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Dear Committee Chair,

The terms of reference of the Senate Select Committee on Information Integrity on Climate Change and Energy place ADVANCE outside the scope of this inquiry.

ADVANCE is a grassroots movement with 463,825 supporters and 38,985 donors.

We are home grown, founded and funded and operating only in Australia and we are fiercely independent.

Our campaigns are all built on the genuinely held concerns of Australian voters and our focus is on Australian issues.

We are forthright, determined, and truthful. So it is surprising to us that the committee has sought a submission from ADVANCE given its focus on “misinformation”, “disinformation” and “astroturfing” has nothing to do with us.

But there is one organisation that does get captured perfectly by this inquiry’s terms of reference, and that is the Australian Greens. They do spread misinformation and disinformation, they do have clear links to global organisations and think tanks, and the Greens are experts in the art of astroturfing; making themselves look more popular and more mainstream than they really are.

But we know the Greens are not the target of this inquiry. That much is clear from the media reporting about this committee.

It is ADVANCE and its supporters that are the target.

We get it, it’s revenge for telling the truth about the Greens at the last federal election.

But we are not going to lie down and let you use the power of the Senate to arrogantly dismiss our supporters. ADVANCE makes no apology for fighting for mainstream



Australians when many politicians won't, we make no apology for pushing back against the activists who populate your offices and fund your election campaigns, and we make no apology for exposing the untruths that underpin your renewable energy agenda and ensuring ordinary Aussies can think for themselves.

I trust this submission will be of use to the Committee and I welcome the opportunity to bring the views of the 463,825 supporters of ADVANCE to you in a hearing in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

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Matthew Sheahan  
Executive Director, ADVANCE

September 12, 2025



**ADVANCE's Submission to the Select  
Committee on Information Integrity on  
Climate Change and Energy**

**ADVANCE**

**ADVANCEAUSTRALIA.ORG.AU**

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## PART I: Introduction

**(a) the prevalence of, motivations behind and impacts of misinformation and disinformation related to climate change and energy**

**(b) how misinformation and disinformation related to climate change and energy is financed, produced and disseminated, including, but not limited to, understanding its impact on:**

**(i) Australian politics**

**(ii) domestic and international media narratives**

**(iii) Australian public policy debate and outcomes**

**(c) the origins, growth and prevalence of ‘astroturfing’ and its impact on public policy and debate**

This inquiry purports to be about misinformation, foreign influence, and astroturfing in relation to climate change and energy policy. In reality, it is an attack on the hundreds of thousands of Australians who have honest, informed opinions on the issues that progressive activists dislike and disagree with. It is an attempt to paint the mainstream Australian farmers and families who have been hit with astronomical hikes in energy costs in an effort to flatter the sensibilities of wealthy, comfortable inner-city Greens, Teals, and other progressives who do not have to pay the price for the destruction of reliable energy in Australia.

There is no question that this inquiry is a politically motivated attack on ordinary Australians. It has been described by *The West Australian’s* Canberra Bureau Chief as “set up in a deal with the Greens to scrutinise right-wing campaign outfit Advance”<sup>1</sup>.

ADVANCE is a genuine grassroots movement made up of these ordinary mainstream Australians the Senate committee is attacking. At the time of writing, 463,825 Australians are part of the ADVANCE movement and it is currently growing at about 850 supporters per day. ADVANCE’s campaigns have defeated the divisive Voice, knocked out three of the four Greens in the lower house (and stopped them from taking other seats), and shifted the political debate on numerous issues such as Welcomes to Country, the Ute and Family Car Tax, Australia Day and our national flag, Net Zero and mass immigration.

ADVANCE pursues these issues because our organisation and our supporters believe in them, and the political class is either failing to talk about them, or failing to deliver solutions. While the Liberal party licks their wounds and the Labor party sits on it’s high horse after a record victory in the 2025 Federal Election, neither party can run from the fact that both of their primary votes have cratered in the last decade. The collapse of the Liberal vote is well-canvassed, but it should be highlighted that the Labor primary vote in 2025 was lower than their narrow election loss in 2016 and has hovered in the low 30s for four consecutive elections.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://thewest.com.au/politics/federal-politics/katina-curtis-transparency-has-been-called-into-question-over-labors-mooted-changes-to-foi-laws-c-19893476>

These low primary votes reflect the fact that the political class is no longer representing mainstream Australians. It is not confronting major policy challenges, is not governing in the interest of the majority, and it is not making any effort to respond to the concerns of the public. This fact is no clearer than in energy policy, where polls show people support renewable energy and “action on Climate Change” when they’re talked about in vague, broad terms; but support collapses whenever the specifics of what it will cost in terms of power bills and energy reliability are revealed. According to research conducted by the IPA, 93 per cent of Australians are unwilling to personally pay more than \$100 a year for Australia to reduce its net emissions to zero by 2050<sup>2</sup>.

In short: Australians feel positive about caring for the environment, but have no interest in the complex global emissions reduction mechanisms so beloved of many members of this Committee, and they do not want to pay for it.

This is the reality this inquiry is trying to hide from.

“Misinformation” and “astroturfing” are terms designed to silence hard-working Australians who oppose the activist progressive agenda.

This submission will put forth a defence of ADVANCE and discuss the utter absurdity of the “misinformation industry”. But it is primarily a defence of mainstream Australians and an indictment on the politicians of this Committee and beyond who would rather call Australians liars and bots than confront their own failures.

It is a defence of the Australians who are not listened to in the halls of Parliament. Whose questions are ignored and whose concerns are mocked.

It is a defence of the farmers whose livelihoods have been destroyed by renewable projects.

It is a defence of the businesses who have gone broke or been forced offshore because of high energy prices.

It is a defence of Australian families who can’t afford their groceries and pensioners who can’t afford heating because of deliberate policy decisions to shut down reliable power before any replacement is ready.

Above all, ADVANCE makes this submission to defend the 463,825 Australians who have joined this movement from the slander that they are bots or trolls or fake.

There is no foreign funding. That is an absolute lie.

There is no astroturfing. There is no shadowy cabal behind the scenes. These are also lies.

These narratives are completely made up and constitute a far more egregious case of misinformation, as the committee defines it, than anything ever said by ADVANCE in a campaign.

The truth is that this is a movement of real Australians who do not oppose the Net Zero agenda because of misinformation or because they were paid to. They oppose it because it’s bad for the country, making their lives worse, and won’t make a difference to the climate. The progressive

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<sup>2</sup> <https://ipa.org.au/publications-ipa/research-papers/poll-attitudes-towards-net-zero>

members of this committee are simply so out of touch that they do not know people sincerely disagree with their agenda, so they reach for explanations about influence and bots to cover up the fact that they are on the wrong side of the Australian people and the wrong side of this issue.

ADVANCE is not going anywhere and is not stepping back from this fight because where the politicians have failed mainstream Australia, we will not. Impotent bleating about fake misinformation from no-name senators of the left will not change the facts on the ground: 460,000+ mainstream Australians oppose your agenda, and their voice will be heard.

## PART II: ADVANCE's Story

ADVANCE was founded in 2018 to be a voice for mainstream Australians who were being left behind as progressive activists imposed their agenda on our country. Specifically, GetUp! had been given prominent publicity, friendly media, and had infiltrated the corridors of power with their explicitly left-wing anti-Australian agenda. GetUp! raised tens of millions of dollars and engaged in multiple massive campaigns on issues and during elections, and it was important to give Australians an alternative voice.

ADVANCE was founded independently and was not set up by any corporation, NGO, think tank, or political party.

ADVANCE's purpose is to defend and advance the three core values that make Australia the best country in the world:

**Freedom** – We believe Australia is a free country, and that freedom is worth fighting for. We have stood against attacks on Australia Day and the Anzacs. We opposed the brutal pandemic lockdowns. ADVANCE has been fighting hard to keep the hands of activists and the elites off our freedom to be Australian.

**Security** – We believe in an Australian military, police and justice system that keeps us safe. We believe in our men and women in uniform. While the elites ignore the threats of Islamic terrorism, the spectre of the aggressive Chinese Communist Party, and increasing disorder on our streets from out of control immigration, ADVANCE fights for a secure Australia.

**Prosperity** – We believe in making sure the politicians, corporations and bureaucrats are on the side of ordinary Australians so they can get ahead. Mainstream Australia is being plundered by stupid laws and woke ideologies like Net Zero and 'inheritance taxes', cooked up by elites that have no idea what it's like to work for a living. ADVANCE is fighting to bring back opportunity and prosperity.

Put simply, ADVANCE supports the things that enhance our freedom, security, and prosperity; and opposes and fights back against anything that threatens those values.

Like any campaign or lobbying organisation, the success of ADVANCE's campaigns is not measured in purely electoral terms, but to the extent that Australians are hearing and engaging

with a political point of view that would be unavailable were it up to the media and political classes to set the narrative.

In late 2022, ADVANCE took a big step up by taking on the main No campaign for the divisive Voice to Parliament referendum. ADVANCE's Fair Australia campaign unit was the engine room of the successful campaign and was earlier with research, messaging, and campaign infrastructure than any other organisation, including the Liberal party who, despite media stories to the contrary, largely followed Fair Australia's lead.

ADVANCE's Fair Australia launched the No campaign against a behemoth of a Yes campaign which had a \$100 million war chest, the backing of every major corporation, sporting code, mainstream media network, most of the public sector, the government of the day, and a 60-40 polling advantage.

The end result was one of the great democratic victories of mainstream, ordinary Aussie voters over the elites and activists in our history. The full story of the Fair Australia referendum campaign is found at *Attachment A*.

After the referendum, ADVANCE turned its attention to a completely different style of campaign for the 2025 Federal Election. After determining the Coalition was not in a position to competently fight the election, lacking the modern sophisticated campaign infrastructure required to seriously challenge Labor, ADVANCE chose to embark on an all-out effort to get the Greens. Research and feedback from ADVANCE supporters showed that, despite starting out as an environmentalist party, they were clearly not who they used to be. No major party or campaign group had ever fully targeted the Greens before, allowing them to grow and fester in our parliaments, influencing policy in favour of anti-Australian extreme activists. ADVANCE's supporters decided enough was enough.

ADVANCE campaigned in key Greens held and target seats and the end result, known to the members of this Committee, was only one Greens MP left in the lower house and the defenestration of leader Adam Bandt. The full story of ADVANCE's Greens Truth campaign is found at *Attachment B*.

After these and other smaller campaign successes, ADVANCE's supporter base has continued to grow, and they frequently tell us how grateful they are that finally there is a movement they can support that fights for what they care about.

Two weeks after the 2025 Federal Election, we sent a survey to our supporters asking for their views on ADVANCE. We received a total of 27,658 responses.

ADVANCE supporters told us that this movement is their voice to speak up and their shield to defend their country from radical attacks. Again and again in our survey, supporters said that ADVANCE is the only organisation that truly speaks for them. Where the major parties have lost their way, ADVANCE is seen as the one remaining voice for conservative values, national pride, and everyday Australians.

Supporters describe ADVANCE as “the only ones willing to say it how it is”. They believe we are standing up against political correctness, identity politics, and the endless attempts to divide Australians by race or background. They say ADVANCE is fighting for freedom, fairness, and unity – principles that too many politicians have abandoned.

To them, ADVANCE means courage. It means telling the truth when others stay silent. It means defending our country and our traditions from elites who don’t share their values. Many spoke about the relief of finally having an organisation that refuses to bow to the media or follow the fashion of the day, but instead stands firmly with the people.

There is also a deep sense of gratitude. Supporters told us that ADVANCE gives them hope – hope that Australia can be strong again, hope that common sense can win out, and hope that their children will inherit a country that is united and proud. They see us as a growing movement that is more relevant than the traditional parties, more in touch with ordinary Australians, and more determined to fight for what matters.

Above all, ADVANCE means belonging. It means that no one is alone in believing in freedom, security and prosperity for all Australians. Our supporters see us as proof that they are not a small minority, and that their values still matter in this country.

In their words, ADVANCE is the chance to restore Australia’s strength and unity. That is why they stand with us – and why they want leaders to do the same.

