:46 pm until Wednesday 18 February 2026 at a time to be confirmed (public hearing for the inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in NSW).

MINUTES OF MEETING NO 23

2:15 PM, 12 February 2026

Room 1136 and via videoconference

Members present

Mr Atalla (Chair), Dr McDermott (Deputy Chair), Mr Donato, Adjunct Professor Smith, Ms Stuart, Mr Toole and Mr Vo

1. Confirmation of minutes

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Dr McDermott: That the minutes of the meeting of 5 February 2026 be confirmed.

2. Inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales

2.1 Inquiry correspondence

The Committee noted the following correspondence received:

- Email from Unions NSW, dated 6 February 2026, noting that they will not be making a submission to the inquiry.

The Committee noted the following correspondence sent:

- Letter from the Chair to the Attorney General, dated 6 February 2026, notifying him of the tabling of the report 'Measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales: interim report'.
- Letter from the Chair to the Premier, dated 6 February 2026, notifying him of the tabling of the report 'Measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales: interim report'.

2.2 Submissions

The Committee considered publishing submissions received after 3 February 2026.

Discussion ensued.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Mr Donato:

- That the Committee publishes submissions 31-33, 35-37 and 39 in full.
- That submission 34 be accepted and published on the Committee's webpage with certain information on pages 2, 17-18 and 22 redacted.
- That submission 38 remain confidential to the Committee and not be published.

2.3 Correspondence relating to hearings

The Committee noted correspondence relating to the public hearings on 18 and 19 February:

- Email from Professor Anne Twomey, dated 9 February 2026, noting that her expertise is in constitutional law, and that she will be unable to answer questions about social policy matters concerning extremism.
- Email from National Sikh Organisation, dated 10 February 2026, noting they cannot appear on 18 February and requesting to appear on 19 February.
- Email from NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, dated 9 February, advising that their organisation is not able to appear on a panel alongside the Jewish Council of Australia.
- Email from Australian Association of Jewish Holocaust Survivors & Descendants, dated 10 February, advising that they are not agreeable to appear alongside the Jewish Council of Australia.
- Email from Unions NSW, dated 11 February 2026, expressing interest in attending the hearings subject to scheduling.

2.4 Witnesses declining to appear at the hearings

The Committee noted witnesses that have declined invitations to appear at the public hearings:

- Email from Law Society of NSW, dated 10 February 2026
- Email from Aboriginal Legal Service (NSW/ACT) Limited, dated 9 February 2026.
- Email from Professor Ben Saul, dated 11 February 2026.

2.5 Requests by witnesses to appear *in camera*

The Committee considered requests from witnesses to appear *in camera* for the public hearings on 18 and 19 February:

- Request via phone call from A/Professor Josh Roose
- Request via phone call from ***
- Email from Alliance Against Islamophobia (Australia), dated 10 February 2026
- Email from Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia (PATCA), dated 10 February 2026.

The Committee noted that Alliance Against Islamophobia (Australia) and Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia have advised they would be happy for the transcript of their section to be published, as long as the names of individual witnesses are de-identified.

Resolved, on the motion of Mr Toole, seconded by Mr Vo:

- That the Committee takes evidence from A/Professor Josh Roose and *** *in camera* on a panel at the hearing on 18 February 2026.
- That the Committee takes evidence from Alliance Against Islamophobia (Australia) and Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia *in camera* on a panel at the hearing on 18 February 2026.

2.6 Draft hearing schedule

The Committee noted the draft hearing schedules for the public hearings on 18 and 19 February 2026.

The Committee noted the room change for Thursday 19 February to the Macquarie Room.

2.7 Security for public hearings

The Committee considered security for the upcoming hearings.

Discussion ensued.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Ms Stuart That the secretariat be authorised to:

- Share the documents that were not accepted as submissions on 5 February 2026 with DPS Security
- That the secretariat request that DPS Security, for the public hearings on 18 and 19 February 2026:
 - Provide security presence in the room, being the presence of special constables
 - Arrange screening and registration of members of the public before they enter the Macquarie Room.

