

# Still Anti-Asian? Anti-Chinese? One Nation policies on Asian immigration and multiculturalism

## 仍然反亚裔？反华裔？

## 一国党针对亚裔移民和多元文化的政策

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Is Pauline Hanson's One Nation party anti-Asian? Just how much has One Nation changed since Pauline Hanson first sat in the Australian Parliament two decades ago? This report reviews One Nation's statements of the 1990s and the current policies of the party. It concludes that One Nation's broad policies on immigration and multiculturalism remain essentially unchanged. Anti-Asian sentiments remain at One Nation's core. Continuity in One Nation policy is reinforced by the party's connections with anti-Asian immigration campaigners from the extreme right of Australian politics. Anti-Chinese thinking is a persistent sub-text in One Nation's thinking and policy positions. The possibility that One Nation will in the future turn its attacks on Australia's Chinese communities cannot be dismissed.

宝林·韩森的一国党是否反亚裔？自从宝林·韩森二十年前首次当选澳大利亚议会议员以来，一国党改变了多少？

本报告回顾了一国党在二十世纪九十年代的声明以及该党的现行政策。报告得出的结论显示，一国党关于移民和多元文化的广泛政策基本保持不变。反亚裔情绪仍然居于一国党的核心。通过与来自澳大利亚极右翼政坛的反亚裔移民竞选人的联系，一国党的政策连续性得以加强。反华裔思想是一国党思想和政策立场的一个持久不变的潜台词。无法排除一国党未来攻击澳大利亚华人社区的可能性。

**Report**  
**Philip Dorling**  
**May 2017**

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Level 1 Endeavour House, 1 Franklin St  
Manuka ACT 2603  
Tel: (02) 61300530  
Email: [mail@tai.org.au](mailto:mail@tai.org.au)  
Website: [www.tai.org.au](http://www.tai.org.au)

# Summary

Is Pauline Hanson's One Nation party anti-Asian? Just how much has One Nation changed since Senator Hanson first occupied a seat in the Australian Parliament two decades ago?

This report examines these questions with reference to Pauline Hanson's signature policies of the 1990s – her opposition to Asian immigration and multiculturalism. It reviews Senator Hanson's statements and positions of two decades ago and the current positions of the One Nation party. The paper concludes that while One Nation has sought to downplay its openly anti-Asian positions, its broad policies on immigration and multiculturalism remain essentially unchanged from 1996-1998. The paper also highlights enduring anti-Chinese themes in One Nation's current political focus. Opposition to Australia's free trade agreement with China, opposition to Chinese investment Australia, and concern about the presence of Asian, predominantly Chinese, students in Australia are all in the mix of One Nation thinking. Continuity in One Nation policy is reinforced by the party's enduring connections with anti-Asian immigration campaigners from the extreme right of Australian politics. Asian migration and the success of Australia's Asian communities are seen as threats to what One Nation calls "mainstream Australia", the party's predominantly Australian-born supporters of Anglo-Australian and European descent.

One Nation's positioning and rhetoric have evolved over time and can be expected to continue to do so as political opportunities emerge and are created. In an uncertain international environment, the possibility that One Nation will in the future turn its focus on Australia's Chinese communities cannot be dismissed.

# 摘要

宝林·韩森的一国党是否反亚裔？自从韩森参议员二十年前首次当选澳大利亚议会议员以来，一国党改变了多少？

本报告参考宝林·韩森二十世纪九十年代的标志性政策——她对亚裔移民和多元文化的反对，检视了这些问题。报告回顾了韩森参议员二十年前的声明和立场，以及一国党的当前立场。报告得出的结论显示，尽管一国党寻求淡化其公开反亚裔的立场，但其针对移民和多元文化的广泛政策与1996-1998年相比基本保持不变。报告还凸显了一国党当前政策重点中持久不衰的反华裔主题。反对澳大利亚与中国的自由贸易协定，反对中国投资澳大利亚以及担心亚裔，主要为华人、学生在澳大利亚的居留，这些均交织出现在一国党的思想中。通过与来自澳大利亚极右翼政坛的反亚裔移民竞选人的持久联系，一国党的政策连续性得以加强。亚裔移民和澳大利亚亚裔社区的成功被视为对一国党所谓“主流澳大利亚”（该党占主导地位的英裔澳大利亚人和欧洲裔支持者）的威胁。

一国党的立场和修辞随时间发生演变，伴随政治机会的出现和创造，预计会继续如此。在一个无法预测的国际环境下，不能排除一国党未来转而重点针对澳大利亚华人社区的可能性。

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# Introduction: Has One Nation changed?

*I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. ... They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate. Of course, I will be called racist but, if I can invite whom I want into my home, then I should have the right to have a say in who comes into my country. A truly multicultural country can never be strong or united.*

Pauline Hanson MP, September 1996<sup>1</sup>

*I don't change my tune, whichever way the polls are going. If you look at what I said 20 years ago, it's exactly what I'm saying today.*

Senator Pauline Hanson, February 2017<sup>2</sup>

A few days after Australia's 2 July 2016 federal election saw the election of Pauline Hanson and three One Nation party colleagues to the Australian Senate, the Chinese Australian community launched a social media campaign to counter what it described as the intolerant and racist views of Pauline Hanson's One Nation.

Speaking at the launch of the campaign, Chinese Australian leaders recalled that when Senator Hanson was previously a member of the Federal Parliament they had documented a significant increase in the number of people of Asian heritage being verbally and physically abused by strangers in public. Chinese Australian community leaders noted that One Nation's focus had shifted since Pauline Hanson infamously declared in 1996 that Australia was "in danger of being swamped by Asians." Muslims and Islam had become One Nation's primary target rather than "Asians". Dr Thiam Ang, the Chinese Australian Forum's president in the 1990s, urged "middle class Australia" to be on guard against a resurgence of racial abuse. 2016 Forum president, Kenrick Cheah said his group would join forces with the Muslim community and others being targeted by One Nation. "We condemn Islamophobia," he said. "Just because we aren't the main target this time does not mean that they won't be coming for us or any other group. And no group in this country should be subject to any racial vilification, discrimination." The Forum's campaign called on people to take photos with signs that featured a #SayNoToPauline hash tag, and upload them to social

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<sup>1</sup> First Speech by Pauline Hanson, House of Representatives, *Hansard*, 10 September 1996, p. 3859.

<sup>2</sup> "Pauline Hanson outlines One Nation's blueprint for Australia", *The Australian*, 5 February 2017, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/pauline-hanson-outlines-one-nations-blueprint-for-australia/news-story/4697844183eb01c4aa903c005722f6ce>.

media.<sup>3</sup> The initiative generated a surge in social media activity and media interest, but as is often the case with on-line campaigns this proved ephemeral, dissipating after little more than a month.<sup>4</sup>

The evaporation of the Chinese Australian community campaign against Pauline Hanson's One Nation paralleled a rapid acceptance of the party into mainstream politics in Canberra. Former Prime Minister John Howard set the tone for this approach when in September 2016 he spoke about Senator Hanson on the ABC *Lateline* program: "There are a lot of people who voted for her. ... I don't believe in marginalising her. She was elected and she's entitled to be treated in a respectful fashion by the rest of the Parliament."<sup>5</sup> The Coalition Government, Labor Opposition and other minor parties and independents in the Senate were soon negotiating with One Nation on legislation and parliamentary processes, bringing One Nation into the heart of national political processes.

In February 2017 the Coalition's acceptance of One Nation crossed a significant threshold with the Western Australia Liberal Party's decision to do direct preference votes to One Nation in exchange for One Nation's preference support in the forthcoming state election. Western Australia's Liberal Premier Colin Barnett said the deal was a practical, pragmatic political decision. "What we're out to do is retain government and there's no doubt, in the Legislative Assembly, in the lower house, One Nation preferences will flow to the Liberal Party," he told the media.<sup>6</sup>

In defending the West Australian Liberals' decision, Federal Coalition Industry Minister Arthur Sinodinos asserted that One Nation had "evolved" since the 1998 election campaign when Prime Minister Howard had determined that the Liberal Party would put One Nation last on their how-to-vote cards. "The One Nation of today is a very different beast to what it was 20 years ago," Sinodinos told the ABC *Insiders* program on 12 February 2017. "They're a lot more sophisticated. They've clearly resonated

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<sup>3</sup> "Pauline Hanson controversy: Chinese community campaigns against 'racist' ideas", *ABC News*, 8 July 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-07-08/chinese-community-launch-campaign-against-pauline-hanson/7581952> and "Chinese and Muslim communities mobilise against Pauline Hanson", *SBS News*, 5 August 2016, <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2016/07/30/chinese-and-muslim-communities-mobilise-against-pauline-hanson>.

<sup>4</sup> The last use of the #saynotopauline hashtag on Twitter appears to have been by Queensland Labor MP Peter Russo on 21 October 2016: <https://twitter.com/PeterRussoMP/status/789254542193942528>.

<sup>5</sup> Prime Minister John Howard interview on *ABC Lateline*, 14 September 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2016/s4538972.htm>.

<sup>6</sup> "WA Liberals confirm deal with One Nation", *news.com.au*, 12 February 2017, <http://www.news.com.au/national/breaking-news/wa-liberals-confirm-deal-with-one-nation/news-story/7c453afc4292eb67b5016e46de127a17>.

with a lot of people. Our job is to treat them as any other party.”<sup>7</sup> Senator Sinodinos had once served as Howard's chief of staff. He was followed four days later by his former boss who, campaigning for the Liberals in Western Australia, declared that it was a "very sensible, pragmatic decision" to cut a political deal with One Nation. Howard insisted that One Nation had changed radically in the time since he served as Prime Minister. "Everyone changes in 16 years," he said.<sup>8</sup>

Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull also defended the Liberal preference decision, suggesting in an interview with the Bloomberg news agency that it was merely a matter of tactics: "Just because preferences are directed to a party, doesn't mean that you support them. ... [H]ow we allocate the preferences on the how-to-vote card is really a political calculation, but it is always designed to maximise our vote, just as other peoples' how-to-vote cards are too."<sup>9</sup>

The controversial preference decision did not save Premier Barnett's government from defeat. However ABC election analyst Antony Green suggests that the deal between the Liberal Party and One Nation did "limit damage that might have occurred [to the Liberals] had One Nation followed its previous tactic of directing preferences against sitting members."<sup>10</sup>

Whatever the electoral effect of the One Nation preference deal, the Liberal Party's decision indicated that One Nation's attacks on Islam and Australia's Muslim communities as well as multiculturalism more broadly are not regarded as a bar to a de facto electoral alliance.<sup>11</sup>

However the remarks of Senator Sinodinos and former Prime Minister Howard raise an important question – just how much has One Nation changed since Pauline Hanson first occupied a seat in the Australian Parliament in 1996-1998?