Here are just a few examples of what our supporters are telling us:

*“I love that you are standing up for everyday Australians and fighting back at the ideology that says if you don’t agree you are racist etc.” Kristine, Narangba, Queensland.*

*“Having an organisation that reflects my values and is prepared to speak up with no fear.” Sam, Thorpdale, Victoria.*

*“Getting the message out there to take this nation FORWARDS. So much of the so-called ‘Progressive’ policies are literally regressive. Australia has so much potential and it is being wasted and undermined by forces, political and others that are quite literally taking our standard of living backwards.” Catherine, Toowoomba, Queensland.*

*“An organisation that can get a targeted message out for things that are bigger than any party and get Australia back onto a solid, sustainable path.” Bill, Deakin, ACT.*

Further comments from ADVANCE supporters can be found at *Attachment C*.

## PART III: Misinformation

**(e) the role of social media, including the coordinated use of bots and trolls, messaging apps and generative artificial intelligence in facilitating the spread of misinformation and disinformation**

**(f) the efficacy of different parliamentary and regulatory approaches in combating misinformation and disinformation, what evidence exists and where further research is required, including through gathering global evidence**

This inquiry is supposedly about “misinformation and disinformation” regarding climate change and energy. Misinformation and disinformation have become popular concepts in progressive activist, policy, and media circles; but much like the idea of “fact checking” these ostensibly neutral concepts are based on false premises that flatter the sensibilities of mainstream progressive people and institutions.

If there is such a thing as “misinformation” and “disinformation”, it follows that there exists “correct” information. But who decides what is correct information, particularly when the ‘information’ concerned is an assertion or conclusion being made based on a premise?

A pertinent example relates to wind farms. ADVANCE may for example assert that wind farms are bad for the environment and present evidence that supports this claim, and likewise, the Greens may assert that wind farms are good for the environment and provide evidence to support their claims. Now it stands to reason that each side will contest the validity of the evidence the other side is using, that is to be expected. But the idea that a ‘fact checker’ can then, in an unbiased fashion, sift through the evidence of opposing arguments in any fair and meaningful way given the volume of content is absurd.

The truth is, the Greens don’t want the people to make up their own mind. They don’t think everyday Australians will reach the right conclusion, they don’t think they are smart enough. So rather than trusting the common sense and intelligence of the people to weigh and measure the evidence, they prefer to have one of their own decide what is fact and what is not.

Furthermore, people do not just agree or disagree with a policy or political stance because they absorb information, assess it, and make their decision accordingly. If a reasonable person disagrees with, for example, building wind-powered energy projects, it is not necessarily because they are a victim of “misinformation” or “disinformation”, and their objections may not change if they only received a Greens-approved version of the truth. The fact is that people have different values, priorities, and policy preferences. A person could have all the ‘correct’ information and still disagree with a policy for any number of perfectly acceptable reasons.

“Misinformation”, as the term is generally used, conflates clear, measurable information with contested policy questions, arguments based on values, and the ordinary trade-offs that happen in serious political debate and action. It is a fact, for example, that Australia contributes approximately 1 per cent to global carbon dioxide emissions and if we flicked a switch to Net Zero tomorrow, it would make no difference to rising global temperatures. This is a fact,

however, that no doubt many people, including senators on this committee, will argue is irrelevant because of global treaties, or our role in the world, or other moral considerations, or for any other reason that renders it “misinformation”. But those objections are arguments about values and priorities, not facts. The proper role of the political process is to hash out those values and priorities, and to label inconvenient truths as “misinformation” is to attempt to shortcut the work of legitimate political debate and persuasion.

In this way, “misinformation” as used by the media, progressive institutions, activists, and this committee, is a thought-terminating shortcut. It is a rhetorical cudgel to force Australians to agree with a set of political priorities they may not otherwise approve. It is why any effort to create “regulatory approaches in combating misinformation and disinformation” by this or any Parliament will inevitably turn into a “Ministry of Truth” that censors ordinary Australians and excludes them from the democratic process on contentious issues. We have already seen where this leads on a smaller scale with the e-Safety Commissioner’s censorship efforts, even though they have fallen apart before tribunals when challenged.

The Voice to Parliament referendum demonstrates this dynamic in a powerful way. ADVANCE, as the driving force behind the Fair Australia No campaign, was regularly accused of misinformation and disinformation by the Yes campaign, the media, and politicians. In every instance, the accusations were about true things that were based on the words of Voice to Parliament designers and activists, but they were inconvenient to the Yes campaign and the Yes campaign supporters so they were deemed “misinformation”.

Voice supporters argued it was illegitimate to notice the words and actions of Indigenous activists who talked about “taking land back”, or claimed “sovereignty was never ceded”, or demanded reparations and to draw inferences about their intentions using their own words. Indeed, they claimed it was even illegitimate to notice when some of the most prominent proponents of the Voice explicitly linked these activist goals to the Voice. It wasn’t enough for them to literally say they will use the Voice to “punish politicians” and get “land back” for it not to be called misinformation.<sup>3</sup>

Likewise, it was claimed Fair Australia was promoting misinformation regarding the length of the Uluru Statement, when it was pointed out that on multiple occasions, on video, in public, in writing, the authors of the Statement said things like “isn’t just the first one-page statement” or “is also much bigger, it’s actually 18 pages”. Those Voice proponents then changed their tune when these statements became inconvenient and their explanation was swiftly accepted and disseminated by politicians and media organisations whose interests aligned with the Yes campaign.

In both cases, the concept of “misinformation” was used to complicate and conceal political vulnerabilities. Neither case had anything to do with misleading information because both were true.

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<sup>3</sup> <https://youtu.be/655mzGRmkZw?si=IOXxXDkvP-Oa1RJd>



And astonishingly, when all attempts to accuse ADVANCE of misinformation or disinformation had failed, the media and academics invented a new category with which we could be charged: “malinformation”. According to Daniel Angus, a professor of digital communication at Queensland University of Technology, that is when we took “a largely factual account and radically decontextualis[ed] it to essentially weaponise it”<sup>4</sup>. In other words, what we said was true, but it was inconvenient for our opponents.

No wonder trust in Australian political and media institutions is at an all time low.

## PART IV: Donations

### **(d) connections between Australian organisations and international think tank and influence networks associated with the dissemination of misinformation and disinformation related to matters of public policy**

ADVANCE is powered by its 463,825 supporters. To date, ADVANCE has received 165,776 individual donations from 38,985 individual donors who have donated a median of exactly \$50. There are 2461 monthly donors who give an average of \$39 every month. ADVANCE’s donors are men and women from every state and territory across all walks of life.

ADVANCE has fulfilled every disclosure requirement under electoral law and been transparent in every election and issue campaign we have undertaken. ADVANCE has been subject to compliance reviews on its 2018-19 and 2021-22 annual disclosures by the Australian Electoral Commission. These reviews emphatically proved there are no concerns about foreign donations and, in fact, the AEC found five instances where ADVANCE *over*-disclosed donation information.

The AEC wrote in their review of the 2021-22 disclosures:

*“Enquiries were made of the entity to determine if effective controls exist to ensure foreign donations are identified and treated correctly for the purposes of this division. After examining the information provided by the entity for the review, the authorised officer of the AEC identified no issues relating to compliance with foreign donation provisions under ss 302D and 302F of the Electoral Act.”*

The AEC has explicitly said ADVANCE is compliant in relation to foreign donation provisions. They could not be clearer.

The progressive media have more recently taken up the idea that ADVANCE is funded by “dark money”. This is a deliberate propaganda term to make small dollar donations by ordinary Australians sound sinister. When the Labor party or the Greens or Climate 200 or GetUp! proclaim how successful their donation program is because thousands of people gave small amounts, the media does not call it dark money.

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<sup>4</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2023/jul/26/indigenous-voice-to-parliament-no-campaign-channel-7-clip>



In 2018 The Sunrise Project donated \$500,000 to GetUp. The Sunrise Foundation at the time was partially funded by a US-based charitable trust, the Sandler Foundation, as reported on *news.com.au* at the time.<sup>5</sup> This apparently did not merit a Senate inquiry into foreign influence on climate and energy politics.

Similarly, an organisation like Greenpeace holds DGR status while being politically active with strong ties to its international body and yet its status shields it from scrutiny and permits foreign money and much less stringent disclosure rules than those organisations like ADVANCE face. Again, no inquiry into this arrangement appears to be imminent.

And where is the investigation into pro-renewables lobby groups such as The Australia Institute, which has been seeking donations to counter ADVANCE's campaign against Net Zero? In September, it was revealed that billionaire climate change activist Andrew Forrest had donated a significant sum to The Australia Institute.<sup>6</sup> Even *The Guardian* thinks this donation raises "transparency concerns about the funding of influential advocacy groups". Likewise, we are still waiting for the investigation into the Smart Energy Council. Its "media relations manager" falsely accused ADVANCE of accepting "\$14 million ... in dark money"<sup>7</sup> in a media report about this very inquiry. Where is the inquiry into the Smart Energy Council's DGR status and its annual revenue of \$8 million, including \$612,474 from government grants. Speaking on behalf of a multi-million industry lobbying operation he says of ADVANCE: "It's extremely damaging to our democracy to allow millions of dollars from shadowy multinationals, and hidden domestic interests, to influence public policy for their personal gain, not the public."

And in a further breathtaking example of double standards and hypocrisy, the Smart Energy Council is the trading name of Australian Solar Energy Society Limited (ACN 006 824 148), which is a charity registered with the ACNC. While its donors enjoy a tax deduction courtesy of the Australian tax payer, this organisation has received no scrutiny of their funding and donors and there is no transparency about whether they are domestic or foreign contributions. Yet the Smart Energy Council has then gone on to donate to the Australian Labor Party, a potential "disqualifying political purpose" and breach of the Charities Act 2013 (Cth).

ADVANCE trusts the Committee will diligently investigate these and other similar transactions just as they are in this inquiry.

Despite the high-wire hypocrisy of such organisations, the truth is that Australians have a right to donate to causes they support, and they are not obliged to reveal themselves beyond what is required by law. It is anti-democratic and a violation of the fundamental right to privacy that the media and some senators insist that some Australians – only the ones they disagree with – give up these rights because they're upset about ADVANCE beating them. And, given the media have already run a number of smear campaigns whenever they've had a sniff of someone who might have donated to ADVANCE, we make no apology for protecting our supporters.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.news.com.au/finance/business/mining/big-donation-to-getup-spells-trouble/news-story/132b4f5dfec12c86581146bef37126b0>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2025/sep/03/mining-magnate-andrew-forrest-minderoo-charity-makes-undisclosed-donation-to-the-australia-institute>

<sup>7</sup> <https://reneweconomy.com.au/senate-launches-inquiry-into-who-is-funding-fake-astroturf-anti-renewables-groups/>

Some fringe academics and bloggers have also introduced into the Australian media a paranoid conspiracy theory about ADVANCE's funding by a shadowy network of fossil fuel billionaires. This is categorically untrue. There is no evidence for it. There is no such conspiracy. They made it up. Their deranged diagrams mapping out "dark money" influence are figments of their over-active imaginations that some in the media are only too happy to amplify because they refuse to believe it is possible for a competent successful grassroots organisation to emerge on the centre right. Conspiracy is the only explanation many in progressive media and academic circles are capable of accepting.

One often-cited "climate expert", Dr Jeremy Walker, conjured up a theory that ADVANCE is under the influence of something called the Atlas Network. Dr Walker, whose qualifications include a degree in painting and drawing and another in communications, produced an academic paper that argued the referendum No campaign was, in fact, a dastardly plot by fossil fuel interests because Indigenous Australians might be able to stop climate change if they get the Voice.<sup>8</sup>

This is an extraordinary theory considering the publicly available facts indicated the overwhelming support for the Voice from Australian mining companies that cumulatively donated at least \$6 million to the Yes campaign. It is unclear how Dr Walker interprets the strategic thinking of mining companies donating to the Yes campaign if, by Dr Walker's logic, the Voice to Parliament was going to be the very thing that would have stopped mining in Australia.

More broadly, the argument appears to largely rest on the idea that conservative organisations *exist* and, occasionally, might *know each other* and *go to conferences* that include other people they agree with. Dr Walker has gone on to build a reputation as an expert in a fanciful model of the world where a bunch of conservative people are the source of opposition to action on climate change and not that the ideas proposed to deal with climate change are manifestly absurd and expensive and won't work.

In any case, this is a remarkable chain of logic for Dr Walker to engage in given his own extensive links to the Teals, Climate 200, and his proud association with the Climate Social Science Network. The CSSN is an organisation based at Brown University in the United States and funded by non-Australian sources such as the \$USD500,000 given by the Sequoia Climate Foundation, an organisation chaired by an American billionaire, which has also helped fund The Sunrise Project in Australia.<sup>9</sup> In other words, Dr Walker is very openly associating with international organisations funded by billionaire interests who are networked around the world to push their agenda.