3. General business

Mr Donato informed members that he would be attending the upcoming hearings via videoconference.

4. Next Meeting

The meeting adjourned at 2:38 pm until 18 February 2026 at 9:00 am.

MINUTES OF MEETING NO 24

9:01 AM, 18 February 2026

Macquarie Room and via videoconference

Members present

Mr Atalla (Chair), Dr McDermott (Deputy Chair), Mr Donato (by videoconference), Adjunct Professor Smith, Ms Stuart, Mr Toole (by videoconference), Mr Vo

1. Confirmation of minutes

Resolved on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Mr Donato: That the minutes of the meeting of 12 February 2026 be confirmed.

2. Inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales

Pre-hearing deliberative meeting

2.1 Arrangements for public hearings

The Committee noted the arrangements for the public hearings on 18 and 19 February 2026.

2.2 Inquiry correspondence

The Committee noted the following correspondence received:

- Email from the Catholic Archdiocese of Sydney, dated 12 February 2026, declining to appear at the public hearings.
- Email from Multicultural Youth Affairs Network, dated 12 February 2026, declining to appear at the public hearings.
- Email from All Together Now, dated 13 February 2026, declining to appear at the public hearings.
- Email from the Lowy Institute, dated 13 February 2026, declining to appear at the public hearings.
- Email from Top Blokes, dated 16 February 2026, noting that one of their witnesses, Mr Hayden McCullough, Youth Worker, is 20 years old and asking that his age be taken into consideration with any specific questions directed towards him.

2.3 Public hearing witnesses

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Mr Vo: That the Committee invites the witnesses listed in the notice of public hearing for Wednesday 18 February 2026, to give evidence in relation to the inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales.

2.4 Media orders for public hearing

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Ms Stuart: That the Committee authorise the audio-visual recording, photography and broadcasting of the public hearing on 18 February 2026 by Committee staff, authorised media organisations and photography by the Deputy Chair's staff, in accordance with the Legislative Assembly's resolution of 9 May 2023; and the Assembly's guidelines for coverage of proceedings for parliamentary committees administered by the Legislative Assembly.

2.5 Answers to questions on notice and supplementary questions

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Dr McDermott:

- That the Committee adopts the following process in relation to supplementary questions:

- Members to email any proposed supplementary questions for witnesses to Committee staff within two days of the uncorrected transcript being circulated to members.
- Committee staff to then circulate all proposed supplementary questions to the Committee, with members to lodge any objections to the questions within 1 business day of the questions being sent to members.
- That witnesses be requested to return answers to questions taken on notice and supplementary questions within 7 business days of receipt.

2.6 Evidence *in camera*

Resolved, on the motion of Mr Vo, seconded by Ms Stuart:

- That the Committee takes evidence from Dr Josh Roose *in camera* at the public hearing on 18 February from 4:15pm to 5:00pm.
- That the Committee takes evidence from Alliance Against Islamophobia and Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia *in camera* at the public hearing on 18 February from 5:00pm to 5:30pm.

The Chair adjourned the pre-hearing deliberative meeting at 9.09am.

3. Inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales

3.1 Public hearing

The public hearing commenced at 9:18 am. Witnesses were admitted in person and via videoconference. The Chair opened the hearing and made a short opening statement.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Dr Rachel Sharples, Senior Lecturer, School of Social Sciences, Challenging Racism Project, Western Sydney University, was affirmed and examined.
- Dr Imogen Richards, Senior Lecturer, Department of Criminology, Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.
- Mr Mark Duckworth PSM, Co-Director, Centre for Resilient and Inclusive Societies, Deakin University, appearing via videoconference, was sworn and examined.
- Dr Gerard Gill, Post-Doctoral Researcher, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.
- Professor Julian Droogan, Co-Convenor, AVERT Research Network, was affirmed and examined.
- Professor Michele Grossman AM, Co-Convenor, AVERT Research Network, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Mrs Michele Goldman, CEO, NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, was affirmed and examined.
- Mr Peter Wertheim AM, Co-CEO, Executive Council of Australian Jewry, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.
- Ms Simone Abel, Head of Legal, Executive Council of Australian Jewry, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.
- Dr George Foster OAM, President, Australian Association of Jewish Holocaust Survivors and Descendants Inc, was affirmed and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Mr Sai Paravastu, President, Hindu Council of Australia, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.
- Ms Erica Hendrawan, Chair, Buddhist Council of NSW, was affirmed and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Right Reverend Dr Michael Stead, Bishop of South Sydney, Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney, was sworn and examined.
- Reverend Father John Sorial, Director of Public Affairs, Coptic Orthodox Diocese of Sydney & Affiliated Regions, was sworn and examined.
- Mr Mark Davis, CEO & Director, Federal Politics, Australian Christian Lobby, was sworn and examined.
- Ms Katie Lush, Policy Intern, Australian Christian Lobby, was sworn and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Mr Bilal Rauf, Senior Advisor, Australian National Imams Council, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.
- Dr Ali Alsamail, Director, Shia Muslim Council of Australia, was affirmed and examined.
- Ms Tia Hawli, Secretary of Board Directors, Arab Council of Australia, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.
- Dr Rateb Jneid, President, Australian Federation of Islamic Councils, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.
- Mr Keysar Trad, Board Member, Australian Federation of Islamic Councils, was affirmed and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Ms Tiffany Papadakis, Disability Advocate, was affirmed and examined.

- Ms Nicky Sloan, CEO, Community Industry Group, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.
- Dr Sera Yilmaz, Strategic Development Manager, Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia, was sworn and examined.
- Miss Marwah Almomani, Systemic Advocate, Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia, was sworn and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Ms Jillian Segal AO, Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, was sworn and examined.
- Ms Annita Stucken, Assistant Director, Legal, Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, was sworn and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The public hearing concluded at 4:00 pm.

3.2 *In camera* evidence

The Chair welcomed the witness and the *in camera* hearing commenced at 4:16 pm.

Committee staff, Hansard, and AVB officers were in attendance.

*** examined *in camera* by the Committee.

Evidence concluded and the witness withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted to give *in camera* evidence to the Committee:

- ***, Alliance Against Islamophobia (Australia), was affirmed and examined.
- ***, Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia, was sworn and examined.
- ***, Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia, was affirmed and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The *in camera* hearing concluded at 5:44 pm.

Post-hearing deliberative meeting

3.3 Publishing transcript of evidence

The Chair resumed the deliberative meeting at 5:45 pm.

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Ms Stuart:

- That the corrected transcript of public evidence given today be authorised for publication and uploaded on the Committee's webpage.
- That the transcript of *in camera* evidence given today remain confidential to the Committee.

3.4 Accepting and publishing tendered documents

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Ms Stuart: That the Committee not accept the document titled 'Executive summary' tendered by the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils, as it relates to a previous inquiry and is outside the terms of reference.

4. Next Meeting

The meeting adjourned at 5:47 pm until 9:00 am, Thursday 19 February 2026.

MINUTES OF MEETING NO 25

9:00 AM, 19 February 2026

Macquarie Room and via videoconference

Members present

Mr Atalla (Chair), Dr McDermott (Deputy Chair), Mr Donato (by videoconference), Adjunct Professor Smith, Ms Stuart, Mr Toole (by videoconference), Mr Vo

1. Inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales

Pre-hearing deliberative meeting

1.1 Public hearing witnesses

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Ms Stuart: That the Committee invites the witnesses listed in the notice of public hearing for Thursday 19 February 2026, to give evidence in relation to the inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales.

1.2 Media orders for public hearing

Resolved, on the motion of Ms Stuart, seconded by Adjunct Professor Smith: That the Committee authorise the audio-visual recording, photography and broadcasting of the public hearing on 19 February 2026 by Committee staff and authorised media organisations, and photography by the Deputy Chair's staff, in accordance with the Legislative Assembly's resolution of 9 May 2023; and the Assembly's guidelines for coverage of proceedings for parliamentary committees administered by the Legislative Assembly.