This report examines these questions with reference to what were Pauline Hanson's signature policies in 1990s – her opposition to Asian immigration and multiculturalism.

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<sup>7</sup> Transcript of interview with Arthur Sinodinos, *ABC Insiders*, 12 February 2017, <http://www.abc.net.au/insiders/content/2016/s4618483.htm>.

<sup>8</sup> "WA Libs' One Nation deal gets John Howard's blessing", *watoday.com.au*, 1 February 2017, <http://www.watoday.com.au/wa-news/wa-libs-one-nation-deal-gets-john-howards-blessing-20170216-guewin.html>.

<sup>9</sup> Transcript of interview between Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull and Haidi Lun, *Bloomberg*, 21 February 2017, <http://www.pm.gov.au/media/2017-02-21/interview-haidi-lun-bloomberg>

<sup>10</sup> Antony Green, "Initial Analysis of preferences at the 2017 Western Australian election", *Antony Green's Election Blog*: 22 March 2017, <http://blogs.abc.net.au/antonygreen/2017/03/initial-analysis-of-preferences-at-the-2017-western-australian-election.html>.

<sup>11</sup> A previous Australia Institute research paper has highlighted One Nation's dependence on American "alt-right" thinking in its policies on Islam and Muslims. Philip Dorling, *The American Far-Right Origins of Pauline Hanson's views on Islam*, Australia Institute Research Paper, January 2017, <http://www.tai.org.au/content/american-far-right-origins-pauline-hanson%E2%80%99s-views-islam>.



The paper reviews Senator Hanson's statements and positions of two decades ago and the current positions of the One Nation party. It concludes that while One Nation has sought to downplay its openly anti-Asian positions, its broad policies on immigration and multiculturalism remain essentially unchanged from 1996-1998. The paper also highlights anti-Chinese themes in One Nation's current political focus. Opposition to Australia's free trade agreement with China, opposition to Chinese investment in Australia, and concern about the presence of Asian, predominantly Chinese, students in Australia are all in the mix of One Nation thinking. Continuity in One Nation policy is reinforced by the party's enduring connections with anti-Asian immigration campaigners from the extreme right of Australian politics. Asian migration and the success of Australia's Asian communities are seen as threats to what One Nation calls "mainstream Australia", the party's predominantly Australian-born supporters of Anglo-Australian and European descent.

One Nation's policies have evolved over time and can be expected to continue to do so as political opportunities emerge and are created. In an uncertain international environment, the possibility that One Nation will in the future turn its attacks on Australia's Chinese communities cannot be dismissed.

# “Swamped by Asians”: Pauline Hanson on Asian immigration and multiculturalism 1996-1998

*I think all Asian immigration should be stopped.*

Pauline Hanson MP, June 1996<sup>12</sup>

On 10 September 1996, Pauline Hanson gave her first speech in Federal Parliament. Much of the speech was an attack on what Hanson claimed were “the privileges Aboriginals enjoy over other Australians.” Hanson had attracted controversy as a Liberal candidate who criticised political attention given to the issue of Aboriginal deaths in custody and declared that “the indigenous people of this country are as much responsible for their actions as any other colour or race in this country.”<sup>13</sup> Disendorsed by the Liberal Party, Hanson went on to win the seat of Oxley as an independent at the 2 March 1996 federal election. She took her seat in the House of Representatives on 30 April 1996, but did not make her first speech until four and a half months later.

Strenuously denying that she was a racist, Hanson assailed what she described as “reverse racism ... applied to mainstream Australians by those who promote political correctness and those who control the various taxpayer funded 'industries' that flourish in our society servicing Aboriginals, multiculturalists and a host of other minority groups.” However the part of the speech was deliberately intended to generate controversy and attract attention was that in which Hanson warned that Australia was “in danger of being swamped by Asians”. The full text of this section reads as follows:

*Immigration and multiculturalism are issues that this government is trying to address, but for far too long ordinary Australians have been kept out of any debate by the major parties. I and most Australians want our immigration policy radically reviewed and that of multiculturalism abolished. I believe we are in danger of being swamped by Asians. Between 1984 and 1995, 40 per cent of all migrants coming into this country were of Asian origin. They have their own culture and religion, form ghettos and do not assimilate. Of course, I will be called racist but, if I can invite whom I want into my home, then I should*

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<sup>12</sup> Simon Kelly, “Hanson says no to Asia”, *Queensland Times*, 8 June 1996, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Letter to the Editor by Pauline Hanson, *Queensland Times*, 6 April 1996., p. 7.

*have the right to have a say in who comes into my country. A truly multicultural country can never be strong or united. The world is full of failed and tragic examples, ranging from Ireland to Bosnia to Africa and, closer to home, Papua New Guinea. America and Great Britain are currently paying the price.*<sup>14</sup>

After approvingly quoting the 1960s Labor leader Arthur Calwell who had opposed ending the discriminatory, anti-Asian “White Australia” immigration policy, Hanson elaborated her position with a call for the abolition of multiculturalism which she claimed would “save billions of dollars and allow those from ethnic backgrounds to join mainstream Australia.” Hanson wanted immigration to be stopped in the short term to ensure that “unskilled migrants not fluent in the English language” would not take jobs from Australians. Hanson added that she did “not consider those people from ethnic backgrounds currently living in Australia anything but first-class citizens, provided of course that they give this country their full, undivided loyalty”. In Hanson’s view Asian migrants were clearly a threat to Australian society and culture, did not assimilate, and could not be trusted to give full loyalty to their new country.<sup>15</sup>

Hanson's decision to target Asian immigration was quite calculated. Her speech had been the subject of exhaustive drafting by her adviser John Pasquarelli who subsequently provided a detailed account of the protracted process in his memoir *The Pauline Hanson Story, by the Man Who Knows*.<sup>16</sup> Hanson's declaration on Asian immigration undoubtedly reflected her own views which reflected the thinking of an older generation of Australians who were unreconciled to the end of the White Australia policy. These sentiments were clearly expressed within Hanson's own family, with her mother, Norah Seccombe, warning in 1996 about the dangers of “the yellow man” in language that was reminiscent of the Australia of the 1930s. “I was always taught the yellow race will rule the world”, she said in a conversation recorded by the Nine Network's *60 Minutes* program, “and if we don't do something now ... I'm afraid, yes, the yellow race will rule the world.”<sup>17</sup>

Equally significantly, Pasquarelli connected Hanson, then a political novice, to the extreme-right, anti-Asian immigration political movements that had emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s in response to Vietnamese and Chinese immigration. A former Territory of Papua New Guinea patrol officer turned crocodile shooter, a PNG Territory parliamentarian from 1964 to 1968 and later a private investigator in Australia,

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<sup>14</sup> First Speech by Pauline Hanson, House of Representatives, *Hansard*, 10 September 1996, p. 3859.

<sup>15</sup> First Speech by Pauline Hanson, House of Representatives, *Hansard*, 10 September 1996, p. 3859.

<sup>16</sup> John Pasquarelli, *The Pauline Hanson Story, by the man who knows*, New Holland, Sydney, 1998.

<sup>17</sup> Candace Sutton, “The yellow race will rule the world”, *news.com.au*, 30 August 2016, <http://www.news.com.au/national/nsw-act/politics/the-yellow-race-will-rule-the-world-the-woman-who-is-even-more-racist-than-pauline-hanson—her-mum-norah/news-story/3df08e1ed74f43a45d866c1338cb38d0>.

Pasquarelli had moved around the right wing fringe of Australian politics for some two decades. During his brief service as a PNG patrol officer he allegedly referred to native Papua New Guineans in “aggressively racist terms”. While serving in the PNG Territory Legislative Assembly he emerged as a strident anti-Communist, levelling unsubstantiated charges that the highest levels of the Australian colonial administration were infiltrated by “card-carrying Communists.”<sup>18</sup> In Melbourne in the mid-1980s, one political observer described Pasquarelli as “about as close to fascist as you'd get in the Australian political ambit.” Pasquarelli was a Liberal candidate in the 1987 Australian federal election, served as an adviser to Queensland Nationals Senator John Stone in 1989-90, and briefly in 1995-96 with the former Labor MP for Kalgoorlie, Graham Campbell. Campbell had been expelled from the Labor Party for his expression of support for far-right groups including the Australian League of Rights and anti-Asian immigration, Australians against Further Immigration party. Campbell went on to found the right-extremist Australia First Party.<sup>19</sup>

Pasquarelli brought to Hanson an extensive knowledge of Australian political debate and controversy about immigration and multiculturalism over the preceding two decades including White Nationalist and other right-wing reactions to the influx of Vietnamese refugees in the 1970s and early 1980s, historian Professor Geoffrey Blainey's 1984 call for reduced Asian immigration, and then Liberal Opposition Leader John Howard's 1988 “One Australia” policy that urged Asian migration be “slowed down a little” to reduce “social tensions”. Pasquarelli wanted Hanson to put Asian immigration at the centre of Australian politics. He found Hanson frustratingly hard to engage with on the detail of policy but enthusiastic about the idea of making a big political splash. Indeed as early as June 1996 she flatly told the *Queensland Times* newspaper “I think all Asian immigration should be stopped.” Pasquarelli provided Hanson with the immigration statistics used in her speech, annotating them with the comment “if we keep this up we will be swamped.” He urged her to “go for broke on Asian immigration.”<sup>20</sup> Hanson's own anti-Asian sentiments were undoubtedly strong, but Pasquarelli was responsible for her putting Asian immigration and opposition to multiculturalism at the centre of her first parliamentary speech with the explicit aim of generating the maximum possible controversy. Political instinct and deliberate tactical choice were both involved.

The political impact of the speech far exceeded Hanson's and Pasquarelli's expectations. It generated immediate and intense controversy. It energised and focussed her supporters, providing the impetus for the formation of Pauline Hanson's

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<sup>18</sup> National Archives of Australia, CRS A452, file 1966/3013.

<sup>19</sup> Bill Birnbauer, David Elias and Duncan Graham, “The amazing man behind Pauline Hanson”, *The Age*, 30 March 1997.

<sup>20</sup> Pasquarelli, *The Pauline Hanson Story*, pp. 110-110.

One Nation party. Hanson and Pasquarelli followed up with a further speech to the right-wing Australian Reform Society in October 1996, where Hanson repeated her claim that Asian immigration was too high, that all immigration should “cease immediately” and only recommence on a “zero net” basis in which arrivals matched permanent departures from Australia, once all unemployment had been eliminated. Hanson singled out the Vietnamese Australian community for alleged tax evasion and welfare fraud, and renewed her call for an immediate end to multiculturalism.