It is worth repeating the fact that The Sunrise Project enjoys DGR status and receives no scrutiny of the source of its revenue, yet actively participates in the political process and is on the record

<sup>8</sup> <https://opus.lib.uts.edu.au/handle/10453/172403>

<sup>9</sup> [https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/854095972/202342879349100304/full#:~:text=BROWN%20UNIVERSITY%20350%20EDDY%20ST%20PROVIDENCE%20CRI02912%2C%20PC%2C%20TO%20SU PPORT%20THE%20CLIMATE&text=UNIVERSITY%20EDUCATION%20FOUNDATION%20\(USA\)%201650%20SOUTH%20AMPHLETT%20BOULEVARD%20SUITE](https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/854095972/202342879349100304/full#:~:text=BROWN%20UNIVERSITY%20350%20EDDY%20ST%20PROVIDENCE%20CRI02912%2C%20PC%2C%20TO%20SU PPORT%20THE%20CLIMATE&text=UNIVERSITY%20EDUCATION%20FOUNDATION%20(USA)%201650%20SOUTH%20AMPHLETT%20BOULEVARD%20SUITE)

having donated \$500,000 to the left-wing political activist group GetUp! for use in political campaigns.<sup>10</sup>

Despite Dr Walker's arguments having more in common with a comic book movie villain plot than real life, some in the media and politics have taken up his creative-writing work with glee, with claims about the Atlas Network spread in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and the ABC, among others. So it is important to state clearly that Dr Walker's allegations are completely untrue. His work is the clearest definition of misinformation – at least insofar as “misinformation” is anything other than a fever dream of the left – you could come up with. The first the ADVANCE leadership team ever heard of the existence of the Atlas Network was when the ABC requested a comment on this supposed connection during the Voice referendum campaign. In any other context with any other organisation, serious journalists would see through this deranged conspiracy theory immediately, but despite unequivocal denials and the fact that we still do not know what the Atlas Network is beyond the ghost-under-the-bed ramblings of a few activists like Dr Walker, ADVANCE continues to get questions about them every few months.

## PART V: Conclusion

Of course, this clear rebuke in an official submission to this Senate inquiry will no doubt also fail to stop the media inquiries on foreign donations and the Atlas Network. These theories are unfalsifiable unless we violate the privacy and right to democratic participation of 460,000+ ADVANCE supporters. That won't stop our opponents using the ignorance fallacy – arguing that a statement is true because there is no evidence that it isn't true. But, more importantly, the media and progressive activists do not, in fact, care if it's true. They do not actually care about misinformation. They care that ADVANCE beat them in the Voice referendum. They care that ADVANCE knocked off the Greens in the lower house. They care that ordinary mainstream Australians like and trust ADVANCE more than them. They care that ADVANCE is effective at opposing their anti-Australian elitist activist agenda and they want to stop the hundreds of thousands of Australians who are rising up against them.

Indeed, that is the core purpose of this Senate inquiry. Many on this committee also do not really care about misinformation or foreign influence. You care that an organised effective movement is opposing your agenda.

This is obviously the case because the Australian parliament is crawling with lobbyists and officers from multi-national NGOs and corporations, backed by millions, if not billions of dollars, to influence Australia's energy and climate policy. This submission has provided direct evidence of the foreign funding of organisations involved in political campaigning for renewable energy policies. Some of you in this building won your seats backed by billionaires with interests in renewable energy and climate advocacy. Your offices are staffed by people who have worked in these organisations, whose careers are built on ensuring the renewable energy government

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<sup>10</sup> <https://www.news.com.au/finance/business/mining/big-donation-to-getup-spells-trouble/news-story/132b4f5dfec12c86581146bef37126b0>

subsidy tap is never turned off. You cede your policy making to an industry that rakes in government money and sends it overseas where all the renewable manufacturing happens.

Worst of all, you do all this for a cause you will not win. You know that it is a fact that if Australia went dark tomorrow, it would make no difference to global temperature. Not now, not ever. You will say we need to do our “fair share” and never define what that “fair share” is, and why Australians should pay higher energy prices for an unstable energy grid while China and India keep building coal-fired power plants. You talk about the “cost of inaction” but you know that if the world suddenly succeeded in global Net Zero tomorrow, we’d still have bushfires and floods, some of them would still be very damaging and likely fatal, and to say they might have been worse is a counter-factual you cannot prove.

And through all this, you believe you are the good guys. You are not. The one bit of truth you do admit is that you are fighting for the climate. That’s true. You are fighting for an abstraction. You are Don Quixotes tilting at windmills, fighting a battle that is not real. That’s not to say the climate is not changing, but the idea that you in this building are able to do anything to stop it is not real. You believe Chinese-made solar panels and wind turbines can change the weather, and then you have the audacity to say ADVANCE deals in misinformation.

Meanwhile, you collect your salaries, and your parliamentary travel allowance, and your car, and you travel the country in private jets, or go on overseas junkets and ordinary Australians pay for all of it. They pay a real price for *your* misinformation. Pensioners who had to turn the heating off this winter. Mums who can’t afford the grocery staples they used to buy. Dads who are out of a job because Australia’s manufacturing industry is on its knees thanks to your expensive energy. Young couples living in the granny flat because they have no chance of affording a home when they’re competing with migrants. Farmers losing their farms and coastal communities losing their beaches due to your renewable energy projects.

These are the Australians who support ADVANCE. They support us because you caused their pain, and you do not represent them. You are fighting for the climate industry, for billionaire renewable interests, for Chinese manufacturing. You represent multinational NGOs and charities who do not have Australian interests at heart. You spend more effort and energy protesting over a regional conflict in the Middle East than you do trying to fix the economic cliff we’re rushing towards thanks to energy policy and our unproductive workforce, and you’re fracturing the social cohesion of our nation with out-of-control immigration to hide the decline.

ADVANCE exists because you have failed Australian farmers and families and ADVANCE has succeeded because you do not even know you’ve failed. You are not threatened by ADVANCE because of misinformation or foreign funding, but because the mainstream Australians who power this movement are not doing any of this because they are paid to. They are doing it because they believe in Australia’s freedom, prosperity, and security and they are prepared to fight for it.

ADVANCE fought against the Voice because Australians sincerely believed it was wrong to divide the country by race.

ADVANCE fought against the Greens because Australians sincerely believed they are a malignant influence on our politics and their agenda threatens our country.

ADVANCE is now fighting Net Zero because Australians believe it is going to kill our prosperity and threaten our future while doing nothing to help the climate.

If ADVANCE's funding stopped tomorrow, we would still believe all those things and so would the hundreds of thousands of Australians who make up the ADVANCE movement. ADVANCE would still fight for mainstream values because every Australian needs us to.

Because you have failed them.



## Attachment A



**ADVANCE**  
**THE VOICE**  
**REFERENDUM 2023**

**The Telegraph**

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# **Australia has given us a masterclass in how to defeat identity politics**

The country's referendum on 'the Voice' saw division beaten by optimism.

**FRASER NELSON,**  
Editor of the UK Spectator, writing in London's *Telegraph*

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## LETTER FROM EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dear Supporter,

ADVANCE's Fair Australia No campaign was our **most ambitious and successful** ever.

**The Fair Australia No campaign turned 65% Yes into 60% No** and in the process laid out the model for defeating the recently ascendant progressive campaign machinery in Australia.

Having built substantial campaign infrastructure over the last five years, the Voice to Parliament referendum presented ADVANCE with a unique opportunity to deploy the capabilities you helped build on the national stage.

ADVANCE's creative, communications, field, and fundraising teams built a grassroots campaign organisation from the ground up to take on a cause backed by virtually every mainstream institution in the country.

And we won.

While the mainstream media and left-wing institutions have been desperate to put their loss down to bad luck, misinformation, or inevitability; the reality is this result was not possible without ADVANCE taking the lead.

It was ADVANCE that put Senator Jacinta Nampijinpa Price and Nyunggai Warren Mundine AO into battle.

It was ADVANCE who put over **18,000 volunteers in the field, 3.7 million flyers in letterboxes, and made 59,000 calls into the battleground states.**

It was ADVANCE's social media content that got in front of millions of Australians: **16.5 million views on Facebook, 14.7 million video views on Instagram, and a whopping 42.8 million views on Tiktok.**

And it was ADVANCE's self-produced TV ads that were broadcast into nearly **one million homes and viewed 2.8 million times in the battleground states.**

Unlike the Yes campaign, which spent millions on international advertising agencies and political consultants, the Fair Australia campaign was delivered by the in-house expertise ADVANCE has built over the past five years with your support.

The result was clear. Not only did we win the battleground states, **we won every state, won the national vote, and unlocked an army of ordinary every-day Australians who are ready to fight for our values.**

This victory wasn't possible without the commitment of those tens of thousands of Australians who donated time, money, and energy to stand up for our country against those who tried to divide us.

Your financial contributions and volunteer effort was something never before seen in Australia.

ADVANCE, through the referendum campaign, made sure your voice was heard loud and clear by the elites.

And we know the elites, the government, and the mainstream media aren't going to forget it any time soon.

That's why we're not stopping. There's no referendum coming, but there are many ways ADVANCE can keep fighting for Australia's freedom and prosperity and that's what we're going to do.

The next federal election is around the corner and I hope you'll support us in our next campaign effort to take back the country from the Labor, Green, Teal agenda.

Best regards,

---

MATTHEW SHEAHAN  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ADVANCE



# WHERE WI

The Sydney Morning Herald

## Yes vote for the Voice is leading in every state and territory: Poll

THE AUSTRALIAN

## Five states raise voice to back Indigenous recognition: Newspann

The Guardian

## Guardian Essential poll: majority of Australians continue to support Indigenous voice



Kos Samaras   
@KosSamaras

Follow



YouGov poll. Don't focus on the lead but what it will take for the No campaign to win. The mountain it needs to climb is massive.

In Queensland. It will need to convert well over 80% of the unsure vote to win that state.

Based on this sample. There are easily 4 states to do the job.

Peter Dutton and the federal LNP misread the Australian community. Oh and I don't think not taking a firm Yes position will help any political party in states like Victoria or NSW. Eg. Victorian Opposition.

# E STARTED

**On the night Anthony Albanese won the 2022 Federal Election, his first commitment was to hold a referendum to enshrine in the Constitution an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Voice to Parliament.**

Despite winning with a primary vote lower than Labor's election losing vote in 2019, the mainstream media and political experts all agreed that Albanese was ascendant and had a mandate for change. Commentators predicted a near-certain referendum victory for the Voice as the big national project that would cement the legacy of his first of several terms in government.

Since the proclamation of the Uluru Statement from the Heart in 2017, which demanded a referendum on a Voice to Parliament, reputable polling had support for the Voice anywhere from 60% to 75%. Not only did most mainstream commentators consider the referendum a done deal, they assumed anyone opposing it would be marginalised and discredited.

It is in this context that ADVANCE stepped into the contest. Motivated by a principled conviction that the Voice was a divisive and dangerous thing for Australian democracy, ADVANCE's campaign infrastructure, which had been in development for years, was put to work and – as we now know – delivered a comprehensive defeat of the Voice and a rejection of the elitist progressive politics embodied by the new Albanese Labor Government and mainstream media.



# RESEARCH

**NATIONAL**  
**YES 48%   UNSURE 23%   NO 29%**

**ADVANCE began discussions to run the No Campaign in August 2022 and committed to the national campaign in December 2022.**

Immediately, ADVANCE's approach to the referendum was to base every decision on the research. The strategy, messaging, and tactics all came from the research undertaken in early 2023 and supplemented by additional research in mid-2023.