1.3 Answers to questions on notice and supplementary questions

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Ms Stuart:

- That the Committee adopts the following process in relation to supplementary questions:
 - Members to email any proposed supplementary questions for witnesses to Committee staff within two days of the uncorrected transcript being circulated to members.

- Committee staff to then circulate all proposed supplementary questions to the Committee, with members to lodge any objections to the questions within 1 business day of the questions being sent to members.
- That witnesses be requested to return answers to questions taken on notice and supplementary questions within 7 business days of receipt.

1.4 Evidence *in camera*

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Ms Stuart: That the Committee takes evidence from A/Professor Josh Roose *in camera* at the public hearing on 19 February from 5:00 pm to 5:30 pm.

Mr Toole joined the meeting.

2. General business

Dr McDermott asked for clarification on obtaining recordings of the public hearings.

Discussion ensued.

The Chair adjourned the pre-hearing deliberative meeting at 9:06 am.

Mr Vo joined the meeting.

3. Inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales

3.1 Public hearing

The public hearing commenced at 9.15am. Witnesses were admitted in person and via videoconference. The Chair opened the hearing and made a short opening statement.

The following witness was admitted:

- Ms Jayne Christian, Community Knowledge Holder, Baramadagal Darug Tribal Governing Council, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witness withdrew.

Mr Donato joined the meeting.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Dr Rory Gillard, Policy and Advocacy Volunteer, Trans Justice Sydney, was affirmed and examined.
- Mr Sanjay Alapakkam, Legal Policy Advisor, Equality Australia, was sworn and examined.
- Ms Heather Corkhill, Legal Director, Equality Australia, was affirmed and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Mr Mark Franklin, President, Multicultural Communities Council of NSW, was affirmed and examined.
- Ms Lauren Stracey, Chief Executive Officer, Youth Action NSW, was affirmed and examined.
- Miss Laura Cameron, Policy Officer, Youth Action NSW, was affirmed and examined.
- Mr Amarinder Bajwa, Board Member, National Sikh Organisation Inc., was sworn and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Professor Emerita Anne Twomey was sworn and examined.
- Mr Jonathan Hunyor, Chief Executive Officer, Justice and Equity Centre, was affirmed and examined.
- Adjunct Professor Trent Glover SC, Chair, Human Rights Committee, NSW Bar Association, was sworn and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witness was admitted:

- Mr Bart Shteinman, Executive Member, Jewish Council of Australia, appearing via videoconference, was sworn and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witness withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Commissioner Giridharan Sivaraman, Race Discrimination Commissioner, Australian Human Rights Commission, appearing via videoconference, was affirmed and examined.
- Miss Maryum Chaudhry, Director, Office of Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia (OSECI), appearing via videoconference, was sworn and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witnesses were admitted:

- Ms Melissa Abu-Gazaleh, Managing Director and Founder, Top Blokes Foundation, was affirmed and examined.
- Mr Hayden McCullough, Youth Worker, Top Blokes Foundation, was affirmed and examined.
- Mr Joshua Kirsh, Director, Youth HEAR, was affirmed and examined.
- Ms Sandy Hollis, Head of Education, Sydney Jewish Museum, was affirmed and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The following witnesses from the NSW Department of Communities and Justice were admitted:

- Ms Kelly-Anne Stewart, Executive Director, Youth Justice, was affirmed and examined.
- Ms Jennifer Quincey, Executive Director, Women, Family and Community Safety, was affirmed and examined.
- Ms Heather Jackson, Director, Interventions and Innovation, Women, Family and Community Safety, was affirmed and examined.
- Dr Steve Barracosa, Senior Manager, Youth Justice NSW Specialist Support / Countering Violent Extremism Unit, was affirmed and examined.
- Dr Danielle Matsuo, Acting Assistant Commissioner, Strategy & Policy, Corrective Services NSW, was affirmed and examined.