*In Australia, multiculturalism has come to mean minority ethnic groups, funded by ordinary taxpayers, playing games with gutless politicians at the expense of the greater majority. It is a divisive policy that puts people in compartments and prevents them from joining the mainstream community.*

Hanson had no doubt that multiculturalism was “a dismal failure all over the world”, but especially in Africa where “we see people who look like each other, raping, murdering and blowing each other up.” In the United States Hanson saw immigration and multiculturalism as the root causes behind “racial tension and inequality ... unemployment, drug problems and crime”.<sup>21</sup>

Hanson’s speeches generated intense domestic and international criticism. In December 1996 she complained bitterly that she was the target of “a vicious, non-stop campaign of abuse and insults against me organised by some sections of the print and electronic media, academic snobs, backroom editors hiding behind their reporters, some loud-mouthed taxpayer funded minority groups and of course the Liberal and Labor parties.” Declaring herself to be hounded by “professional multiculturalists”, Hanson insisted that she would not take a backward step, claiming that in a multicultural society migrants would never give Australia “full and undivided loyalty.” Multiculturalism “never works” she insisted, “a truly multicultural society can never be strong and united.”<sup>22</sup>

Anti-Asian sentiments continued as a persistent theme of Hanson’s and One Nation’s statements and outlook through 1997 and 1998. Hanson repeatedly highlighted the threat of “Asian criminals” infiltrating Australia.<sup>23</sup> One Nation national director David Ettridge and Hanson’s new adviser, former Liberal staffer David Oldfield, expressed fear that the Chinese Australian community would seek to end One Nation though “infiltration by the 30,000 Chinese who wanted to join us with the sole intent of destroying One Nation.”<sup>24</sup> No evidence was presented to support this accusation.

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<sup>21</sup> Pasquarelli, *The Pauline Hanson Story*, pp. 169-177.

<sup>22</sup> Speech by Pauline Hanson, House of Representatives, *Hansard*, 2 December 1996, p. 7441.

<sup>23</sup> “Send them back!”, Pauline Hanson media release, 6 May 1997.

<sup>24</sup> David Ettridge quoted in the *Sun Herald*, 26 July 1998, and Transcript of Interview with David Oldfield on *ABC Radio National Breakfast*, 7 July 1998.

Another One Nation member provocatively wrote to the *Bangkok Post* newspaper saying that Asian university students were displacing Australian students, that Asian athletes were either “drug cheats or insignificant in their ability” and that Asian “do not fit into western society in Australia”. For good measure the One Nation member opined that “Excessive Asian tourists (Japanese and Koreans) visiting places like the Gold Coast help to paint a poor image of the Coast and discourage White Australians from visiting their own country.”<sup>25</sup>

One Nation’s anti-Asian rhetoric prompted criticism and condemnation from a wide range of community groups. The response of the Chinese Australian community was particularly strong with Sydney’s Chinese community presenting the NSW Government with a petition of more than 10,000 signatures expressing opposition to One Nation. Sydney deputy lord mayor Henry Tsang accused Hanson of “splitting the Nation”. Australian Chinese Association president Wellington Lee condemned One Nation’s “abhorrent racism” and described the party as “evil”. Lee argued that the Coalition in the 1997 Queensland state election had “taken political expediency to its lowest level” by giving preferences to One Nation, and that in the future “One Nation should automatically be placed at the bottom of the ballot paper.” Chinese Australian groups were in the forefront of lobbying both Labor and the Coalition to put Pauline Hanson and her new One Nation party last in preferences on how-to-vote cards.<sup>26</sup>

Strident criticism and repeated public demonstrations did inflict a toll on Hanson and her new party. Ettridge later acknowledged that continuous controversy and protests made One Nation appear “less attractive – even dangerous”.<sup>27</sup> The constant focus on immigration and accusations of racism made it difficult for Hanson to communicate effectively and broaden her political platform. Conflicts over political tactics and office management led Hanson to sack Pasquarelli in December 1996. Guided by Oldfield, Hanson and One Nation moved to try to dodge accusations of explicit racism and anti-Asian sentiment with a tactical shift, adopting an immigration policy that emphasised economic, environmental and social arguments for radically reducing immigration while avoiding explicitly singling out any particular group of migrants. One Nation’s immigration policy was lifted directly from the far-right Australians Against Further Immigration party whose leaders Rodney and Robyn Spencer merged their small “eco-nationalist” group with Hanson’s One Nation in July 1998.<sup>28</sup> Journalist Margot Kingston subsequently noted that Robyn Spencer “scored the number one spot on the Victorian

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<sup>25</sup> *One Nation Preferences*, Australian Labor Party briefing booklet, 1998, p. 32.

<sup>26</sup> Press release by Henry Tsang, 10 June 1998 and Wellington Lee quoted in the *Canberra Times*, 2 June 1998.

<sup>27</sup> David Ettridge, *Consider your verdict*, New Holland Publishers, Sydney, 2004, p. 24.

<sup>28</sup> “How One Nation Victoria Fell Apart”, *Crikey*, 13 February 2000, <https://www.crikey.com.au/2000/02/13/how-one-nation-victoria-fell-apart/>

Senate ticket in exchange for giving One Nation the immigration policy of her far-right party.”<sup>29</sup> Controversially Rod and Robyn Spencer were named as supporters of a New South Wales extremist publication, *The National Reporter*, which regularly featured highly racist commentary and cartoons including one that showed an Asian person being tied to a barbecue spit, being roasted alive.<sup>30</sup>

Slashing immigration was proclaimed as One Nation’s primary policy goal, ranked above all other objectives. The new policy platform aimed to “reduce immigration to match the number of people leaving Australia, or a 'zero net gain' basis, until unemployment is addressed” and cap population growth “for environmental reasons”.<sup>31</sup> One Nation’s policy platform was preceded by a lengthy introduction that argued high immigration flows were no longer in Australia's economic, environmental interest and posed a threat to social cohesion:

*During the 1980s and 1990s, under the influence of free-market doctrines, and the belief that global markets ought to take precedence over national interests. integration with Asia was promoted by elites as a key economic and cultural goal for Australian society. Immigration numbers reached new heights. To economic, political and intellectual elites, immigration has become central to a perspective which holds that inherited Australian institutions, culture and identity are outmoded and expendable obstacles to the establishment of a borderless world. ... If continued, such immigration policy will irreversibly alter the natural and urban environments, economic viability as well as undermining the maintenance and further development of a unique and valuable Australian identity and culture.*<sup>32</sup>

One Nation sought to insist that demographic and environmental considerations were the primary justifications for its policy. It was also clear, however, that a strong desire to specifically restrict Asian immigration remained. The party’s policy made lengthy reference to the history of the White Australia policy and repeatedly expressed concern that Australia's immigration policy had been “reorientated towards Asia” and would lead to “an ethnically divided Australia.” According to One Nation it was essential that Australia's immigration “not significantly alter the ethnic and cultural

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<sup>29</sup> Margot Kingston, *Off the Rails: The Pauline Hanson Trip*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 1999, pp. 143-144.

<sup>30</sup> See reporting by *The Australia/Israel Review*, 16 June – 7 July 1998, p. 19.

<sup>31</sup> Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party Policies and Goals, September-November 1998, <http://www.gwb.com.au/onenation/policy.html>.

<sup>32</sup> Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Policy Document on immigration, Population and Social Cohesion, 1998, <http://www.gwb.com.au/onenation/policy/immig.html>.

make-up of the country” and reflect the right of Australians “to maintain their unique identity and culture.”<sup>33</sup>

These aims were further manifested in the party's strident opposition to multiculturalism which was deemed a threat to Australian democracy, culture and national identity:

*[Multiculturalism] policy does not simply mean encouragement of greater tolerance of difference, or the appreciation of ethnic foods and traditions. What we are experiencing now in Australia is a threat to the very basis of the Australian culture, identity and shared values. Threats to our freedom of speech, the freedom of the individual overtaken by group rights, funding given on the basis of ethnicity and race rather than need, and our people divided into separate ethnic groups which are funded to stay that way. We see no reason why migrant cultures should be maintained at the expense of our shared national culture. Every variety of culture in Australia today has a mother country where their particular culture can survive and develop. Our unique Australian culture and identity has nowhere else in the world in which to survive. Destroy it here and it is gone forever.*<sup>34</sup>

In One Nation's view mass immigration and multiculturalism were being driven by a combination of free market economics promoted by multinational corporations and a powerful “ethnic lobby” that would ultimately establish “a minefield of ethnic and racial voting blocs”. Beyond this, One Nation saw multiculturalism as the product of conspiracy, an alleged covert elite agenda to promote “Asianisation” to underpin the nation's economic engagement with Asia.<sup>35</sup>

Asianisation was never clearly defined but was clearly seen to involve greater Asian immigration, the growth of Asian communities in Australia and increased trade with Asia, all in a repudiation of the old White Australia policy and directly at the expense of Australia's Anglo-Australian and European heritage and identity. The idea of an elite conspiracy came directly from Australians against Further Immigration campaigner, later a One Nation party member, Denis McCormack who wrote of a secret “grand plan for the long term Asianisation of Australia”; something he considered amounted

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<sup>33</sup> Pauline Hanson's One Nation Policy Document on immigration, Population and Social Cohesion, 1998, <http://www.gwb.com.au/onenation/policy/immig.html>.

<sup>34</sup> Pauline Hanson's One Nation Policy Document on immigration, Population and Social Cohesion, 1998, <http://www.gwb.com.au/onenation/policy/immig.html>.