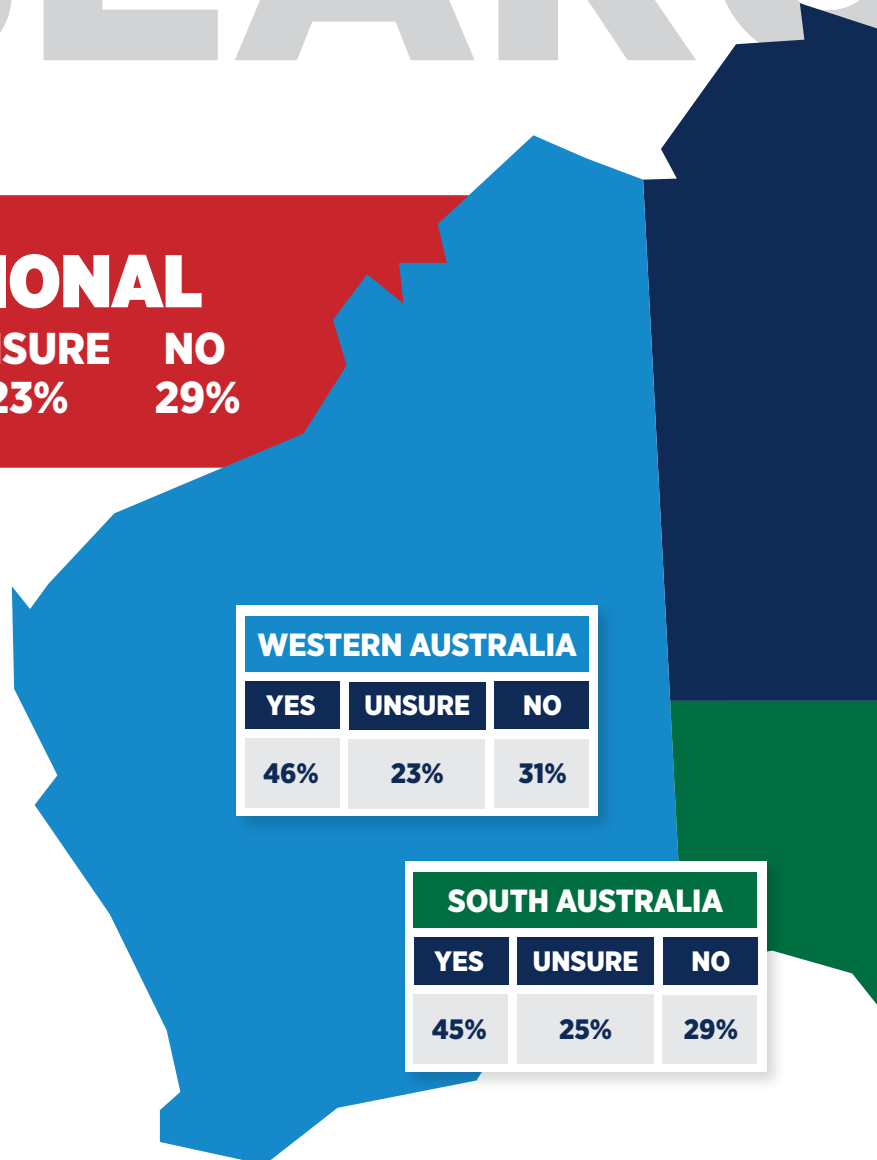
Eight focus groups were held in late January 2023 in the key states of Western Australia, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania. National quantitative polling, based on the focus group research and with oversampling in the key states, was in the field in mid-February, with further polling in May and September.

Six more focus groups took place in June 2023.

**KEY INSIGHTS:**

ADVANCE's polling reflected the public polling at the time with support for the Voice at around 60%. However, the research gave ADVANCE critical insight into the nature of that support and the opportunities it presented.

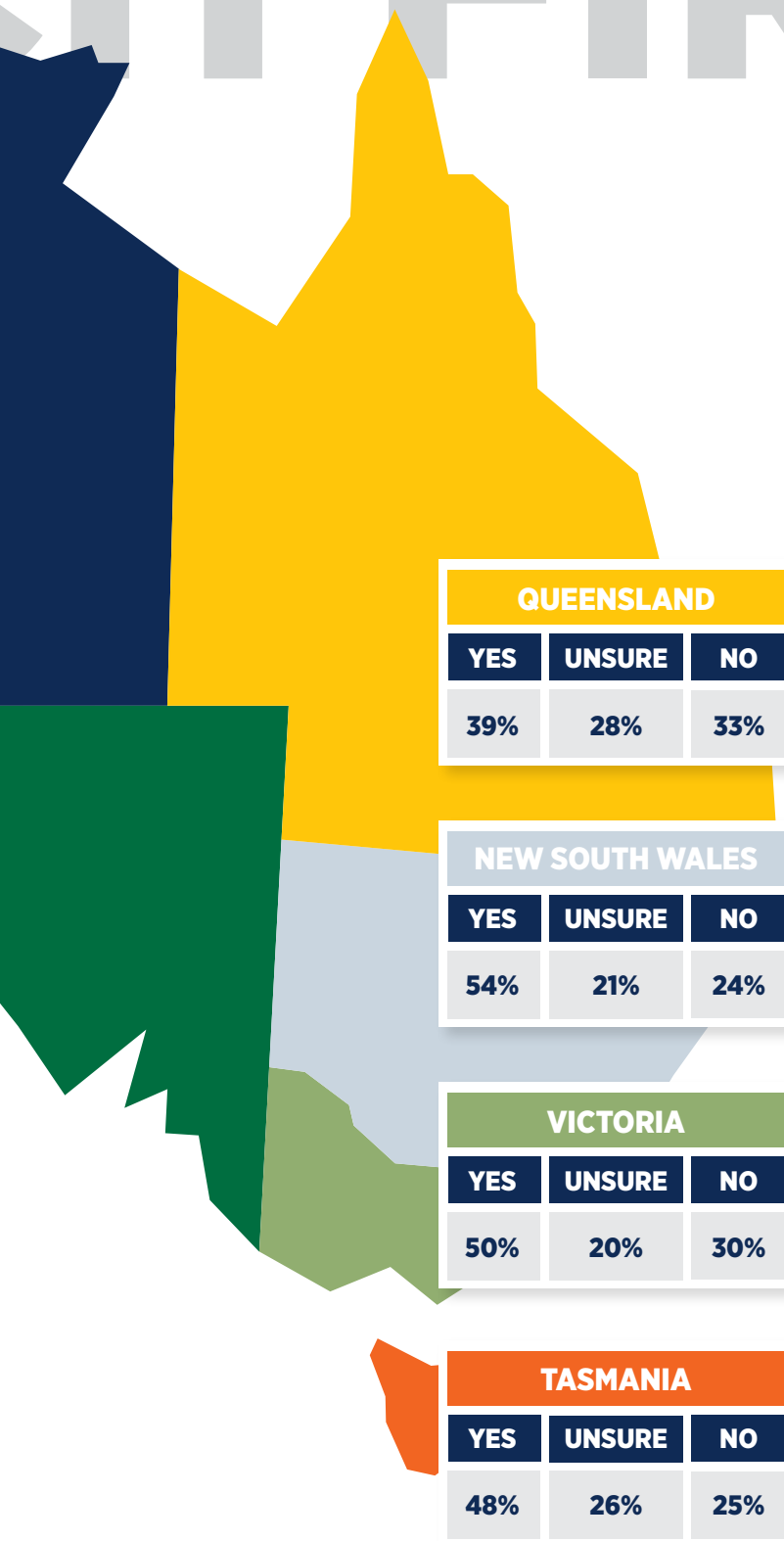
It was clear that cost-of-living issues were the number one priority for voters, along with health and education, and national security. Not once in the focus groups did the Voice or Indigenous issues come up unprompted as a key issue. In fact, even when prompted, only a small minority had even heard of the Voice or the Uluru Statement. ADVANCE's team identified this as a key strategic advantage: the ability to fill the knowledge gap and shape the debate.



**OTHER INSIGHTS INCLUDED:**

- › Exposure to the draft question announced by Anthony Albanese increased scepticism of the idea
- › By reframing the question to emphasise "changing the Constitution" there was an immediate 5-6% drop in Yes support
- › The key persuasive arguments were: division, lack of detail, and distrust of politicians
- › Senator Jacinta Nampijinpa Price was popular amongst those who knew about her but was overall not well known in the electorate

# WH FIRST



Early message testing included the idea that the Voice would be ineffective and change nothing. Counter-intuitively, research revealed the “ineffective” message was more favourable to a Yes vote because it meant there was no cost to a Yes vote. Messaging had to lean into the significance, power, and cost of the Voice to compel a “No” vote.

## KEY RESEARCH FINDINGS:

- › In February, our polling put the ‘yes’ vote at 57% nationally. ‘No’ was at 33%.
- › A critical and credible argument that we believed would switch voters from ‘yes’ to ‘no’ was that the Voice would divide Australians rather than unite us.
- › Support for a Voice to Parliament was eroded by 5-6% when it was linked to the Constitution or after voters were exposed to ‘negative’ messaging.
- › In February, polling revealed soft voters were most concerned about the cost of living. As the campaign continued, cost of living concerns grew across all demographics and voting intentions.
- › Two in five voters would be less likely to vote Yes if Australia Day were abolished altogether.
- › Most Australians believed the \$100 million a day governments spent on Indigenous communities was too much.
- › Motivation to vote was lowest among those intending to vote ‘no’.
- › Name identification for Senator Jacinta Nampijinpa Price jumped from 30% in February to 61% in September.

# STRATEG

## Message, money, map. The three ingredients of a successful strategy.

The research delivered **THE MESSAGE: *The Voice of Division***. Politicians and elite activists are proposing to change the country by dividing us by race in our national rule book. It's a big deal and they're not being honest about what this means for you.

In every campaign message matters most. While 'division' was not the most popular message with voters in the research, the campaign locked onto it for several key reasons. Importantly, it spoke to our national identity as Australians and our desire for unity and a fair go. While the 'lack of detail' was also a key element of the research there was always the risk that over time this would dissipate, whereas 'division' went to the emotional core of the issue – are we one together or not. Contrary to popular opinion, 'division' was not a negative message. Inevitably, a vote against 'division' was in fact a vote for 'unity'. The campaign carefully introduced 'unity' into its communications as referendum day approached.

Finally, the campaign considered it very likely that the Yes campaign and their surrogates would attack the campaign message and in doing so validate it. Which they then did. Every time there was a conflict between the two sides of the campaign in the media, in the community with protests, or anywhere else it spoke directly to just how 'divisive' the issue was.

We were committed from day one to a single message and at no point did the message change.

**THE MONEY** was a challenge. The Yes campaign had the backing of every major corporation, the mainstream media, major sporting organisations, celebrities, major educational institutions, plus the state and federal governments. We estimate they raised more than \$100 million in both cash and in-kind donations. ADVANCE relied on tens of thousands of grassroots donors, punctuated by a small number of major donors. The funds raised would still be dwarfed by the economic behemoth of the Yes campaign.

ADVANCE's existing donor base provided a great launchpad for activating the campaign. ADVANCE supporters saw the challenge early and contributions for the No Campaign started arriving in late 2022.

During the campaign, ADVANCE received financial contributions from a total of 24,358 supporters. The



average donation was \$306.56. ADVANCE's supporters really stepped up to try to match the Yes campaign.

**THE MAP** was based on the double majority requirement for referendums. Under the Constitution, for a referendum to be successful, the Yes campaign needed a majority of all Australians nationally, but also in four states. This meant ADVANCE's strategy to defeat the referendum was based on the fact that if three states voted No, we would win.

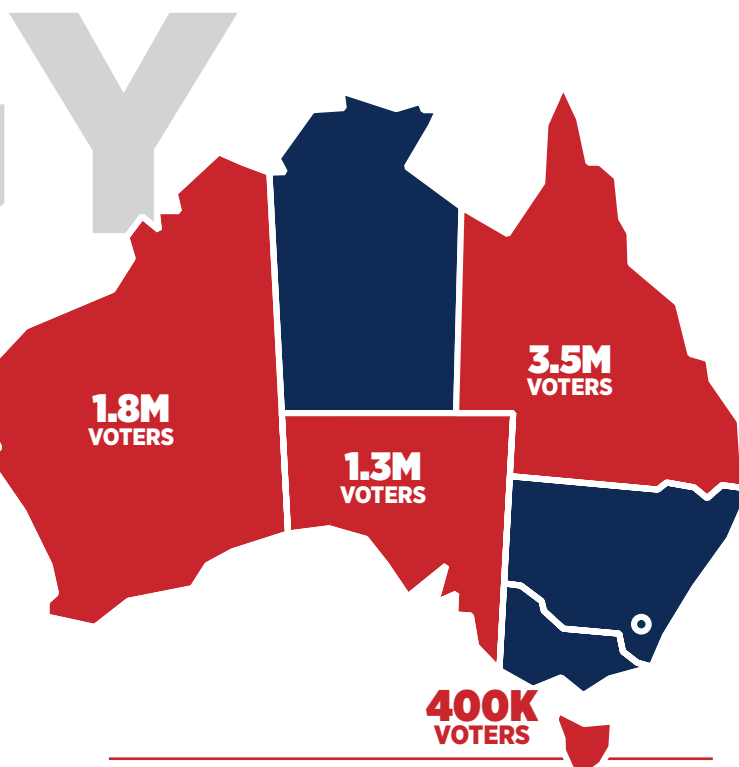
In stark terms, this meant that as long as a majority of people in three out of the six states voted 'no', we would win. The ACT and the NT did not count as states (but their populations counted towards the national vote).