Evidence concluded and the witnesses withdrew.

The public hearing concluded at 4:42 pm.

3.2 *In camera* evidence

The Chair welcomed the witness and the *in camera* hearing commenced at 5:02 pm.

Committee staff, Hansard, and AVB officers were in attendance.

- A/Prof Josh Roose was admitted via videoconference, sworn and examined *in camera* by the Committee.

Evidence concluded and the witness withdrew.

The *in camera* hearing concluded at 5:40 pm.

Post-hearing deliberative meeting

3.3 Publishing transcript of evidence

The Chair resumed the deliberative meeting at 5:40 pm.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Ms Stuart:

- That the corrected transcript of public evidence given today be authorised for publication and uploaded on the Committee's webpage.
- That the transcript of *in camera* evidence given today remain confidential to the Committee.
- That the Committee authorises the partial publication of the corrected transcript of *in camera* evidence from the Alliance Against Islamophobia and Periyar Ambedkar Thoughts Circle of Australia on 18 February 2026, with individual witnesses' names suppressed, and that the de-identified transcript be published on the Committee's webpage.

3.4 Submissions

Resolved, on the motion of Ms Stuart, seconded by Dr McDermott: That the Committee publishes submission 31a in full.

4. Next Meeting

The meeting adjourned at 5:42 pm until a time and date to be determined.

MINUTES OF MEETING 26

11:06 AM, 16 March 2026

Room 1254 and via videoconference

Members present

Mr Atalla (Chair), Dr McDermott (Deputy Chair), Mr Donato, Adjunct Professor Smith, Ms Stuart, Mr Toole and Mr Vo (all via videoconference)

5. Confirmation of minutes

Resolved, on the motion of Ms Stuart, seconded by Mr Vo: That the minutes of the meetings of 18 and 19 February 2026 be confirmed.

6. ***

7. Inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales

7.1 Publication of answers to questions on notice and supplementary questions

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Dr McDermott: That the Committee accept and publish answers to questions taken on notice at the public hearings on 18 and 19 February 2026 and responses to supplementary questions received from the following:

Questions taken on notice

- Baramadagal Darug Tribal Governing Council – received 3 March 2026
- Youth Action NSW – received 3 March 2026
- Trans Justice Sydney – received 4 March 2026.

Supplementary questions

- Professor Emerita Anne Twomey – received 4 March 2026
- Sydney Jewish Museum – received 7 March 2026
- Dr Gerard Gill – received 10 March 2026
- Australian Federation of Islamic Councils – received 10 March 2026
- Tiffany Papadakis – received 10 March 2026
- Anglican Church Diocese of Sydney – received 11 March 2026
- Coptic Orthodox Diocese of Sydney & Affiliated Region – received 12 March 2026
- Shia Muslim Council of Australia – received 12 March 2026

- Arab Council Australia – received 12 March 2026.
- Youth HEAR – received 12 March 2026
- Australian Christian Lobby – received 12 March 2026
- Multicultural Disability Advocacy Australia – received 12 March 2026
- The Office of Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Islamophobia – received 12 March 2026
- New South Wales Bar Association – received 12 March 2026
- Executive Council of Australia Jewry – received 13 March 2026
- Trans Justice Sydney – received 13 March 2026.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Mr Donato: That the Committee accept and publish as partially confidential the answers to supplementary questions from Equality Australia, received 11 March 2026, with highlighted sections redacted, and publish it on the inquiry webpage.

7.2 Extension requests for supplementary questions

The Committee noted the following extension requests for answers to supplementary questions:

- AVERT Research Network – until 30 March
- Justice and Equity Centre – until 17 March
- Australian Human Rights Commission – until 16 March
- NSW Department of Communities and Justice – until 20 March
- Corrective Services NSW – until 19 March.