<sup>35</sup> Pauline Hanson's One Nation Policy Document on immigration, Population and Social Cohesion, 1998, <http://www.gwb.com.au/onenation/policy/immig.html>.



to nothing less than “treason” brought about by the “skilful networking, manipulation and infiltration” of “power elites of business, journalism and politics”.<sup>36</sup>

One Nation’s view of Australia’s potential Asian future was set out as follows:

*The government’s unspoken justification for immigration and the result of the policy will lead to the Asianisation of Australia. Our politicians plan an Asian future for Australia. ... Trade comes and goes, but our identity as a nation should not be traded for money, international approval or to fulfil a bizarre social experiment.*

*70% of our immigration program is from Asian countries. Consequently Australia will be 27% Asian within 25 years, and as migrants congregate in our major cities, the effect of Asianisation will be more concentrated there. This will lead to the bizarre situation of largely Asian cities on our coasts that will be culturally and racially different from the traditional Australian nature of the rest of the country. In a democracy, how dare our government force such changes on the Australian people without their consent and against their often-pollled opinion.<sup>37</sup>*

In One Nation’s view the likely consequences were grim. Hanson denied that she feared “an Aussie bloodbath” or “an Aussie civil war”<sup>38</sup>, but there little doubt that One Nation was thinking of civil conflict when it warned that “multiculturalism ... has failed elsewhere in the world, such as in Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, Fiji, Bosnia, Chechnya, Rwanda, Tibet, Israel, Timor, etc.”<sup>39</sup>

Pauline Hanson and One Nation went to the 1998 federal election with a very clear anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalism platform. Explicitly anti-Asian statements were wound back but were still apparent in One Nation’s concerns that Asian

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<sup>36</sup> See Denis McCormack, “The Grand Plan: Asianisation of Australia”, 8 November 1995, <http://home.alphalink.com.au/~eureka/mccorm.htm>. A white nationalist activist, McCormack has been politically active in the far right for more than two decades. He was a member of Australians Against Further Immigration before joining One Nation. He later split One Nation to join the more extreme Australia First Party. A self-described independent researcher and critic of mass immigration, McCormack has referred to himself as the Australian version of Lord Haw Haw, a name given to British fascist activist and traitor William Joyce. McCormack writes for the American far right publication, *The Social Contract* which has also favourably reviewed his writings. See [http://www.thesocialcontract.com/artman2/publish/tsc0802/article\\_718.shtml](http://www.thesocialcontract.com/artman2/publish/tsc0802/article_718.shtml).

<sup>37</sup> Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Policy Document on immigration, Population and Social Cohesion, 1998, <http://www.gwb.com.au/onenation/policy/immig.html>.

<sup>38</sup> Speech by Pauline Hanson, Senate *Hansard*, 16 October 1995, p.5580.

<sup>39</sup> Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Policy Document on immigration, Population and Social Cohesion, 1998, <http://www.gwb.com.au/onenation/policy/immig.html>.

immigration would destroy Australia's cultural homogeneity and create a nation divided between "largely Asian cities" and a still largely Anglo-Australia in other parts of the country. These views were not without support. One Nation secured 8.43 per cent of votes in House of Representative seats, and 8.99 per cent of Senate votes with its strongest support in the Queensland Senate vote at 14.83 per cent.<sup>40</sup> Thanks to the decisions of both Labor and the Coalition to preference against Pauline Hanson, however, One Nation won only one Senate seat in Queensland and Hanson herself was defeated in her bid to win the Queensland seat of Blair. Eighteen years would pass before Hanson would again return to the national political stage.

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<sup>40</sup> Election statistics are taken from the University of Western Australia Politics and Elections Database: <http://elections.uwa.edu.au/electionsearch.lasso>.

# Two decades later: One Nation's anti-Asian legacy

*You go and ask a lot of people in Sydney, at Hurstville or some of the other suburbs. They feel they have been swamped by Asians and, regardless of that now, a lot of Australians feel that Asians are buying up prime agricultural land, housing. You ask people in Melbourne how they feel about it as well.*

Senator Pauline Hanson, July 2016<sup>41</sup>

*[D]o I want Australia to become Asianised, no way in the wide world!*

Senator Pauline Hanson, May 2017<sup>42</sup>

Pauline Hanson and One Nation have gone to some lengths to distance themselves from their anti-Asian rhetoric of the 1990s. Defeated at the 1998 federal election, Hanson long sought to avoid the language she used in her first parliamentary speech, though she never repudiated it. Interviewed by Andrew Denton in 2004, Hanson was evasive when asked about her anti-Asian stance, responding to a number of questions with “hmmm”, and carefully dissociating herself from the fears of her late mother about “the yellow man”, saying that was the view of an older generation: “[W]hen she said that I thought, ‘Oh, God, Mum, don't. Please.’ But it was really something that was actually taught them or told to them and I don't know where it came through or where it came from, but that was just Mum's opinion.”<sup>43</sup>

Three years later, in the context of her unsuccessful 2007 Senate election campaign, Hanson shifted tack to focus her political attacks on Islam, calling for a ban on all Muslim immigration. It wasn't the first time she had attacked Muslims. She had first done so as early as 1997 with an attack on a representative of the South Australian Islamic Society who spoke in favour of multiculturalism as “a meddler who should be damn grateful he was given a place in Australia.”<sup>44</sup> From mid-2007, however, Hanson

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<sup>41</sup> Nicole Hasham, “Pauline Hanson warns of terror on the streets and suburbs ‘swamped by Asians’”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 July 2016, <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/federal-election-2016/election-2016-pauline-hanson-warns-of-terror-on-the-streets-and-suburbs-swamped-by-asians-20160704-gpxzpn.html>.

<sup>42</sup> Interview by Dave Pellowe with Pauline Hanson on Australian Immigration and Culture Policy, May 2017, <https://churchandstate.com.au/senator-pauline-hanson/>.

<sup>43</sup> Transcript of interview by Andrew Denton with Pauline Hanson, 20 September 2004, <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/enoughrope/transcripts/s1203646.htm>.

<sup>44</sup> “Multiculturalists banning Santa Claus is just the beginning”, Pauline Hanson media release, 31 December 1997.

very deliberately placed opposition to Islam and Muslims at the centre of her political campaigns. The shift came eighteen months after the Cronulla Riots and followed a sharp rise in anti-Muslim rhetoric among Australian White nationalist groups. According to Hanson Muslims were responsible for a wave of violent crime and were undermining the Australian way of life. "I want a moratorium put on the number of Muslims coming into Australia," Hanson told the Nine Network: "People have a right to be very concerned about this because of the terrorist attacks that have happened throughout the world. I'm sick of these people coming out here and saying that our girls are like the meat market and the bible that is urinated on ... am I supposed to be tolerant?"<sup>45</sup> With this shift came further efforts to downplay One Nation's anti-Asian past. The party was keen to highlight, for example, that its Queensland director Ian Nelson had an Asian wife who he affectionately called "little one". Speaking on the ABC's Q&A program, Nelson sought to distinguish between Muslim immigrants from the Middle East and Asian immigrants such as his Thai spouse who had integrated with Australian society. "We've got some wonderful people who are coming into this country," Nelson said. "They talk like Australians and they have the barbecues and they assimilate right into Australia. The ones who scare me are the Muslims, they terrify me."<sup>46</sup>

Hanson made further efforts to distance herself from claims that she was still anti-Asian in 2016. Interviewed on the Kyle & Jackie radio show during the 2016 election campaign, Hanson sought to reject any suggestion that she had been or was racist in her outlook. When asked whether she had a problem with Asians, she said: "No I don't, I have a lot of people ... in my party, and even members of my party that have Asian wives," she said. "Are they old men?" host Kyle Sandilands asked. Hanson replied "No, they are not ... one of my candidates has a beautiful Asian wife, our state president has an Asian wife. They fully support me, they say, 'Pauline don't let this country become like the place we've just left'." However Hanson also showed that she had no intention of backtracking on her previous comments that Australia was in danger of being "swamped by Asians", saying that they were "soft" compared to what had happened in the years since 1996. "Look at your housing, every time you go to an auction in Melbourne it's lined up full of Asians and Australians can't even get foot in

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<sup>45</sup> "Hanson calls for halt to muslim immigration", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 August 2007, <http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/hanson-calls-for-halt-to-muslim-immigration/2007/08/16/1186857634226.html>.

<sup>46</sup> Gabriele Dunlevy, "One Nation's surprising new face", *Brisbane Times*, 25 February 2011, <http://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/queensland/one-nations-surprising-new-face-20110225-b7y9.html>.

the door to buy houses in their own country,” she said. When asked whether Asians were Australians as well, she said “Are they? There’s no identification.”<sup>47</sup>

Continuity in One Nation’s thinking was further evident in the policies on immigration and multiculturalism the party took to the 2016 federal election. Significantly One Nation’s website carried, and still continues to carry, a page on “the Asianisation of Australia” that includes claims that the Labor and Coalition parties committed to the “integration” of Australia into Asia through free trade, Asian immigration and “political integration” by “handing over the country’s (Australia’s) economic sovereignty to APEC.” According to One Nation integration with Asia “would end in the dissolution of our country. ... Once we integrate we will be totally governed by them. ... once this happens what defence have we got against them if they try a takeover.” The page refers approvingly to writing by former Australians Against Further Immigration members Evonne Moore and Denis McCormack including McCormack’s claim that “the Asianisation strategy was adopted by Australia’s elite initially without the knowledge or support of the Australian people and, more recently, against the polled opinion of most Australians.”<sup>48</sup>

As in 1998, One Nation in 2016 advocated a “zero-net immigration” policy, claiming that, Australia is near its “carrying capacity” and that further population growth must be minimised to avoid disaster: “Economically, immigration is unsustainable and socially, if continued as is, will lead to a further ethnically divided Australia.” As was the case two decades ago, One Nation urged a radical reduction in immigration numbers to avoid “undermining the maintenance and further development of a unique and valuable Australian identity and culture.” Once again One Nation sees the hand of ethnic voting blocs – “long-term political constituenc[ies] for both the Liberal and Labor parties -- and big business” – in supporting current immigration policy: “Big business and multinational corporations want increased immigration because they sell more product. Australians will only see longer queues for hospitals, nursing homes, schools and jobs.” One Nation also continues to express fears about Australia’s economic and people-to-people ties with Asia, and targets both Labor and the Coalition for advocating Australian economic integration with Asia. Particular concerns for One Nation include Labor’s declared support for facilitating cross border business activity, investment and skilled labour mobility, welcoming foreign investment from Asia, and encouraging more tourists from Asia, in particular more Chinese tourists.

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<sup>47</sup> “Pauline Hanson say she has no problems with Asians, saying One Nation members have Asian wives”, *news.com.au*, 1 June 2016, <http://www.news.com.au/national/federal-election/pauline-hanson-says-she-has-no-problems-with-asians-saying-one-nation-members-have-asian-wives/news-story/eb2ac8435ae68a49dbf120d83010efe3>.

