

3

The Reconstruction of Hate Language¹

Gail Mason

In the midst of the violent rampage in the Sydney suburb of Cronulla on 11 December 2005, a message was written large in the sand: ‘100% Aussie pride’ (Sydney Morning Herald 2005: 4). Hateful sentiments were brought to the fore that day. Yet, the presence of this message reminds us that these were shadowed by sentiments that, in other circumstances, might be characterised as desirable or positive, such as national pride, care for the local beach, concern for the safety of surf lifesavers and respect for women’s rights. In labelling the racist behaviour of the Cronulla crowd as hate speech or hate crime we are faced with a question. Are we suggesting that this form of hostility can be reduced to, and adequately explained as, an expression of hatred?

This chapter is prompted by a suspicion that the relatively recent popularity of concepts such as hate speech, hate crime and hate groups may have lulled us into assuming that extreme forms of racism, homophobia and other modes of prejudice are largely conveyed and propagated through language that is readily identifiable as vilifying, prejudiced or hateful. This expectation is particularly apparent, albeit understandable, in relation to white supremacist organisations such as the Australia First Party (‘AFP’), the British National Party (‘BNP’) or the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (‘Knights’). We expect these kinds of extremist organisations to express their prejudice through language that is overtly and uncompromisingly hateful. There is reason to believe, however, that some of these groups are currently making a play for respectability or, in the case of more recent groups, are crafting a civil image for themselves from their very beginning. In the United States, this phenomenon has been referred to as ‘rhinestone racism’ (Perry 2001: 168). Its ultimate aim is to sever all connection between the (well

¹ An earlier version of this chapter will appear as Mason, G. (forthcoming) ‘Hate in the Language of Care’ in Poynting, S. and Wilson, J. (eds), *Sticks and Stones: Writings and Drawings of Hate*, Institute of Criminology.

This is a preview. Not all pages are shown.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HATE LANGUAGE

Griffin became Chairman in 1999, the BNP has sought to moderate its image. The electoral success of the BNP has increased throughout the 2000s.

Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Knights): The Knights are generally believed to be the most successful cell of the Ku Klux Klan, which is otherwise a disjointed alliance based in the United States. Under the 'modernising' leadership of Pastor Rob, the Knights have publicly rejected the use of mystifying titles, white hoods and aggressive language.

References

- Allport, G, 1954, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Addison-Wesley Publishing, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Arendt, H, 1963, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, Viking Books, New York.
- Arendt, H, 2003, *Responsibility and Judgment*, Schocken Books, New York.
- Australia First Party, 2006a, 'Fight for Australia', <www.australiafirst.net> accessed 23/2/06.
- Australia First Party, 2006b, 'Fighting Racism and Bigotry', <www.australiafirst.net/racismbigotry.htm> accessed 23/2/06.
- Australia First Party, 2006c, 'What Do You Have to Look Forward to When You Leave School?', <www.australiafirst.net/schoolleavers.htm> accessed 23/2/06.
- Australia First Party, 2006d, 'Cronulla: Australians Rally for Self-Defence', <www.australiafirst.net/cronulla.htm> accessed 23/2/06.
- Australia First Party, 2006e, 'Eureka Stockade Anniversary, A Celebration of Australia's Cultural Heritage', <www.australiafirst.net/eureka.htm> accessed 23/2/06.
- Australia First Party, 2006f, 'Multiculturalism is Anti-Australian Racism', <www.australiafirst.net/multiculturalismracism.htm> accessed 23/2/06.
- Australia First Party, 2006g, 'Great Australian Bikini March on 9 December 2006, To Protest Against Comments of Muslim leaders', <www.australiafirst.net/news200611bikinimarch.htm> accessed 29/11/06.
- Australia First Party, 2006h, 'Multiculturalism is Destroying Our Country', <www.australiafirst.net/multiculturalismdestroying.htm> accessed 29/11/06.
- Australian Spirit, 2005, <www.australianspirit.org/AnthropologicalIdentity01.htm> accessed 28/11/05.
- Back, L, 2006, 'Aryans Reading Adorno: Cyber-Culture and Twenty-First-Century Racism' 25(4) *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 628.
- Barker, M, 1981, *The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe*, Aletheia Books, London.
- Bennett, 2006, 'Alternative energy – Nationalist Style', <www.bnp.org.uk/landandpeople/homeelec.htm> accessed 21/4/06.
- British National Party, 2006a, 'Land and People', <www.bnp.org.uk/landandpeople/index.htm> accessed 21/4/06.