7.3 Clarification of evidence

The Committee considered correspondence from Periyar Ambedkar, Thoughts Circle of Australia, dated 28 February 2026 and 3 March 2026, clarifying evidence given at the hearing on 18 February 2026 and requesting that their correspondence be published and linked to the transcript.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Ms Stuart: That the Committee:

- accept and publish the correspondence from Periyar Ambedkar, Thoughts Circle of Australia on 28 February 2026 under 'Other Documents' on the inquiry webpage
- inserts footnotes providing a link to the published correspondence at the relevant sections of the transcript.

7.4 Publishing transcript of *in camera* evidence

The Committee noted that Dr Josh Roose has given permission to publish his transcript of evidence given *in camera* on 19 February 2026, with certain information redacted.

Resolved, on the motion of Mr Toole, seconded by Ms Stuart: That the Committee authorises the partial publication of the corrected transcript of *in camera* evidence from Dr Josh Roose on 19 February 2026, with highlighted sections redacted, and that the redacted transcript be published on the Committee's webpage.

8. ***

9. ***

10. Next Meeting

The meeting adjourned at 11:26 am until a date and time to be confirmed.

UNCONFIRMED MINUTES OF MEETING 17

1:01 PM, 22 April 2026

Room 1254 and via videoconference

Members present

Mr Atalla (Chair), Dr McDermott (Deputy Chair) (via videoconference), Adjunct Professor Smith (via videoconference), Ms Stuart (via videoconference) and Mr Vo (via videoconference)

Apologies

Mr Donato and Mr Toole

1. Confirmation of minutes

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Ms Stuart: That the minutes of the meeting of 16 March 2026 be confirmed.

2. ***

3. Inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism in New South Wales

3.1 Publication of answers to supplementary questions

The Committee considered the following responses to supplementary questions:

- Australian Human Rights Commission – received 16 March 2026
- Justice and Equity Centre – received 17 March 2026
- Youth Action NSW – received 20 March 2026
- NSW Department of Communities and Justice – received 20 March 2026
- AVERT Research Network – received 26 March 2026.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Mr Vo: That the Committee accept and publish the responses to the supplementary questions, as listed above, and publish them on the inquiry webpage.

3.2 Resolution permitting recording of meeting

Resolved, on the motion of Ms Stuart, seconded by Dr McDermott: That the Committee agrees to record the meeting for the purposes of committee staff preparing the minutes and report amendments, and that the recording be deleted when the report is tabled.

3.3 Consideration of Chair's draft report

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Ms Stuart: That the Committee consider the Chair's draft report *in globo*.

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Ms Stuart: That Recommendation 3 be amended by omitting the following words:

'including the *Crimes and Summary Offences Amendment Bill 2025* if it becomes law. Guidance should include how to identify support for Nazi ideology, as well as the historical and social context and risks to public safety that support for Nazi ideology presents'.

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Dr McDermott: That Recommendation 4 be amended by:

- Inserting 'police' after 'guidance on existing', and
- Inserting 'right-wing' after 'can be employed against'.

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Ms Stuart: That paragraph 3.26 be amended by omitting 'replace' and inserting instead 'potentially disrupt'.

Resolved, on the motion of Adjunct Professor Smith, seconded by Dr McDermott: That Recommendation 12 be amended by inserting 'misogyny' after 'islamophobia, racism'.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Mr Vo:

- That the draft report, as amended, be the report of the Committee and that it be signed by the Chair and presented to the House.
- That the Chair and committee staff be permitted to correct stylistic, typographical and grammatical errors.
- That, once tabled, the report be published on the Committee's webpage.

4. General business

Adjunct Professor Smith left the room at 1:26 pm.

Resolved, on the motion of Dr McDermott, seconded by Ms Stuart: That the six records not accepted as submissions for the inquiry into measures to combat right-wing extremism not be considered part of the evidence to the inquiry, and the secretariat be authorised to destroy those records.

Adjunct Professor Smith returned at 1:27 pm.

The Chair made a statement of thanks to the Deputy Chair, Committee members and Committee staff for their work on the inquiry and report.

5. Next meeting

The meeting adjourned at 1:28 pm until a date and time to be confirmed.