<sup>48</sup> Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party, “The Asianisation of Australia”, 28 June 2013, [http://www.onenation.com.au/current\\_affairs/the-asianisation-of-australia](http://www.onenation.com.au/current_affairs/the-asianisation-of-australia)

One Nation makes it clear that it opposes what it sees as Labor's alternative vision of an Australia "open and integrated with Asia."<sup>49</sup>

Interviewed immediately following her election to the Senate, Hanson reaffirmed her 1996 claim that Australia was at risk of being "swamped by Asians", saying that was a reality in Australian cities. "You go and ask a lot of people in Sydney, at Hurstville or some of the other suburbs," she told Fairfax Media. "They feel they have been swamped by Asians and, regardless of that now, a lot of Australians feel that Asians are buying up prime agricultural land, housing. You ask people in Melbourne how they feel about it as well." In an aside, she further claimed that her 1996 comments had been taken out of context, and were meant to call for a crackdown on "a high intake of Asians ... coming via New Zealand".<sup>50</sup>

Twenty years on from her first parliamentary speech, Hanson's first speech to the Australian Senate very deliberately sought to connect with themes that dominated her early years in politics: "It has been 20 years and four days since I last delivered my first speech in this house, a speech that shook a nation ... That speech was relevant then and it is still relevant today." Hanson's primary focus was on Islam and Muslims, but that shift in target did not involve a step back from her earlier preoccupation with the Asianisation of Australia: "In my first speech in 1996 I said we were in danger of being swamped by Asians. This was not said out of disrespect for Asians but was meant as a slap in the face to both the Liberal and Labor governments who opened the floodgates to immigration, targeting cultures purely for the vote ... to such an extent that society changed too rapidly due to migrants." In Hanson's view "ethnic diversity has seen our country's decline."<sup>51</sup>

The essential continuity in Senator Hanson's thinking was further reflected in her attribution of most if not all Australia's economic and social ills to immigration: "High immigration is only beneficial to multinationals, banks and big business, seeking a larger market while everyday Australians suffer from this massive intake. ... The unemployment queues grow longer—and even longer when government jobs are given priority to migrants. Our city roads have become parking lots. Schools are bursting at the seams. Our aged and sick are left behind to fend for themselves. ... Governments, both state and federal, have a duty of care to the Australian people.

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<sup>49</sup> Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party policy on Immigration, 2016, <http://www.onenation.com.au/policies/immigration>.

<sup>50</sup> Nicole Hasham, "Pauline Hanson warns of terror on the streets and suburbs 'swamped by Asians'", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 July 2016, <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/federal-election-2016/election-2016-pauline-hanson-warns-of-terror-on-the-streets-and-suburbs-swamped-by-asians-20160704-gpxzpn.html>.

<sup>51</sup> First Speech by Pauline Hanson, Senate *Hansard*, 14 September 2016, p. 937.

Clean up your own backyard before flooding our country with more people who are going to be a drain on our society. I call for a halt to further immigration ....”<sup>52</sup>

In February 2017, in an interview on her future plans for One Nation, Hanson declared “I don’t change my tune, whichever way the polls are going. If you look at what I said 20 years ago, it’s exactly what I’m saying today.”

Questioned about Asian immigration by Barrie Cassidy on the ABC *Insiders* program in March 2017, Hanson ducked and weaved to avoid re-highlighting controversy but stubbornly insisted that she had been right in warn in 1996 that Australia was in danger of being swamped by Asians. Multiculturalism is “a melting pot” that is “what they want” and at odds with an Australia with “the one culture”. Hanson remained insistent that Asian migrants form “ghettos in this country that don’t assimilate.”<sup>53</sup>

In this context Hanson’s recruitment of right-wing intellectual and activist Frank Salter as her adviser on migration and population issues is also significant. A previous Australia Institute report has discussed Salter’s thinking as a self-described “urban anthropologist and ethnologist”. Salter claims that discrimination against ethnic minorities is an “inborn response” in all humans and that “multiculturalism has a depressing effect on public altruism in most societies.” In his view ethnic diversity leads to corruption, weak public services and a decline in government institutions.<sup>54</sup>

Salter has long been concerned about the “Asianisation” of Australia. With an extreme-right League of Rights family background, he first became involved in far-right political activity while a student at the University of Sydney in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Together with another prominent White nationalist activist Jim Saleam, Salter was the founder of one of Australia’s earliest far-right, anti-Asian immigration parties, the Australian National Alliance (ANA), in the late 1970s.<sup>55</sup> Salter, the party secretary, contested the federal electorate of Grayndler in a June 1979 by-election with the ANA distributing thousands of leaflets and posters warning that Australia was being “flooded” with Vietnamese refugees or carrying the message “An Asian Australia? Never!!”<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> First Speech by Pauline Hanson, Senate *Hansard*, 14 September 2016, p. 937.

<sup>53</sup> Transcript of Interview by Barrie Cassidy with Pauline Hanson, 5 March 2017, ABC *Insiders*, <http://www.abc.net.au/insiders/content/2016/s4630647.htm>.

<sup>54</sup> Philip Dorling, *The American Far-Right Origins of Pauline Hanson’s Views on Islam: Investigating One Nation’s Thinking*, Australia Institute Report, January 2017, <http://www.tai.org.au/sites/default/files/P317%20Far-right%20American%20origins%20of%20One%20Nation%27s%20views%20on%20Islam.pdf>.

<sup>55</sup> Jim Saleam, *The Other Radicalism: An Inquiry into Contemporary Australian Extreme Right Ideology, Politics and Organisation, 1975-1995*, University of Sydney PhD thesis, <http://home.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/otherradicalism/04.html>.

<sup>56</sup> “Of Racists and By-Elections”, *Tharunka* (Kensington, NSW), 11 June 1979, p. 3.

Nearly four decades later, Salter remains focussed on the issues of immigration and multiculturalism. In a 2010 essay he attacked what he described as “Australia's abandonment of traditionalist assimilationist immigration policy” in favour of “open borders, immigration unrestricted by consideration of all factors save for security.” In this he was not shy in identifying Asian migration as a direct threat to White, “Anglo-Australian” society. “Any policy is suspect that threatens a country’s ecological sustainability, increases diversity or tends to subordinate the core ethnic group”, Salter wrote: “Ethnic stratification is taking place. ... Anglo Australians, still almost 70 percent of the population, are presently being displaced disproportionately in the professions and in senior managerial positions by Asian immigrants and their children. The situation is dramatic at selective schools which are the high road to university and the professions ... evidence is emerging that immigrant communities harbour invidious attitude towards Anglo Australians, disparaging their culture and the legitimacy of their central place in national identity.”<sup>57</sup>

The extent of Salter’s influence on contemporary One Nation policy is unclear. As was the case with John Pasquarelli two decades earlier, however, Senator Hanson has chosen an adviser that connects her directly the beginning of Australia’s modern anti-Asian migration movements in the late 1970s and 1980s.

In any case, Senator Hanson herself is now rather more inclined to speak about “Asianisation” as she spoke twenty years ago. Interviewed by conservative Christian commentator Dave Pellow in May 2017, Hanson praised the contributions to Australia of “wonderful migrants” from European countries including Poland, Germany, Italy and Greece. European migrants are good, but she then moved to express herself in emphatic terms: “[D]o I want Australia to become Asianised, no way in the wide world!”<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Frank Salter, “The misguided advocates of open borders”, *Quadrant Online*, June 2010, <http://quadrant.org.au/magazine/2010/06/the-misguided-advocates-of-open-borders/>.

<sup>58</sup> Interview by Dave Pellowe with Pauline Hanson on Australian Immigration and Culture Policy, May 2017, <https://churchandstate.com.au/senator-pauline-hanson/>.



# Asian One Nation

*I feel the Chinese Communist Party is a great threat to Australia because they bought a lot of businesses and our harbours and properties. They will take over power of Australia. They will form their own government. Would you like 20 million people to move to Australia? Would you like to see that happen?*

One Nation candidate Shan Ju Lin, December 2016.<sup>59</sup>

One Nation has recruited overseas born, Asian Australians to its ranks. The numbers are not known and probably very small. Journalist David Marr notes that One Nation voters in 2016 were almost entirely native-born Australians: 98 per cent.<sup>60</sup> However two Asian Australian One Nation members have been selected as political candidates.

In December 2016 One Nation's first Asian candidate, Taiwan-born Shan Ju Lin told the ABC News that she had not been offended by Hanson's warning two decades earlier that Australia was at risk of "being swamped by Asians". A school teacher who moved from Taiwan to Australia in 1991, five years before Hanson first entered federal parliament, Lin said she understood why Hanson made her speech including the claim that Asians formed ghettos and did not assimilate. "For European people it's very difficult to distinguish Chinese or Korean or Japanese, and I can understand why she said it," Lin said. Hanson was something of a political visionary for One Nation's first Asian candidate. "She sees the problem ahead of everybody, including you and me", Lin said, "Everything she said is happening now." Lin was selected to contest the Queensland state electorate of Bundamba, not far from Hanson's former stamping ground of Ipswich, west of Brisbane. Lin had previously run in the Queensland seat of Moreton for Katter's Australian Party in the 2016 federal election, securing a modest 1.56 per cent of the vote. One Nation Queensland campaign director Jim Savage claimed Lin's ethnic background was irrelevant as she was fully assimilated. "Everyone seems to brand us as a racist party, but we don't pick our candidates based on race or gender," Savage said, "but when we have an Asian candidate everyone wants to know about it."<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Kristian Silva, "One Nation candidate Shan Ju Lin defends Pauline Hanson, says she fears Chinese Government will 'take over'", *ABC News*, 21 December 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-12-21/one-nation-candidate-shan-ju-lin-defends-pauline-hanson/8135684>.

<sup>60</sup> David Marr, *The White Queen: One Nation and the Politics of Race, Quarterly Essay*, No 65, 2017, p. 48.

<sup>61</sup> Kristian Silva, "One Nation candidate Shan Ju Lin defends Pauline Hanson, says she fears Chinese Government will 'take over'", *ABC News*, 21 December 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-12-21/one-nation-candidate-shan-ju-lin-defends-pauline-hanson/8135684>.

Lin claimed she and One Nation would get the votes of "good Asians" because they feared the rising influence in Australia of the Chinese Government and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). A Falun Gong practitioner and supporter of the anti-CCP *Epoch Times* newspaper, Lin expressed concern that China was already influencing the Labor and Liberal parties, adding there would be serious consequences if large numbers of CCP supporters migrated to Australia. "I feel the Chinese Communist Party is a great threat to Australia because they bought a lot of businesses and our harbours and properties," she told the ABC. "They will take over power of Australia. They will form their own government. Would you like 20 million people to move to Australia? Would you like to see that happen?" In a social media post Lin wrote, "Australians believe in a fair go. The ruling communist party of China doesn't bother with fair. ... They [the Chinese government] don't have our interests at heart. Neither do they practice [political] freedoms ... Say the wrong thing and you can literally have your tongue cut out. End up in jail, and you're automatically on the organ donor list ... as the donor." Lin's post ended with the claim that "The Chinese are very good at attracting and setting up people, they are the biggest scammers in the world." One Nation campaign manager Savage affirmed that One Nation supported Lin's strong anti-China stance. "Is China an evil communist dictatorship? Absolutely, communism is the diametric opposite to what One Nation stands for," he said.<sup>62</sup>

Lin's comments attracted strong criticism within the Chinese Australian community including through extensive social media comment. Erin Chew, Convener of the Asian Australian Alliance, and Asian Australian Alliance Women's Forum, described Lin's defence of Hanson and reasons for joining "a bigoted political party" as signs of "ignorance and lack of understanding on the intersections of race relations in Australia." Chew attacked as a political opportunist prepared to create a wedge within the Chinese Australian communities: "One Nation knows that and is manipulating Lin for their own ambitions and agendas. Having [Lin] on their side will validate that One Nation is not against Asians, and that the racism and hate which they stand for should also resonate with Asian Australian voters. This is an extremely sad state of affairs, and [Lin] has played into this plot."<sup>63</sup>

Lin expressed strong confidence that she had the backing of Senator Hanson, saying "I believe she supports me." Within little more than two weeks, however, Lin was dis-

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<sup>62</sup> Kristian Silva, "One Nation candidate Shan Ju Lin defends Pauline Hanson, says she fears Chinese Government will 'take over'", *ABC News*, 21 December 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-12-21/one-nation-candidate-shan-ju-lin-defends-pauline-hanson/8135684>.