## So ADVANCE's strategy was clear and never changed: 'Win Three States'

The research showed Queensland and Western Australia as the states most likely to vote No. Victoria and New South Wales are the most expensive media and advertising markets and were the most likely to vote Yes. South Australia and Tasmania were coin-flips and where the referendum would be won or lost.

Importantly, the cost of effectively advertising in Adelaide and Hobart was about 10% the cost of advertising in Sydney and Melbourne. Given ADVANCE did not have the Yes campaign's financial resources or its need to meet a double majority, concentrating our resources in the battleground states of SA, Tas, WA, and Qld made strategic sense.





The Constitution's double majority rule requires not only a nationwide majority of voters in a referendum to support an amendment, but also a majority of voters in a majority of states (at least four out of six) to agree. This means that the change must have widespread support across the country, not just in populous states or regions. This requirement ensures that any constitutional change reflects the collective will of the Australian people, balancing the interests of the population across both the larger and smaller states.

## Three waves, four stages

ADVANCE used a three wave plan to deploy resources through the campaign, beginning in early 2023 and finishing on referendum day. This campaign structure put us on the front foot from early in the year, allowing us to proactively dictate the terms of the debate. The three

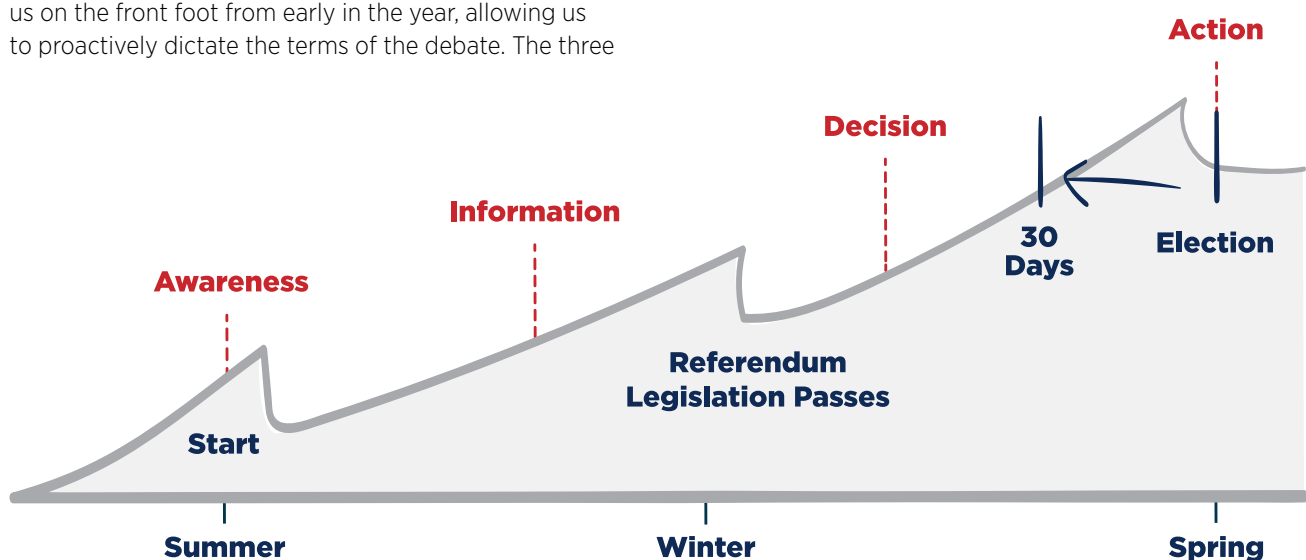
waves of campaign spending corresponded to the four stages of campaign messaging. Awareness, Information, Decision and Action created a strong narrative in the public consciousness to drive the final vote.

**AWARENESS:** The first stage involved raising awareness of the referendum on our terms, emphasising this is a really big deal and you should know about it. This contrasted with the Yes Campaign's attempts to frame the referendum as simple and modest.

**INFORMATION:** As awareness increases people will seek more information. Research demonstrated that focusing attention on the fact that Australians were being asked to change the Constitution was a powerful frame for understanding the division unleashed by the referendum. With consistent messaging about the divisive nature of the Voice proposal, Fair Australia drove the public debate during this second stage of the campaign.

**DECISION:** Having presented the referendum as a big deal and about changing the Constitution, Australians were now at a decision point. In the third stage, ADVANCE turned the messaging focus onto the potential costs of the vote. The words of the referendum architects themselves, who were on the record about their divisive activist agenda including abolishing Australia Day and the threat of treaties, made a potent case against the Voice and locked in millions of No votes.

**ACTION:** After the first three stages of messaging were complete, the final call to action is rolled out: to "Vote No to the Voice of Division". The final message was credible and influential because of the months-long disciplined messaging strategy that had preceded.





# OUR CHAMPIONS

**The disciplined focus of the Fair Australia campaign was only possible because of the exceptional effort from our two key spokespeople.**

Having two Indigenous voices front and centre, communicating the same unified message, was a potent weapon against the many disparate voices of the Yes campaign.

Despite criticism from many quarters, often involving outright abuse, Jacinta Nampijinpa Price and Nyunggai Warren Mundine stepped up and made a powerful case for voting No. As Indigenous Australians, their personal stories and credible forthright style resonated with the public and gave people the permission they needed to vote No.

Polling indicated Warren and Jacinta were viewed far more favourably in the public consciousness than anyone on the Yes side, and the positive opinion of them only increased during the campaign.







# THE COALITION

The Coalition, led by Opposition Leader Peter Dutton, took the courageous decision to oppose the Voice when many polls said it would succeed. The National Party led the charge, deciding to oppose the Voice in late 2022. Then in early 2023, Peter Dutton formally opposed the Voice. ADVANCE shared our research and messaging with the Coalition, enabling them to platform some of the key No arguments in the Parliament.

Despite predictions from the Government and many in the mainstream media that opposing the Voice would be politically disastrous, both parties and their leaders were vindicated.

Importantly, ADVANCE partnered with local Coalition teams to manage volunteers on pre-poll and Referendum Day, increasing ADVANCE's manpower and ability to reach voters directly.





# Timeline

**22 AUG TO 1 SEPT** - Campaign planning begins

**30 SEPT** - Albanese reveals draft question

**13 DEC** - Regular campaign team meetings begin

**31 JAN** - Initial messaging developed

**15 FEB** - Fair Australia website launched

**28 FEB - 1 MARCH** - First Campaign Retreat Day

**5 APRIL** - Dutton announces formal Lib opposition

**19 APRIL** - Senator Jacinta Nampijinpa Price documentary ad premieres on Credlin

**25 APRIL** - National Propensity Model Completed

**26 APRIL** - Perth Rally

**27 APRIL** - Adelaide Rally

**4 MAY** - Sydney Rally

**5 MAY** - Brisbane Rally

**10 MAY** - Warren joined as spokesperson + Australians for Unity formed

**26 MAY** - Hobart Rally

**19 JUNE** - Thomas Mayo ad premieres

**23 JUNE** - Tax deductible status approved

**6-7 JULY** - 2.5 million survey calls into Battleground States (IVR)

**9 JULY** - Teela Reid ad premieres

**12 JULY** - 'Volunteer for No' launches

**18 JULY** - Warren's ad premieres

**26 JULY** - Darwin Rally

9NEWS

**Key 'No' camps merge to form Australians for Unity to strengthen referendum campaign**



sky news .COM.AU

**Jacinta Price and husband Colin Lillie explain 'very personal' appearance in ad campaign opposing the Voice to Parliament**

Daily Mail

**EXCLUSIVE:  
Bombshell tweets reveal  
Yes campaigner's vision  
for Australia after the  
Voice is introduced:  
'Reparations, land back,  
paid rent'**

- Thomas Mayo's past tweets have emerged  
- He explained desire for Voice to lead to reparations



## CAMPAIGN RETREATS

In what is believed to be an Australian national campaign first, the entire campaign staff and key stakeholders were assembled from around the country to attend two campaign retreat days in February and August.

The first retreat was held after the strategy was finalised and the first round of quantitative and qualitative research was completed. The team collaborated on campaign messaging and the first ad. The second retreat was an opportunity to review progress in the campaign, refocused messaging and completed the 30 day campaign plan.

**9 AUG** - Second Campaign Retreat Day

**26 AUG** - Letterboxing commences in target areas and First targeted call team blitz

**30 AUG** - Albanese announces referendum day

**13 SEPT** - Campaign sends out 8000 booth kits

**18 SEPT** - Adelaide Rally

**21 SEPT** - Closing TV ad premieres

**25 SEPT** - 2.5 million unaddressed mail delivered in key states

**27 SEPT** - Brisbane Rally

**2 OCT** - Perth Rally

**2-3 OCT** - Pre-poll opens

**7 OCT** - Hobart Rally

**9 OCT** - Adelaide Rally

**9 OCT** - 1 million pieces mail delivered in SA and TAS

**14 OCT** - Referendum Day



# CREATIVE

## **ADVANCE's Creative Team developed video ads, social media tiles, flyers, TikToks, and some hard-copy ads in newspapers.**

It was critical to stay on message with unified Fair Australia branding in contrast to the confused, erratic messaging and branding of the Yes campaign. A visual illustration that we were on the side of unity and they were on the side of division.

The campaign gained a considerable advantage by having a small and fast creative team that was able to respond quickly to the issues of the day and pull together creative assets quickly with a streamlined approval process.

The campaign was built upon the team that ADVANCE had assembled over the previous five years. Importantly, the ability to develop creative content in-house was crucial to the success of the referendum campaign. While the Yes campaign relied on expensive national advertising firms, our ADVANCE creative team understood both the campaign strategy and the referendum's political environment. They are a political creative team, as opposed to those contracted from commercial agencies.