HATE SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH

- British National Party, 2006b, 'Land and People', <www.bnp.org.uk/landandpeople/lapp.htm> accessed 21/4/06.
- British National Party, 2006c, 'Unexpected Help in the Campaign Against Terror', <www.bnp.org.uk/landandpeople/Unexpected.htm> accessed 21/4/06.
- British National Party, 2006d, 'Infopack: Britain First', <www.bnp.org.uk/> accessed 29/11/06.
- Burney, E, and Rose, G, 2002, *Racist Offences – How is the Law Working? The Implementation of the Legislation on Racially Aggravated Offences in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998*, Home Office Research Study 244, Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.
- Charlesworth, H, 2006, 'Workshop Opening', Workshop: Free Speech, Hate Speech and Human Rights in Australia, Australian National University, 8-9 September.
- Eatwell, R, 2000, 'The Rebirth of the "Extreme Right" in Western Europe?', *53 Parliamentary Affairs* 407.
- Fredrickson, G, 2002, *Racism: A Short History*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
- Gelber, K, 2002, *Speaking Back: The Free Speech versus Hate Speech Debate*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Philadelphia.
- Griffin, M, 2006a, 'Monday, April 24, 2006', <<http://chairmanscolumn.blogspot.com>> accessed at 25/4/06.
- Griffin, M, 2006b, 'Saturday, April 22, 2006', <<http://chairmanscolumn.blogspot.com>> accessed 25/4/06.
- Griffin, N, and Collett, M, 2006, 'Free Speech on Trial, Tuesday January 31, 2006, Video Footage – Keighley Speech', <<http://freespeechontrial.blogspot.com/2006/01/video-footage-keighley-speech.html>> accessed 25/4/06.
- Hage, G, 'Racism is Not Simply Black and White', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 June, p 13.
- Hall, N, 2005, *Hate Crime*, Willan Publishing, United Kingdom.
- Hamm, M, 1994, *American Skinheads: The Criminology and Control of Hate Crime*, Praeger, Connecticut.
- Jenness, V, and Grattet, R, 2001, *Making Hate a Crime: From Social Movement to Law Enforcement*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York.
- Jeremy, A, 2003, 'Religious Offences' 7(33) *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* 127.
- Knights, 2006a, 'Welcome to the Ku Klux Klan', <www.kkk.com> accessed 29/11/06.
- Knights, 2006b, 'God Bless America and the Ku Klux Klan', <www.kkk.com> accessed 29/6/06.
- Knights, 2006c, <www.kkk.bz> accessed 29/6/06.
- Knights, 2006d, 'The Dilemma White Women Face in Today's Society', <www.kkk.bz/women.htm> accessed 29/6/06.
- Knights, 2006e, 'But, I know Some Really Nice Black People', <www.kkk.bz/kidsnice1.htm> accessed 29/6/06.
- Knights, 2006f, 'The Knights Party Platform', <www.kkk.bz/program.htm> accessed 29/6/06.
- Knights, 2006g, 'Does the Klan Hate Negroes', <www.kkk.bz/doeshe.htm> accessed 29/6/06.
- Kohn, J, 2003, 'Introduction', in Arendt, H (ed), *Responsibility and Judgment*, Schocken Books, New York.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HATE LANGUAGE