<sup>63</sup> Erin Chew, "Taiwanese Australian Shan Ju Lin joins One Nation as a candidate, and her reasons are completely flawed", *Australian Independent Media Network*, 24 December 2016, <https://theaimn.com/taiwanese-australian-shan-ju-lin-joins-one-nation-candidate-reasons-completely-flawed/>.

endorsed by Hanson and One Nation after she made a series of anti-gay social media posts that included saying “gays should be treated as patients” and “abnormal sex behaviour leads to abnormal crime”. In another post Lin mocked outgoing United States President Barack Obama using a digitally manipulated picture of him dressed in drag. Senator Hanson quickly denounced Lin’s “disparaging comments”, saying that they were not the views of One Nation or the general public: “I will not stand by and allow people to trash the party or my name, so I make no apologies for being tough on candidates.” A One Nation spokesperson separately told the ABC “the party does not want ratbags.” Lin expressed “complete surprise” at the “remarkable” speed of her dis-endorsement. There was no disagreement, however, about Lin’s comments about the Chinese Government and Chinese people as “the biggest scammers in the world.”<sup>64</sup>

One Nation’s second Asian candidate, Chinese Australian Tshung Chang contested the Legislative Assembly district of Riverton in the March 2017 Western Australian state election.<sup>65</sup> Interviewed by the ABC during the campaign Tshung was quick to claim that Senator Hanson was not “anti-Asian” Asked whether he remembered Hanson's first speech to parliament where she said Australia was "in danger of being swamped by Asians," Chang said he did and acknowledged it was an “infamous speech, but went on to suggest that Hanson had “actually become more and more experienced since then and the views back then are not reflective of what they are today because of her life experiences.” According to Chang: “Pauline has got nothing against Asians, nothing against Asians that work hard, that come here and are good citizens. Nothing could be further from the truth to say that she's anti-Asian or anti any particular race.”<sup>66</sup>

Senator Hanson and Western Australian One Nation leader Colin Tincknell were keen to highlight Chang's candidacy, but a Facebook broadcast went badly wrong when Hanson was unable to pronounce Chang's name, first whispering the beginning of his name "sh...-- before laughing with embarrassment. “Yes, Tshung. I'm sorry, this pronunciation, it's my fault, it's not yours. Let's get it right," Hanson said, before she

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<sup>64</sup> Gail Burke and Kym Aigus, “One Nation dumps anti-gay ‘ratbag’ candidate Shan Ju Lin”, ABC News, 8 January 2017, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-01-08/one-nation-pauline-hanson-dumps-anti-gay-candidate-shan-ju-lin/8168388>; Cameron Atfield, “One Nation dumps Queensland candidate Shan Ju Lin”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 January 2017, <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/one-nation-dumps-queensland-candidate-shan-ju-lin-20170107-gtnnbo.html>; and Stuart Layt and Tracey Ferrier, “Dumped candidate Lin claims Ashby threat”, *news.com.au*, 30 January 2017, <http://www.news.com.au/national/breaking-news/im-in-control-of-one-nation-hanson/news-story/8876400bae390ba5b6b8007babe9fb8a>.

<sup>65</sup> Pauline Hanson’s One Nation: Western Australian candidate profile: Tshung Chang, <http://www.onenation.com.au/candidates/wa/tshungchang>.

<sup>66</sup> Eliza Borrello, “One Nation: Chinese Australian candidate says Hanson ‘has nothing against Asians’”, *ABC News*, 21 January 2017, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-01-21/one-nation-candidate-says-hanson-has-nothing-against-asians/8199466>.

repeated the candidate's name in front of the audience: "Tshung. Tshung. I do apologise. Tshung."<sup>67</sup>

In a subsequent interview with SBS, Chang described One Nation's assimilation policy as a "triple A" approach: "No matter where you are from, you should Assimilate, Accept and Adapt. ... if you come here, you should abide to Australian laws and not break any rules." Aside from Senator Hanson's struggle to pronounce his name, Chang encountered some problems in his campaign with some One Nation supporters complaining about what they described as his "thick foreign accent". Somewhat defensively Chang pointed out that One Nation's assimilation policy did not lay out specific criteria for English standards: "All it is, is that being able to speak and write (English) will certainly help you in this environment in the future."<sup>68</sup>

Chang won a modest 4.88 per cent of the vote in Riverton, a south Perth district, significantly below the average of 8.47 per cent in lower house electorates contested by One Nation.<sup>69</sup> It is unclear whether One Nation supporters responded negatively to an Asian candidate. In any case One Nation's first Asian candidate to face the electors was something less than a success.

On balance it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that One Nation's Asian candidates have so far amounted to little more than window dressing intended to counter suggestions that the party remains anti-Asian in its outlook.

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<sup>67</sup> Josh Butler, "Pauline Hanson can't pronounce an Asian One Nation candidate's name", *Huffington Post*, 6 March 2017, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com.au/2017/03/05/pauline-hanson-cant-pronounce-an-asian-one-nation-candidates-n/>.

<sup>68</sup> William Shi, "One Nation candidate Tshung Chang shrugs off accent criticism", *SBS News*, 7 March 2017, <http://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/mandarin/en/article/2017/03/07/one-nation-candidate-tshung-chang-shrugs-foreign-accent-criticism>.

<sup>69</sup> Philip Dorling, *One Nation in Western Australia: Huge Win or Epic Fail?*, Australia Institute Report, 24 April 2017, <http://www.tai.org.au/sites/default/files/Dorling%202017%20PHON%20WA%20election%20result%2031-3-2017%20FINAL.pdf>.

# China focus: One Nation's current policy directions

*The largest migrant numbers came from India with 21 percent, China made up 15 percent ... These immigration levels are too high and are simply adding to the housing crisis. We need to address the 400,000 foreign students who are buying housing.*

Senator Pauline Hanson, April 2017<sup>70</sup>

Beyond its broad anti-immigration, anti-multiculturalism stance, One Nation has articulated policy and positions in a number of areas with an implicit anti-Asian and more particularly anti-Chinese focus. Fear of Chinese investment and acquisition of land and infrastructure are major One Nation themes, as is the alleged impact of the entry of Asian, predominantly Chinese, workers and students, on Australian employment and housing costs. In 2014, in an article posted on the One Nation website under her own name, Pauline Hanson expressed strong opposition to the China-Australia free trade agreement, with one of her "greatest concerns" being the prospect of increased movement of Chinese labour into Australia and Chinese, ownership of Australian land and infrastructure. Senator Hanson and One Nation are opposed to free trade agreements broadly, but it is very clear that Australia's agreement with China is a focus of particular concern.<sup>71</sup> Similarly One Nation has long opposed the entry of foreign workers under the 457 visa program, as well as provisions for foreign workers to apply for permanent residency, with Hanson particularly targeting workers from developing countries in Asia, saying Australia "cannot be the world's dumping ground for other countries inability to curtail birth rates, nor their inability to feed, house, or give citizens a decent stand of living."<sup>72</sup> Hanson subsequently sought to take credit for the Turnbull Government's decision to replace the 457 visa program with a more restrictive foreign worker entry scheme, with

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<sup>70</sup> "Pauline Hanson blames immigration for Australia's housing affordability problem", *9news.com.au*, 18 April 2017, <http://www.9news.com.au/national/2017/04/18/16/04/hanson-blames-immigration-for-australias-housing-affordability-problem>.

<sup>71</sup> Pauline Hanson, "Will Australia lose from our China free trade agreement?", 10 November 2014, [http://www.onenation.com.au/current\\_affairs/australia-china-free-trade](http://www.onenation.com.au/current_affairs/australia-china-free-trade).

<sup>72</sup> Media statement by Pauline Hanson on visa programs, 17 April 2015, [http://www.onenation.com.au/current\\_affairs/close-the-186-visa-loophole](http://www.onenation.com.au/current_affairs/close-the-186-visa-loophole).

Hanson saying on Twitter “The government will deny their tough talk on immigration plan to ban 457 visas is because of One Nation but we all know the truth!”<sup>73</sup>

One Nation’s enduring concern about Asianisation extends to foreign investment, again particularly from China. One Nation has been a persistent opponent of Chinese investment in Australia, especially acquisition of infrastructure and rural land. One Nation’s preference is for Chinese investment to be avoided, or at least kept below majority shareholdings. In October 2016 Hanson welcomed the sale of the Kidman cattle empire to a joint Australian-Chinese venture led Gina Rinehart with Chinese company Shanghai CRED as a minority shareholder, though her preference was to see the business wholly Australian-owned. “I would rather Australia have two thirds in Kidman station, rather than the total ownership and control by the Chinese,” Senator Hanson said. “Gina Rinehart will have the controlling interest ...You never know further down the track, two thirds is actually Australian owned... so Gina Rinehart might buy-out the Chinese.”<sup>74</sup>

In January 2017, in the context of the Western Australian election campaign, Senator Hanson strongly opposed the proposed \$7.37 billion sale of Energy utility assets group Duet to a consortium led by Hong Kong billionaire Li Ka-shing’s Cheung Kong Infrastructure Holdings. Duet holds energy utility assets including the Dampier to Bunbury gas pipeline in Western Australia. Hanson called the proposed sale “shocking” and against the national interest.<sup>75</sup> In April 2017 the proposed sale was approved by the Foreign Investment Review which found no national interest issues weighing against the transaction.<sup>76</sup>

One Nation has also voiced strong opposition to Chinese investment backed property developments on Queensland’s Gold Coast including a \$3 billion casino, hotel and apartment complex at Southport Spit proposed by the ASF Consortium, which includes China State Construction Engineering Ltd; and a \$1 billion cultural theme park and real estate development proposed by Chinese Songcheng Performance Development

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<sup>73</sup> Kate Darvall, “‘We all know the truth!’ One Nation leader Pauline Hanson takes credit for government’s decision to scrap the 457 work visa and ‘put Australians first’”, *Daily Mail*, 18 April 2017, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4420308/One-Nation-Pauline-Hanson-takes-credit-scrap-457-visa.html#ixzz4hHXQ9yib>.