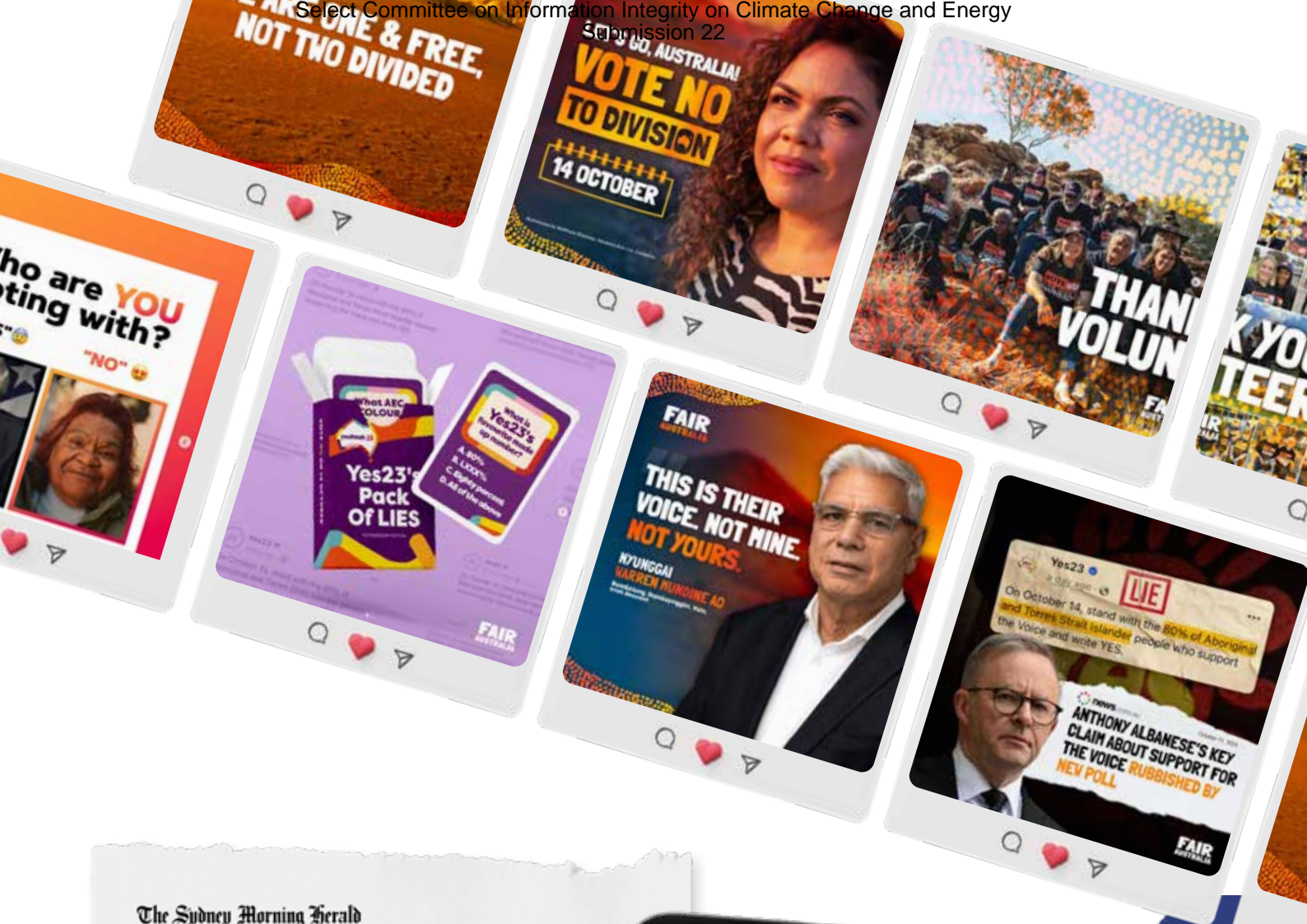
# DIGITAL ADVERTISING

Using multiple platforms to speak directly to voters, using messages that resonate. Clever content that costs nothing in advertising.

The Social Media creative team worked quickly, responding in mere hours to events of the day. They used their expertise to seize opportunities to capitalise on the mistakes of the Yes campaign and frequently outperformed the better resourced and staffed Yes social team.







The Sydney Morning Herald

## Why the No vote on the Voice is winning TikTok





# TV ADS

## **ADVANCE's Fair Australia ads were all produced in-house to keep the focus on our strong messaging strategy.**

The first ad, which told the personal story of Jacinta Nampijinpa Price, was important for framing the narrative around the vote. The ad, critically, did not ask anyone to vote No. It was about introducing Jacinta and helping people understand the referendum question was a 'big deal'.

Jacinta's story, especially the involvement of her Scottish-Australian husband Colin and kids, personified the question at the heart of the referendum - that Australia is a place where people of all backgrounds can be Aussie and don't want to be divided.

The ad was launched via a comprehensive multi-platform strategy, including a live-on-air launch on Sky News's Credlin, a mass email to over 250,000 supporters, and a cross-platform social media blitz. The ad was versioned out for different audiences, including editing for length, message, and social media formats.

The next ad introduced Nyunggai Warren Mundine as another Indigenous leader voting No. His personal story was the next key pillar of the campaign. Warren's story of a tough upbringing in country New South Wales expressed the strength of Australia's fair-go

culture where you, not the government or the Voice, have the ability to make your own way and succeed.

The addition of Warren as campaign spokesperson added extra firepower with two leading Indigenous figures making clear they were voting No because they believe in an Australia that's united and not divided.

At the mid-point of 2023, the focus of the campaign moved into the next stage - demonstrating the reality of the Voice and how it will cost Australians.

That led to the launch of an ad focused on Thomas Mayo, a key leader of the Yes campaign and member of the Prime Minister's referendum working group who literally wrote the book on the Voice. ADVANCE's researchers unearthed numerous comments made by Mayo in recent years where he spoke plainly about the agenda behind the Voice: that it was about grabbing power and punishing politicians.

The ads were not about personal attacks, but about shedding

light on the truth of what a major architect of the Voice believed about the Constitutional amendment he was proposing. Australians had a right to know that, behind closed doors in front of friendly audiences, the so-called "modest" and "generous" Voice was not modest or generous at all.

The game-changer "Meet the Architect Behind the Voice" was given a co-ordinated launch across TV and social media and spread online over subsequent weeks. Organic content from social media users emerged, including the hashtag #holdthemayo, further spreading the influential ad across the country.

The powerful closing ads explained that voting No is a vote for a united Australia and a vote against division by race. The ad featured Jacinta and Warren in the key state of South Australia and showed Indigenous Australians who didn't want to be looked at differently but want to be simply part of Australia.



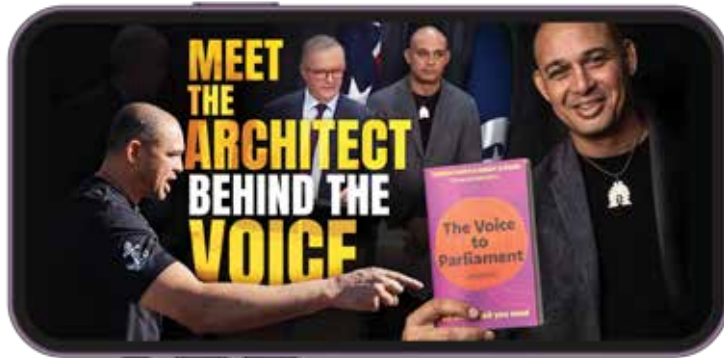


### JACINTA'S STORY

Jacinta's story, especially the involvement of her Scottish-Australian husband Colin and kids, personified the question at the heart of the referendum - that Australia is a place where people of all backgrounds can be Aussie and don't want to be divided.

### WARREN'S STORY

Warren's story of a tough upbringing in country New South Wales expressed the strength of Australia's fair-go culture where you, not the government or the Voice, have the ability to make your own way and succeed.



### THE 'YES' ARCHITECT

Using their own words, key figures of the Voice revealed their true agenda. The ads were about shedding light on the truth of what a major architect of the Voice believed about the Constitutional amendment he was proposing.

**986,757**  
HOUSEHOLDS REACHED

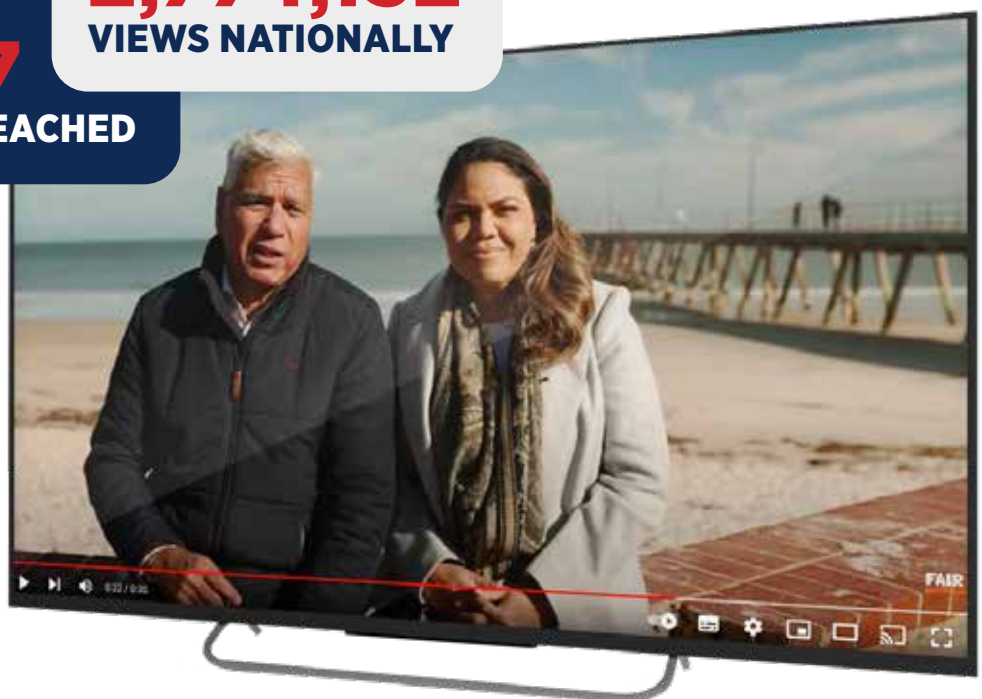
**2,774,132**  
VIEWS NATIONALLY

**187,157**  
VIEWS IN WA

**950,455**  
VIEWS IN SA

**240,843**  
VIEWS IN TAS

**1,395,677**  
VIEWS IN QLD





# GRAND



## **ADVANCE mounted a state-of-the-art, data-driven national ground campaign unprecedented in Australian history.**

ADVANCE's online Volunteer for No centralised polling booth management system was a first in Australian electoral politics. Conceived and designed in-house, and executed with an external developer, the online tool was made as simple as possible so that a person could sign up, nominate where and when they could volunteer, and automatically update the roster. They then received reminders and updates, including any schedule changes, automatically via text and email, and could update their own schedule if their availability changed.

The system used data modelling to prioritise booths and ensured volunteers were assigned priority booths near them in a fully automated roster system. That way resources went to where the most persuadable voters were located.

The federal secretariats of the Coalition parties oversaw engagement with their state divisions, which meant joint ventures with ADVANCE were possible when organising state by state volunteer and field efforts. On ADVANCE's suggestion the Liberals and Nationals also sent postal voting applications to voters, which the Yes campaign failed to do. This increased the number of No voters who turned up to vote.







**VOLUNTEER  
FOR NO**

**GET INVOLVED. MAKE  
A DIFFERENCE:  
VOLUNTEER NOW!**

**AUSTRALIA NEEDS  
YOU RIGHT NOW.**

Australia is the greatest country in the world and stands united as One and free. This is now at risk.

Groups of politicians and activists are seeking to wreck your democratic rights by sowing race-based division into the Constitution with an 'Indigenous voice to Parliament'.

So let's build an army of Aussies willing to take the next step and defend our nation.

**18,295  
TOTAL  
VOLUNTEERS**



**3.77  
MILLION**  
**PIECES OF MATERIAL  
DELIVERED TO HOUSEHOLDS  
IN TARGET AREAS IN  
BATTLEGROUND STATES**



**220  
ACTIVATED  
CALL AGENTS**

**59,000  
CALLS MADE INTO  
SA TARGET VOTERS**







# CAMPAIGN EVENTS

**For the first time ever, ADVANCE held campaign rallies and events across the country, entirely organised and promoted by the ADVANCE campaign team.**

Eleven events were held across the battleground states, beginning in Perth in April and ending in Adelaide in the final week of the referendum campaign. The events were hosted by ADVANCE Director Matthew Sheahan and featured dynamic campaign speeches by Warren and Jacinta.

Over 20,000 Australians attended the events and they became critical energising moments for each state, with many attendees becoming volunteers for pre-poll and referendum day.

The events demonstrated that, despite the Yes campaign's claims the No side was on the fringes, thousands of mainstream Australians were prepared to come out in support of our Constitution and to oppose racial division. Despite some protests at the events, ADVANCE's supporters stood strong and fought hard to win the day.