- Mann, D, Sutton, M, and Tuffin, R, 2003, 'The Evolution of Hate: Social Dynamics in White Racist Newsgroups' *Internet Journal of Criminology*, www.internetjournalofcriminology.com, accessed 30/07/06.
- Meagher, D, 2006, 'So far No Good: The Regulatory Failure of Criminal Racial Vilification Laws in Australia' 17 *Public Law Review* 209.
- McNamara, L, 2002, *Regulating Racism: Racial Vilification Laws in Australia*, Sydney Institute of Criminology, Sydney.
- National Front, 2006, '100 Questions and Answers', <www.natfront.com/nf_faqs_1.html> accessed 24/4/06.
- Nussbaum, M, 2001, *Upheavals of thought: The intelligence of emotion*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Order of the White Knights, 2005, 'Frequently Asked Questions', <www.orderofwhiteknights.org/public/faq/shtml> accessed 5/1/05.
- Pendergraft, R, 2006a, 'What's In a Name', <www.kkk.bz/whatsinaname.htm> accessed 29/6/06.
- Pendergraft, R, 2006b, 'Our vision – the 6th era – Why You Should Support Pastor Robb and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan!', <www.kkk.bz/vision/htm> accessed 29/6/06.
- Pendergraft, R, 2006c, 'Hate Crime Legislation – Friend or Foe?', <www.kkk.bz/weekly16.htm> accessed 29/6/06.
- Pendergraft, R, 2006d, 'What is 33/6', <http://www.kkk.bz/what_is_33.htm> accessed 20/6/06.
- Perry, B, 2001, *In the Name of Hate: Understanding Hate Crime*, Routledge, New York.
- Redwatch, 2006a, <www.redwatch.org.uk> accessed 27/4/06.
- Redwatch, 2006b, 'Noncewatch', <www.redwatch.org.uk/noncewatch/index.html> accessed 27/4/06.
- Renton, D, 2003, 'Examining the Success of the British National Party, 1999-2003' 45(2) *Race and Class* 75.
- Robb, P, 2006, 'Frequently Asked Questions', <www.kkk.bz/faq.htm> accessed 29/6/06.
- Roxburgh, A, 2002, *Preachers of Hate: The Rise of the Far Right*, Gibson Square Books, London.
- Sartre, J-P, 1946, 'Portrait of an Antisemite' 13(2) *Partisan Review* 163.
- Stormfront, 2006a, <www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?t+ 287759> accessed 28/4/06.
- Stormfront, 2006b, 'Everybody Read This!!!', <www.stormfront.org/forum/showthread.php?t=276537> accessed 28/4/06.
- Sutton, M, 2003, 'Race Hatred and the Far Right on the Internet' 48 *Criminal Justice Matters, Special Edition on Hate Crimes* 26.
- Sydney Morning Herald, 2005, 'Race Riots Explode', 12 December, p 4.
- van Dijk, T, 1992, 'Discourse and the Denial of Racism' 3(1) *Discourse and Society* 87.
- Volksfront, 2006a, 'Welcome to the Volksfront International Website: Introduction to VF', <www.volksfrontinternational.com> accessed 30/6/06.
- Volksfront, 2006b, 'Statement of Activist Values: The Volksfront Program and Political Mission Statement', <www.volksfrontinternational.com/ideals.php?ideal=17> accessed 30/6/06.

HATE SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH

- Whine, M, 2000, 'Far Right Extremists on the Internet', in Douglas, T, and Loader, B (eds), *Cybercrime: Law Enforcement, Security and Surveillance in the Information Age*, Routledge, New York.
- White Pride Coalition Australia, 2005, 'The Ten Principles of National Socialism', <www.pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/30161/20041016/www.whitepride.co.com/10ns.htm> accessed 5/12/05.
- White Warriors, 2006, 'White Warriors, No 1 Britain's Only Nationalist Comic', <www.skrewdriver.net/ww1.html> accessed 5/12/05.
- Wikipedia, 2006, 'British National Party', <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_National_Party> accessed 20/6/06.
- Zaslove, A, 2004, 'The Dark Side of European Politics: Unmasking the Radical Right' 26(1) *European Integration* 61.