<sup>74</sup> “One Nation’s Pauline Hanson says he supports the Kidman bid because the majority owner is Australian Gina Rinehart”, *ABC Rural News*, 10 October 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/rural/2016-10-10/pauline-hanson-support-kidman-sale-to-gina-rinehart/7918108>.

<sup>75</sup> “Pauline Hanson calls for ‘shocking’ gas pipeline sale to be blocked”, *The Australian*, 24 January 2017, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/mining-energy/pauline-hanson-calls-for-shocking-gas-pipeline-sale-to-be-blocked/news-story/52f9d08022827ad288c3440167f08742>.

<sup>76</sup> Stuart McKinnon, “FIRB nod for sale of Dampier-Bunbury pipeline to Chinese”, *The West Australian*, 21 April 2017, <https://thewest.com.au/business/energy/firb-nod-for-sale-of-dampier-bunbury-pipeline-to-chinese-ng-b88452607z>.

company. One Nation's Queensland leader, Steve Dickson, has been quick to express opposition to the ASF development, joining with local community activists to question its environmental impact and warning that it will "devastate" local community clubs and businesses.<sup>77</sup> One Nation's opposition to the Chinese development has proved popular with one opinion poll showing the party's support surging to 18.5 per cent in the Gold Coast with gains across all age groups.<sup>78</sup>

Backed by Chinese billionaire Huang Qiaoling, Songcheng effectively plans to build a new city on the northern tip of the Gold Coast; a proposed development reminiscent of the controversial Japanese Multifunction Polis proposals of the 1980s.<sup>79</sup> The project has aroused significant reaction of anti-Asian White Nationalists who have seen it as another instance of Australian land being sold to China with the prospect of a Chinese "enclave" being established. One Nation's opposition to this proposed development is clearly expressed in the context of its positions on immigration. In response to concerns from a One Nation supporter about the Asianisation of Australia and the Chinese building "their own enclave in our country", One Nation Senator Malcolm Roberts' office affirmed that the proposed development "does not align" with the party's policies of "integration and assimilation when it comes to immigration". Noting that Senator Roberts' had spoken out against the Chinese backed development in the company of Logan City Councillor Darren Power, Senator Roberts' staffer Boston White further affirmed that the Chinese proposal was also at odds with One Nation's objective of "stopping foreign ownership of Australia's agricultural land and established housing"<sup>80</sup>

Foreign investment, especially Asian investment and the presence of large numbers of Asian students in Australia feature prominently in One Nation's housing policy. One Nation identifies foreign property investment as the primary cause of Australia's housing affordability problems and proposes tight controls to prevent foreign students

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<sup>77</sup> Denis Doherty, "ASF casino proposal for The Spit will devastate the Gold Coast community clubs according to One Nation", *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 14 February 2017, <http://www.goldcoastbulletin.com.au/news/sun-community/asf-casino-proposal-for-the-spit-will-devastate-gold-coast-community-clubs-according-to-one-nation/news-story/cbf0d8f50ef7b710c693aa635c3ce89f>.

<sup>78</sup> Paul Weston, "Pauline Hanson's One Nation popular after opposing Gold Coast casino-resort at The Spit", *Gold Coast Bulletin*, 9 May 2017, <http://www.goldcoastbulletin.com.au/news/gold-coast/pauline-hansons-party-popular-after-opposing-gold-coast-casinoresort-at-the-spit/news-story/a3e365056aa18fc1bda58af4e1375c4d>.

<sup>79</sup> Rosanne Barrett, "Chinese to build new \$1billion Gold Coast City", *The Australian*, 4 March 2017, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/property/chinese-to-build-1bn-city-on-coast/news-story/50815f1ac2932f6fb2ed7cd9a5cae967>.

<sup>80</sup> Correspondence between a One Nation supporter and Senator Malcolm Roberts, April 2017.

from permanently acquiring property in Australia, a measure thought by the party to “make enough of a difference for Australians to own their home.”<sup>81</sup>

Senator Hanson has herself taken to Facebook to blame immigration levels and foreign students for Australia’s “hyper-inflated” property market. ““Last financial year the government allowed 190,000 permanent residents into Australia,” she observed. “The largest migrant numbers came from India with 21 percent, China made up 15 percent ... These immigration levels are too high and are simply adding to the housing crisis. We need to address the 400,000 foreign students who are buying housing.”<sup>82</sup>

Senator Hanson offered no statistics to support her claims about the impact of foreign student demand for housing. It is clear, however, that she has identified a high profile target. The number of international students studying in Australia has reached an all-time high with federal Education Department figures showing there were 554,179 full-fee paying international students in 2016, an increase of more than 10 per cent on the previous year.<sup>83</sup> Australia’s \$19 billion international education sector is strongly focussed on Asia. In February 2017, the top five foreign student nationalities accounted for some 54 per cent of the total number of foreign students in Australia – China 30 per cent, India 11 per cent, Malaysia 5 per cent, Vietnam 5 per cent and Nepal 5 per cent.<sup>84</sup> One Nation’s focus on foreign students is in fact a focus on one of the more high profile elements of the Asian, and particularly Chinese, presence in Australia. This has significant potential implications for the sector. In September 2016 International Education Association of Australian head Phil Honeywood noted that “Twenty years ago, Asian political leaders directed their students away from studying in Australia largely because they thought that Ms Hanson represented a large body of opinion here. Today, we need strong messages to come out of Canberra that Ms Hanson’s views are not shared by the large majority of Australians. It will be how mainstream Australian politicians respond to Ms Hanson’s statements that will shape reaction from our overseas student markets.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Pauline Hanson’s One Nation party: Housing policy, 2016, <http://www.onenation.com.au/policies/housing>.

<sup>82</sup> “Pauline Hanson blames immigration for Australia’s housing affordability problem”, *9news.com.au*, <http://www.9news.com.au/national/2017/04/18/16/04/hanson-blames-immigration-for-australias-housing-affordability-problem>.

<sup>83</sup> Julie Doyle, “International students studying in Australia reach record number, Education Department figures show”, *ABC News*, 22 February 2017, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-02-22/record-number-of-international-students-in-australia-in-2016/8291284>.

<sup>84</sup> Department of Education and Training, *International Student Data Monthly Survey, February 2017*, <https://internationaleducation.gov.au/research/International-Student-Data/Documents/MONTHLY%20SUMMARIES/2017/Feb%202017%20MonthlyInfographic.pdf>.

<sup>85</sup> “Business fears China backlash over Hanson’s Asia comments”, *The Australian*, 16 September 2016, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/immigration/business-fears-china-backlash-over-hansons-asia-comments/news-story/09175746b5fcd0d1ddd6f4c38163d84a>.



One Nation's formal policies in relation to foreign trade, foreign investment, rural land ownership, control of infrastructure, housing and international students are written to avoid any explicitly anti-Asian references. However the application of those policies and the focus of One Nation's attention indicates an enduring preoccupation with what the party's website continues to refer to as the "Asianisation" of Australia. More often than not this ,fear is focussed on Chinese investment and immigration.

# Chinese target? One Nation's future course

*Just because we aren't the main target this time does not mean that they won't be coming for us or any other group.*

Chinese Australian Forum President Kenrick Cheah, July 2016<sup>86</sup>

*Is Australia ready ... [f]or calls from the extreme political fringe for Chinese Australians to be interned in camps?*

Senator Nick Xenophon, April 2017<sup>87</sup>

There is a widespread presumption that Pauline Hanson's One Nation has decisively shifted its anti-foreign focus from Asian immigration to targeting Islam and Muslims. As David Marr puts it in his recent essay on Hanson, "Asians are old hat" for One Nation.<sup>88</sup> Another commentator, George Megalogenis, offers an interesting demographic perspective on the One Nation's shifting political targets:

*The best way to understand the shift is to compare the Australia to which Hanson delivered her maiden parliamentary speech in 1996 and the one that returned her to politics last year.*

*In 1996, the Australian population comprised 13.2 million locals and 4.5 million migrants. Our ethnic face was still predominately white. The English-born were the largest ethnic community, with 872,000 people. Add the Scots, the Welsh, the Irish, the New Zealanders and the South Africans, and the English-speaking migrants numbered almost 1.5 million, or a third of the total. The European-born accounted for another 1 million, while the Asian-born stood at 856,000.*

*Now flip those tables. On the latest estimates from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, the locals have grown to 17 million and the migrants to 6.7 million. Now the Asian-born are the dominant migrant bloc, with 2.5 million people, or just over a third of the total. The English-speaking white migrants from the*

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<sup>86</sup> "Pauline Hanson controversy: Chinese community campaigns against 'racist' ideas", *ABC News*, 8 July 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-07-08/chinese-community-launch-campaign-against-pauline-hanson/7581952>.

<sup>87</sup> Nick Xenophon, "Are we truly ready for the consequences of war with China?", Extract from speech to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 20 April 2017, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 April 2017, <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/are-we-truly-ready-for-the-consequences-of-a-war-with-china-20170420-gvod4b.html>.

<sup>88</sup> Marr, *The White Queen*: p. 3.

*United Kingdom, New Zealand, South Africa and Ireland are next with 2.1 million, while the Europeans have dropped to third, with 1.1 million.*

*The English-born are still the largest ethnic community at just under 1 million, but almost half are now over 55.*

*Half the Chinese-born in Australia today are aged under 35, while half the Indian-born are under 33 – and these two communities now combine to outnumber the English-born.*

*Here's an interesting political game to play. Which voter carries more weight now: the old Australian or the new? In 1998, Pauline Hanson's One Nation party received just over 1 million primary votes in the Senate, or 9% of the total. That meant her constituency was a little larger than the Asian-born population at the time.*

*At last year's federal election, her party's Senate vote was just under 600,000, or 4.3% of the total. In other words, the Hansonite vote has been reduced to a number that is equivalent to a quarter of the Asian-born population. Hanson could have used her maiden speech to the Senate last year to say, "I told you so." But bullies kick down, not up, so she yelled, instead, at all Muslim Australians, the local and the migrant. They numbered 476,300 at the 2011 census.<sup>89</sup>*

There is no doubt that Senator Hanson and One Nation have sought to distance themselves from their explicitly anti-Asian immigration positions adopted in 1996-1998. Arguably the intense political controversy that surrounded Hanson during her first term in Federal Parliament demonstrated the strength of the demographic, economic and political transformation that was already underway. Within Megalogenis' perspective, Hanson and One Nation eventually saw the writing on the wall and as opportunist populists shifted to a weaker and more isolated target. There is no doubt that Hanson's focus on attacking Islam and Muslim immigrants has been politically successful, including in terms of broadening One Nation's support base beyond older native-born Australians.<sup>90</sup> That said Hanson has never explicitly repudiated her past anti-Asian positions. Indeed on occasion she has made it clear

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<sup>89</sup> George Megalogenis, "Our ethnic face", *The Monthly*, April 2017, pp. 89-9, <https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2017/april/1490965200/george-megalogenis/our-ethnic-face>.