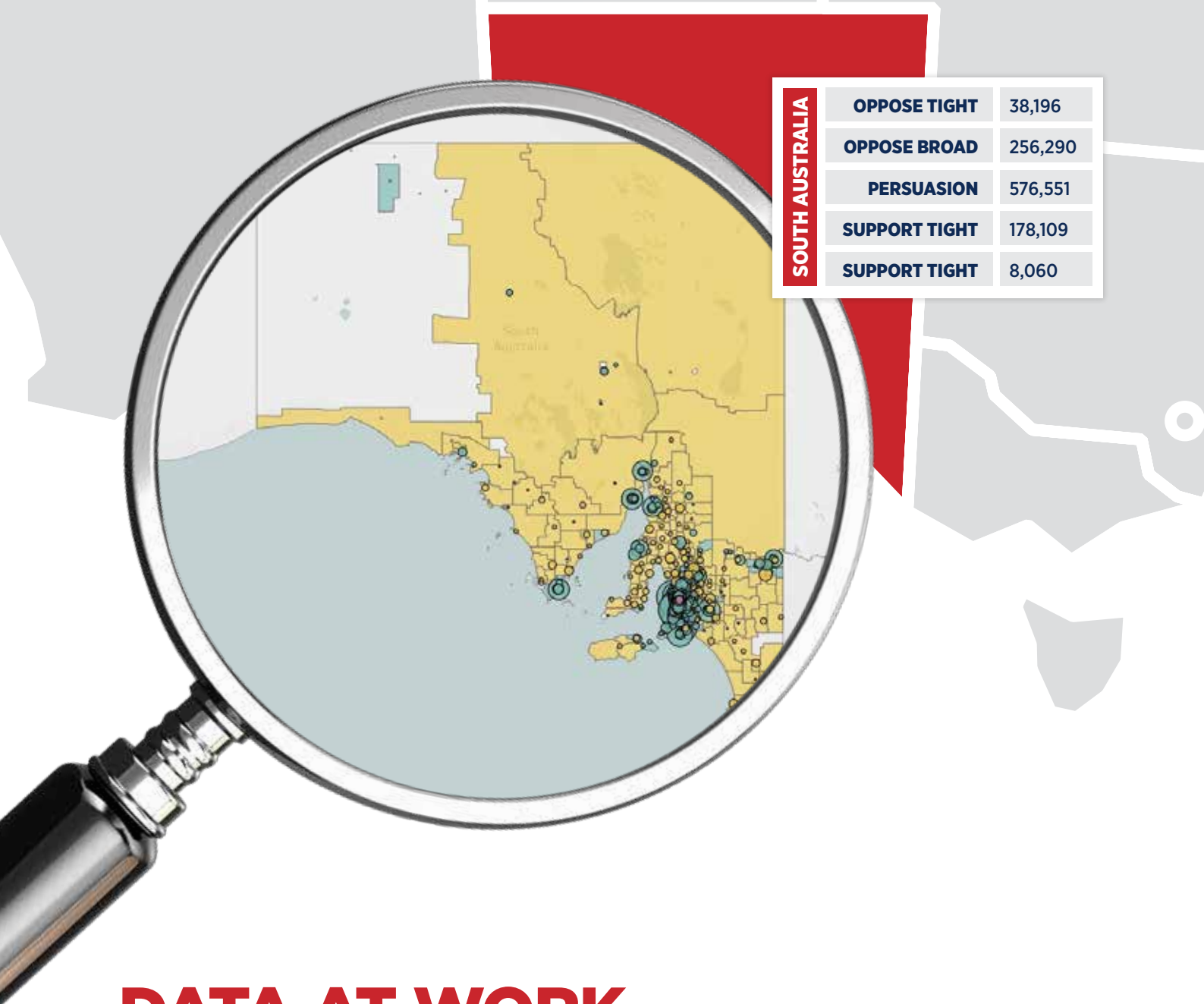


**20,000+**  
**ATTENDED NO**  
**CAMPAIGN EVENTS**



**11 EVENTS**  
**IN THE BATTLEGROUND**  
**STATES FROM APRIL**  
**THROUGH TO OCTOBER**





## DATA AT WORK

**ADVANCE developed a sophisticated data model to rank voters in the key battleground states for targeting of online and physical campaign materials.**

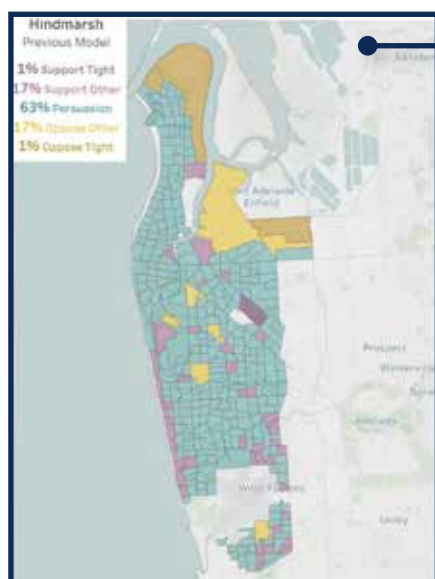
The model used a combination of demographic, electoral, and commercial data that – when combined with ADVANCE’s polling data – was used to build models of precise geographical areas where the most undecided and soft Yes and No voters were.

The data model informed the mail plan, social media targeting, and volunteer allocation for referendum day.

The data model was made available to any federal MP who was campaigning against the Voice to help them target resources to the most persuadable voters. Reports that broke electorates down into ranked geographical areas based on where persuadable voters lived guided the campaigns of local MPs.

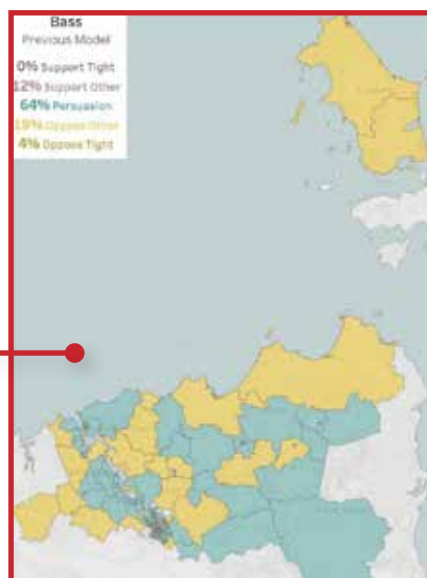
Post-election polling data analysis shows these targeted areas moved towards No.





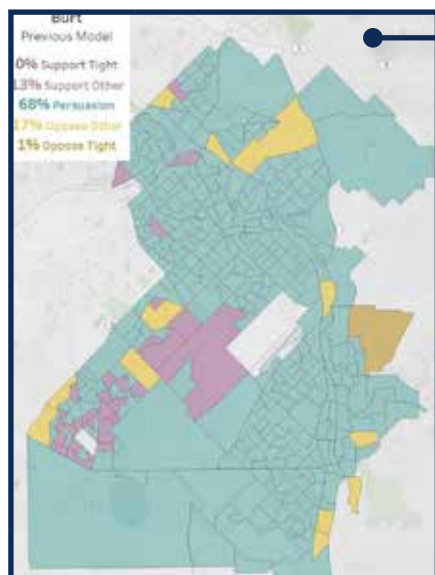
## HINDMARSH, SA

March 2023 modelled 63% of the electorate as “persuadable” and an 18% No vote. By September 2023, the persuadable moved to 39% and the No vote up to 60%. Hindmarsh voted 62.5% No.



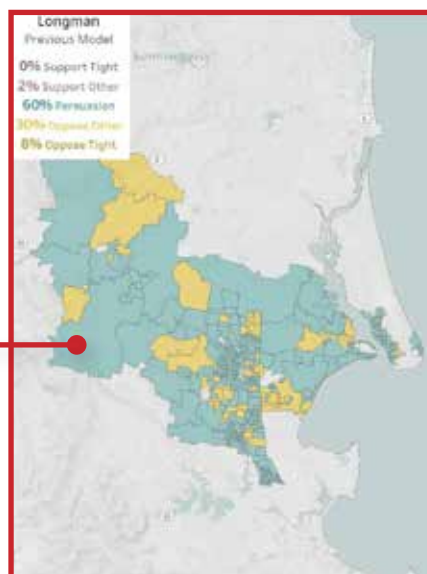
## BASS, TAS

March 2023 modelled 64% of the electorate as “persuadable” and a 23% No vote. By September 2023, the persuadable number moved to 31% and the No vote up to 69%. Bass voted 61.7% No.



## BURT, WA

March 2023 modelled 68% of the electorate as “persuadable” and 18% No vote. By September 2023, the persuadable number moved to 30% and the No vote up to 69%. Burt voted 66.6% No.



## LONGMAN, QLD

March 2023 modelled 60% of the electorate as “persuadable” and a 38% No vote. By September 2023, the persuadable number moved to 10% and the No vote up to 90%. Longman voted 75.3% No.

# ELECTORATE MODEL IN ACTION

# MAINSTREAM MEDIA

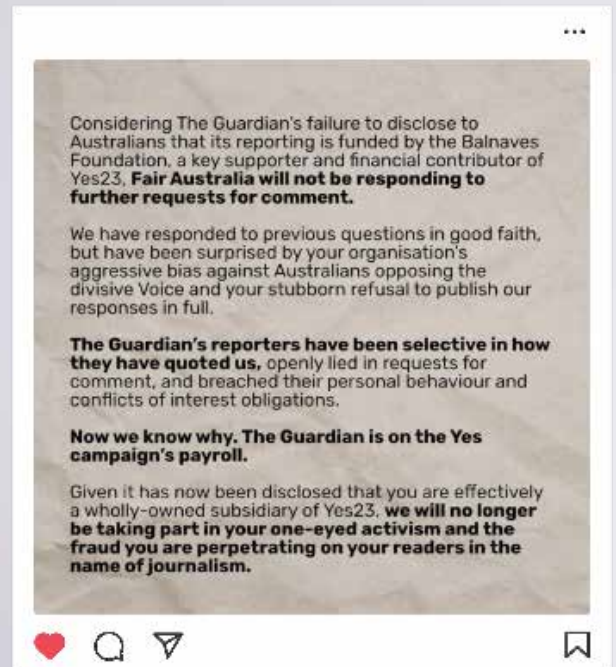
Every day of the campaign, Jacinta and Warren were in front of the media taking the tough questions and making the case of 'no'. At events, press conferences, on radio, on TV, and at the National Press Club our two leaders took the media head on.

However, it has become clear that mainstream media outlets are marginal players in the national debate and most people now get their news from, and form their views based on social media and friends and family.

Therefore the campaign did not expend resources doing interviews, participating in panels, and getting into detail with journalists. ADVANCE explicitly rejected the activist reporting of The Guardian and the ABC. Instead,

ADVANCE's Fair Australia campaign leveraged social media channels and direct contact with voters.

The result was a communications campaign that set the terms of the debate and left the opposing campaign stuck reacting to our messaging.



S  
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M  
C



# SUPPORTER COMMUNICATION

**Instead of focusing on the mainstream media, ADVANCE turned its communications efforts to communicating with supporters.**

It was through organic sharing of posts and materials that the No campaign messaging would have its greatest impact.

ADVANCE's Fair Australia supporter list grew to over 250,000 through the course of the campaign, which meant that a quarter of a million Australians were hearing directly from the campaign.

Of particular importance was the regular campaign updates from Jacinta and Warren, who relayed important events, messaging, and opportunities to supporters. Supporters, in turn, were more likely to donate time, money, and energy to the campaign because of the regular contact they had with the campaign leadership.

Importantly, supporters came from across the country and from across the major parties. Labor and Liberal voters alike were concerned about the divisive Voice's impact on the fabric of Australia and ADVANCE was able to communicate with them without the baggage of major party politics.

Post-referendum polling showed that ADVANCE's supporters overwhelmingly approved of the communications strategy and felt informed about the way they could contribute throughout the entire campaign cycle.

**9,640,101**  
**EMAILS SENT TO**  
**SUPPORTERS**



# SOCIAL MEDIA

**With so many ordinary Australians no longer plugged into mainstream media sources, social media was the main battleground of the campaign.**

As with all other facets of the campaign, the Yes campaign had considerably more financial and personnel resources but found themselves consistently behind in social media reach.

In particular, ADVANCE's Fair Australia campaign pioneered the use of TikTok for campaign purposes. ADVANCE's high quality message ads were cut down into bite sized clips and accompanied with catchy status text. The clarity and simplicity of the Fair Australia campaign messaging helped the social media team develop content quickly and proactively.

Similar content was used on Instagram and Facebook, using their targeting features to ensure it was displayed to the most persuadable voters. The result was near daily viral content placed in front of voters in the places that decided the referendum.



Daily Telegraph

**'No' campaign's non-traditional strategy for Voice referendum**

The Guardian

**No campaign spreads through TikTok 'like wildfire' as pro-voice creators struggle to cut through**

THE CONVERSATION

**The 'no' campaign is dominating the messaging on the Voice referendum on TikTok – here's why**





TikTok played a massive role with the three most viral videos each reaching over 2 million views, with most of the views coming from people aged under 30. Fair Australia's TikTok success was unprecedented in Australian politics and it successfully dented the Yes campaign's strategy of appealing to young people.