<sup>90</sup> Anecdotal evidence suggests that One Nation supporters have been overwhelmingly of Australian and British ancestry. There are signs, however, that One Nation's support base has now expanded significantly to include the descendants of a wider range of European immigrant groups. See "John Safran: going rouge with Australian extremists", *ABC Radio National podcast*, 26 April 2017, <http://www.abc.net.au/radio/programs/conversations/conversations-john-safran/8455964>.

that she stands by her past statements and considers them to be of highly relevant to Australia's future.

It would be quite mistaken to conclude that the legacy of One Nation's anti-Asian origins has dissipated. One Nation's policies on radically restricting immigration and opposing multiculturalism are virtually unchanged from the platform Pauline Hanson took to the 1998 federal election. They are a direct continuation of the policies articulated by the anti-Asian Australians Against Further Immigration party. For One Nation, unemployment, dole queues, housing prices and demands on social welfare can all be attributed to immigration, predominantly Asian immigration. Asian, predominantly Chinese, students have been targeted as a cause of high rents and house prices. While many issues raised by One Nation are the subject of legitimate economic, social and political concern and debate, One Nation sees them all through the narrow and politically charged lens of immigration, ethnicity and the defence of a predominantly White, Anglo-Australian/European Australia. Claims that One Nation has "evolved" and become "a lot more sophisticated" are politically self-serving and misleading.

Pauline Hanson's original decision to campaign against Asian immigration was a product of both political instinct and deliberate tactical choice. John Pasquarelli played a key role in turning Hanson's broad outlook into a highly inflammatory political campaign. Senator Hanson now has another immigration adviser, Frank Salter, with a long history of involvement with Australia's extreme right, anti-Asian political movements.

Hanson has demonstrated flexibility and opportunism, repeatedly shifting her focus, starting with Aboriginal Australians, before turning on Asian immigrants. In this regard it should be understood that Hanson's political influence has always had an important international context. Her initial rise was fuelled by an Anglo-Australian backlash against the end of the White Australia policy and the inflow of Asian migration from the late 1970s, Vietnamese refugees and later waves of Chinese migrants through the 1980s and 1990s. Hanson's declaration that Australia would be "swamped by Asians" had a specific context as Australia accepted migrants from new countries, wound down protectionism and embraced the economic opportunities, and perceived risks, of deep economic engagement with Asia. The legacy of September 11, 2001, the persistent threat of radical Islamic terrorism and immigration from the Middle East, South Asia and east Africa has provided Hanson with the context for a new and potent political message, successfully mobilising a new political generation of supporters.

However this strategy is not fixed in stone. Megalogenis is right to observe that bullies kick down, not up. It's also true that bullies are selective about their targets. In

**Still Anti-Asian? Anti-Chinese?**

**One Nation policies on Asian immigration and multiculturalism**

constantly evolving political circumstances One Nation could again shift or broaden its focus. It's also the case that One Nation is emboldened, not only by international developments such as the election of US President Donald Trump, but also by the marked rise in One Nation support since the 2016 federal election. The March 2017 Western Australian state election saw One Nation's vote in that state effectively double<sup>91</sup>, and national opinion polls have the party tracking consistently in the vicinity of 9-10 per cent support nationally, and significantly higher in Queensland.<sup>92</sup> With higher support may come greater political boldness, indeed aggression, in targeting other ethnic and community groups One Nation sees as separate and not part of its view of "mainstream" Australia.

In an international environment in which significant tension, even possible conflict, between the United States and China cannot be ruled out, Australia's large Chinese community with its strong commercial and people-to-people links to the People's Republic of China could easily become a target of highly divisive political campaigning. Perceptions of an external threat can very easily refract into domestic political tension and conflict. Senator Hanson has long questioned the loyalty of migrants who she does not regard as fully assimilated. She has also long complained about the alleged influence of "ethnic lobbies" on the Liberal and Labor Parties. Revelations of significant Chinese political influence on Australian politics and the position of the Australian Chinese community in the context of international tension with China would be targets she would be unlikely to miss. It is not without significance that Senator Hanson alluded to Labor Senator Sam Dastyari's links to a prominent Chinese Australian political donor in her first Senate speech – saying that it contrast she would bring independence and honesty to the Senate, "things the Chinese can never buy"; and she has repeatedly returned to that issue in her attacks on him and other Labor figures.<sup>93</sup> Dastyari is both a prominent critic of One Nation, warning of the dangers of

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<sup>91</sup> Philip Dorling, *One Nation in Western Australia: Huge Win or Epic Fail?*, Australia Institute Report, 24 April 2017, <http://www.tai.org.au/sites/default/files/Dorling%202017%20PHON%20WA%20election%20result%2031-3-2017%20FINAL.pdf>.

<sup>92</sup> Michelle Grattan, "Coalition two-party vote slips in post-budget Newpoll", *The Conversation*, 15 May 2017, <http://theconversation.com/coalition-two-party-vote-slips-in-post-budget-newspoll-77691>. Interestingly in recent polling by Essential Research, nearly twice as many people said they voted for One Nation in the 2016 federal election than was actually the case. See Adrian Beaumont, "Making sense of the polls", *The Conversation*, 30 April 2017, <http://theconversation.com/queensland-galaxy-52-48-to-labor-as-one-nation-slumps-76700>.

<sup>93</sup> First Speech by Pauline Hanson, Senate *Hansard*, 14 September 2016, p. 937. Attacks on Senator Dastyari's Chinese connections have been a regular feature on One Nation twitter accounts, especially those of Senators Hanson and Roberts.

political “extremism”, and with the sobriquet “Sino Sam” a lightning rod for One Nation attacks.<sup>94</sup>

Notwithstanding her disendorsement, the strident views of former One Nation candidate Shan Ju Lin may be a pointer to future One Nation policy, targeting China and those within the Chinese Australian community with significant links to the People’s Republic of China. A broad anti-Asian stance would probably be politically counter-productive for One Nation, but a specifically anti-China approach could prove attractive. Nationalist movements such as One Nation have a long track record of targeting so-called “fifth columns” linked to threatening external powers. This may prove an relatively easy shift when concerns about China’s international ambitions and domestic influence in Australia are featuring not only in far-right political discourse, such as commentary by Andrew Bolt, but also in mainstream national security and media commentary.<sup>95</sup>

Another successful populist politician, albeit of very different values and temperament, South Australian Senator Nick Xenophon has recently warned of the potential for international tensions to generate grave political divisions that could tear at Australia’s social harmony. Speaking to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute in April 2017, Xenophon discussed the possibility of Australia becoming embroiled in United States – China tensions or conflict over the South China Sea or other strategic issues in East Asia. Xenophon warned that the consequences for Australia would be “catastrophic, both for our economy and society ... Seeing Chinese Australians and Chinese students on our streets shows how integral they've become to our nation's fabric.” Specifically Xenophon raised the prospect of “calls from the extreme political fringe for Chinese Australians to be interned in camps.”<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Amy Remeikis, “Sam Dastyari decried rise of extremism in Australia” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 May 2017, <http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-news/sam-dastyari-decries-rise-of-extremism-in-australia-20170519-gw8vxxg.html>. Anecdotal evidence suggests the moniker “Sino Sam” is widely used in right-wing circles to refer to Senator Dastyari, see “Sino Sam bashes plane Pauline”, 2 May 2017, <https://www.macrobusiness.com.au/2017/05/sino-sam-attacks-plane-pauline/>.

<sup>95</sup> See for example, Andrew Bolt, “South China Sea trouble looms and Australia’s vulnerable”, *Herald Sun*, 13 July 2016, <http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/opinion/andrew-bolt/south-china-sea-trouble-looms-and-australias-vulnerable-andrew-bolt/news-story/3c5d2d80bf2d412fc4a68694492d7056>; and Paul Monk, “China’s propaganda infiltrating our shores”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 July 2014, <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/chinas-propaganda-infiltrating-our-shores-20140709-zt122.html>.

<sup>96</sup> Nick Xenophon, “Are we truly ready for the consequences of war with China?”, Extract from speech to the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 20 April 2017, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 April 2017, <http://www.smh.com.au/comment/are-we-truly-ready-for-the-consequences-of-a-war-with-china-20170420-gvod4b.html>.

While this still a very hypothetical situation, Senator Xenophon's little noticed but significant warning raises serious questions about how One Nation would respond to international tension or conflict that puts Australia at odds with China, and more broadly how Australian political figures would deal with international tensions or conflict with direct implications for a large, prosperous and influential part of Australian society. In this regard decisions by One Nation, the Coalition and Labor could have very far-reaching effects on Australia's long-term political and social cohesion.

Decisions about electoral preferences are already being made on the basis that One Nation is "different" and has "evolved" from where the party was two decades ago. At that time the Chinese Australian y's opposition to One Nation exerted significant influence on both Labor and the Coalition's decisions to preference against One Nation and effectively block the party from making further political inroads. Twenty years later a new community campaign has largely faded away. Chinese Australian Forum president Kenrick Cheah issued a statement in March 2017, saying that however narrowly Senator Hanson defined racism, "it's the effect of her words in the community that constitutes racism."<sup>97</sup> By comparison with 1996-1998, however, the Chinese Australian community's responses to One Nation since mid-2016 have been muted. The sense that Senator Hanson's primary focus has been elsewhere may have taken the edge off the concerns about One Nation's continuing anti-Asian inclinations. It remains to be seen whether Australia's Asian communities, and especially the Chinese Australian community, will be more pro-active in pressing the major political parties, the Coalition and Labor, to reaffirm their commitments to social diversity and an inclusive Australia, including through unambiguous decisions about how they relate to One Nation, a party that retains large elements of its anti-Asian outlook. If not, the words of Chinese Australian Forum president Cheah may yet prove prophetic: "Just because we aren't the main target this time does not mean that they won't be coming for us or any other group."<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Statement by Kenrick Cheah, 30 March 2017, <http://www.caf.org.au/single-post/2017/03/30/Challenging-One-Nation-on-Racism>.

<sup>98</sup> "Pauline Hanson controversy: Chinese community campaigns against 'racist' ideas", *ABC News*, 8 July 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-07-08/chinese-community-launch-campaign-against-pauline-hanson/7581952>.