**16,570,000**  
FACEBOOK VIEWS



**14,700,000**  
INSTAGRAM VIEWS



**42,860,000**  
TIKTOK VIEWS





**ADVANCE recognised that mainstream media audiences have been shrinking and online sources of news have fractured. The opportunity this fracturing presents is to allow campaigns to tailor messages to very different audiences.**

ADVANCE rolled out eight different campaign channels for different audiences including:

- › ADVANCE - the driver of the campaign with a strong Australian brand and the largest list of supporters who were most likely to volunteer, donate, and spread the message.
- › Fair Australia - the referendum-specific No Campaign brand, powered by ADVANCE, but focused more broadly on the Australian public as a whole.
- › Australians for Unity - the formal unified No Campaign fundraising vehicle with tax deductible status, set up after agreement between Fair Australia and the Recognise a Better Way No Campaign organisation.
- › Not My Voice - Led by Warren Mundine and focused on amplifying the voices of Indigenous Australians voting No.
- › Not Enough - a highly targeted channel for the “progressive No” voters in urban areas for whom the Voice was “not enough”.
- › Save Australia Day - a narrowcasting channel focused on the threat the Voice posed to Australia Day.

**ADVANCE**  
FRONT AND CENTRE

**FAIR  
AUSTRALIA**

**AUSTRALIANS  
FOR UNITY**



**# NOT  
MY VOICE**

**NOT  
ENOUGH**

**VOTE  
NO SAVE  
AUSTRALIA DAY**

  
**CHRISTIANS  
FOR EQUALITY**

**REFERENDUM  
NEWS**



- › Christians for Equality - a small channel targeted at Christian No voters with a view to activating values-based volunteer efforts.
- › Referendum News - a consciously non-politically branded channel which recycled third-party mainstream news stories on the Voice that amplified No campaign messages.

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Referendum News: an unprecedented innovation in Australian campaigns, Referendum News produced no unique content, rather it acted as an aggregator of news content related to the referendum that was favourable to No messaging. It was targeted in battleground states using ADVANCE's sophisticated data model across social media to ensure voters saw important content as they considered their vote.

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# RESULTS

## WESTERN AUSTRALIA

YES

NO

36.73%

63.27%

## SOUTH AUSTRALIA

YES

NO

35.83%

64.17%

## QUEENSLAND

YES

NO

31.79%

68.21%

## NEW SOUTH WALES

YES

NO

41.04%

58.96%

## VICTORIA

YES

NO

45.85%

54.15%

## TASMANIA

YES

NO

41.06%

58.94%

**NO**  
**60.06%**

**YES**  
**39.94%**

sky news .COM.AU

## **Albanese government has 'lost its shape' since Voice referendum defeat**

*The Sydney Morning Herald*

## **Voice fallout: support for treaty plunges after referendum**

FINANCIAL TIMES

## **Australia votes down 'The Voice' in contentious referendum**

**IN** QUEENSLAND

## **Voice referendum failed because most voters believed it would create division**

**THE AUSTRALIAN** 🇦🇺

## **Study reveals why Australians really voted No to the Indigenous voice to parliament**

More than 40 per cent of Australians who said they would have voted Yes to the Indigenous voice to parliament in January ended up voting No according to new data released by the Australian National University, with more than 66 per cent of No voters indicating they opposed the voice because they viewed it as divisive.

# UNITED.

## **ADVANCE's Fair Australia campaign has forever changed the political campaign landscape in Australia.**

ADVANCE demonstrated that by running a research-driven campaign that is disciplined and on message, Australians can stand up to the government, celebrities, major institutions, and the mainstream media, and win.

Future campaigns run from the centre-right must heed the vital lessons from the 2023 Voice referendum.

First, ADVANCE built its campaign infrastructure in the years before the referendum. Starting to build a campaign after the starter's gun has been fired is starting to lose.

Second, ADVANCE campaigned proactively and did not wait for any formal campaign period or announcement to begin. ADVANCE started before any legislation was in the Parliament and before any date was set. Because of the early start, ADVANCE forced the Yes campaign and the Government itself into a defensive, reactive posture and they never recovered.

Third, ADVANCE was guided by the research and developed the campaign strategy in

line with its findings. The campaign did not waver from the strategy once in place, even as a No result became more likely. Disciplined campaigning won the day, and having two lead spokespeople in Jacinta and Warren helped focus the execution of the strategy.

Finally, and most importantly, ADVANCE proved the only way to defeat the elites and activists is to get in the fight. Despite the overwhelming "expert" opinion that we would lose, ADVANCE took up the No cause not because success was guaranteed, but because it was the right thing to do. That decision, and the decision of Peter Dutton, David Littleproud, and others to support the No campaign was ultimately vindicated.

The political fallout for the Albanese Government has continued in the months after the Voice defeat, and a number of state governments

have revisited some of their divisive race-based policies given the clear democratic message that was sent.

By getting in the fight, ADVANCE didn't just defeat the Voice, we reset the political landscape for the rest of the Albanese Government's first term.

The Prime Minister has been revealed as an elitist who governs for the few against the interests of mainstream Australians. For Labor, governing is clearly a game of "Us" versus "Them".

Whatever the future holds, ADVANCE has demonstrated a strong, disciplined, prepared campaign can beat even the most well-funded and institutionally-backed cause.

ADVANCE has put mainstream Australians front and centre in Australian democracy once again, and the elites and activists won't be forgetting it any time soon.







## Attachment B

# JOB DONE.



ADVANCE

The Saturday Paper

19 August 2024

## After the 'no' vote: Advance's plan to destroy the Greens

Advance has called the Greens the “single biggest threat to freedom, security and prosperity in Australia” – and they have big plans to target their voters ahead of the next election.

THE AUSTRALIAN\*

23 June 2024

### Anti-voice activists launch pre-election attack on the Greens

The conservative activist group that torpedoed Anthony Albanese's voice referendum will pump millions of dollars into a sole election campaign vehicle designed to drag down the Greens' vote and expose the party's radical policies.

:Brisbane Times

19 April 2025

### The multimillion-dollar campaign to oust Greens MPs from Brisbane

THE AUSTRALIAN\*

15 May 2025

### Advance's “Greens Truth” campaign delivered a sledgehammer blow.

**The 2025 election campaign represented a defining moment for the hundreds of thousands of Australians who make up the ADVANCE movement.**

From the beginning, our core mission has been to bring together mainstream Aussies in an effort to stop the activists and elites who threaten Australia's freedom, security and prosperity.

Our research showed the Greens, more than anyone, were responsible for dragging Australia's political conversation to the extreme far left. They were pro-Hamas, pro-drug, pro-open borders, and anti-Australian.

To many, they seemed untouchable and unstoppable.

That's not what we thought. We believed, for the sake of the country, they had to be exposed and they had to be stopped.

This report reveals how it was done.

But we did not do it alone. ADVANCE have just ticked over 400,000 supporters and this result is thanks to you.

*From Matthew*



# THE CHALLENGE WE FACED

For the last 40 years the Greens have been growing in power and influence.

They had grown from one state seat in 1984 to 47 representatives around the country by 2024.

The Greens have controlled crossbenches, held cabinet positions and used their positions and resources to influence debates and outcomes across Australia.

At the 2022 federal election they won a record number of seats, they were coalition partners in state governments, and controlled councils all around the country.

And they had no intention of stopping.

They openly stated they are intent on winning more lower house seats and even set a goal of being the party of government in the coming decade.

ADVANCE decided it was time to fight back.

**Our primary goal was to halt the growth of the Greens.**

There was no doubt this would be a major challenge. They have had decades to build their brand, their message and their campaign machine.

They have been treated with deference by the mainstream media, they ruthlessly exploit social media, and neither major party or any campaign organisation had ever directly taken them on.

That was about to change.

20

2013

30

2003

**19 Greens**  
REPRESENTATIVES

1993

**8 Greens**  
REPRESENTATIVES

1983

**1 Greens**  
REPRESENTATIVE





## PHASE 1

# CHANGING THE CONVERSATION...

**The first step in any successful campaign is research.**

That is what ADVANCE did, and we did it a full year before the campaign hit the streets.

Research conducted in early 2024 showed that a big driver of the Greens vote was that they were seen as a safe option for someone who did not want to vote for a major party.

Despite their increasing forays into disruptive protests and hostile policy agenda, voters still saw the Greens as an environmentalist party, focused on saving the trees. Harmless tree huggers.

But we knew that was not the case.

The Greens had transformed from the party of Bob Brown into a party of ruthless campaigners pushing an agenda of frightening divisiveness and disruption.

If the Greens could be stopped, it would take a long campaign that was relentlessly focused on doing damage to the “friendly environmental” brand of the Greens.

**That is why our first task was to convince people that the Greens were not who they used to be.**

With the help of our supporters, we were able to launch the first stage of our campaign in 2024. From there, we could build alternative narratives to reassess the party, the brand, and their support in Australian politics.

**As 2025 approached, it was evident the national conversation had changed, and for the first time, the Greens were being perceived in a new way, and that made it possible to launch an attack.**

That is exactly what ADVANCE did.

### FINANCIAL REVIEW

## How the Greens went from tree huggers to angry culture warriors

29 June 2024





# NOT WHO

# USED TO



## PHASE 2

# OUR MESSAGES

After telling Australians the Greens are ‘not who they used to be’, ADVANCE moved to crack open the campaign and create opportunities to actually drive down the Greens’ growth.

**GREENS TRUTH** became ADVANCE’s headline campaign, with three different sub-campaigns for different audiences.

The main **GREENS TRUTH** campaign highlighted what the Greens had actually done in their statements and stances on the public record. All of it was true and none of it matched mainstream Australian values or aspirations.

**HER TRUTH** was focused on the dark and ugly underbelly of the Greens’ culture.

Over many years, stories have repeatedly come out about harassment, assault, and bullying of women and volunteers, especially women.

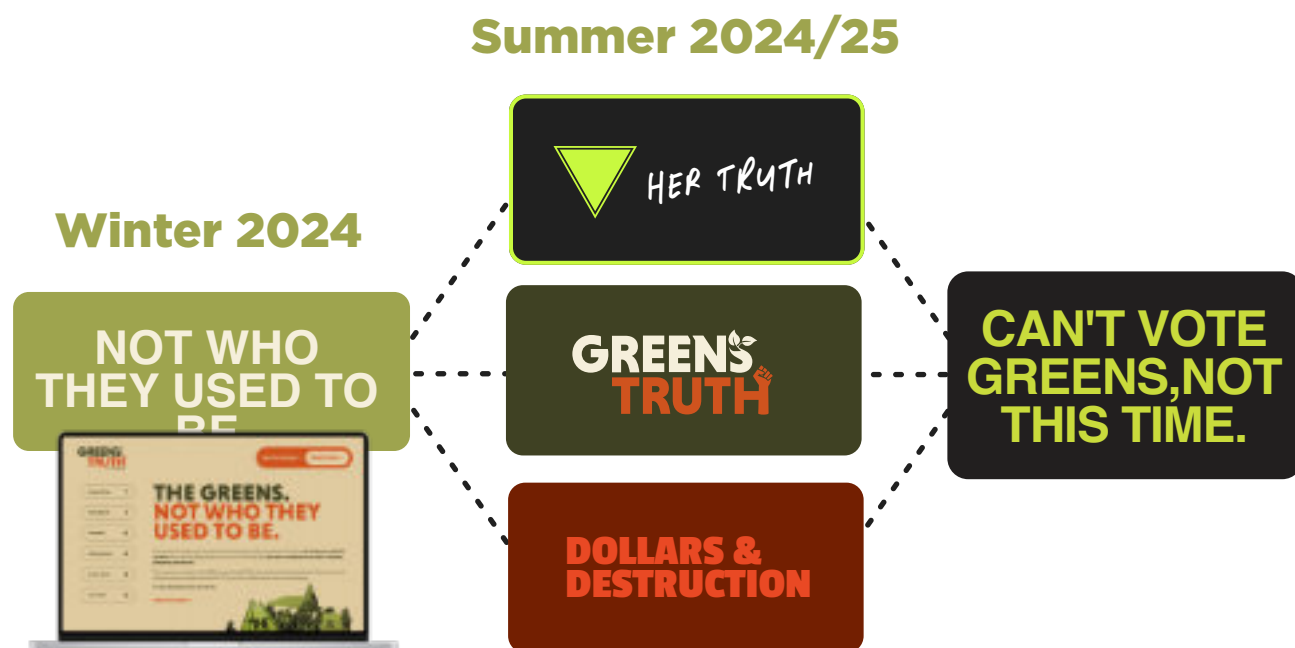
These were real stories of real women, in their own words that led to a clear conclusion: the Greens are toxic towards women.

### DOLLARS AND DESTRUCTION

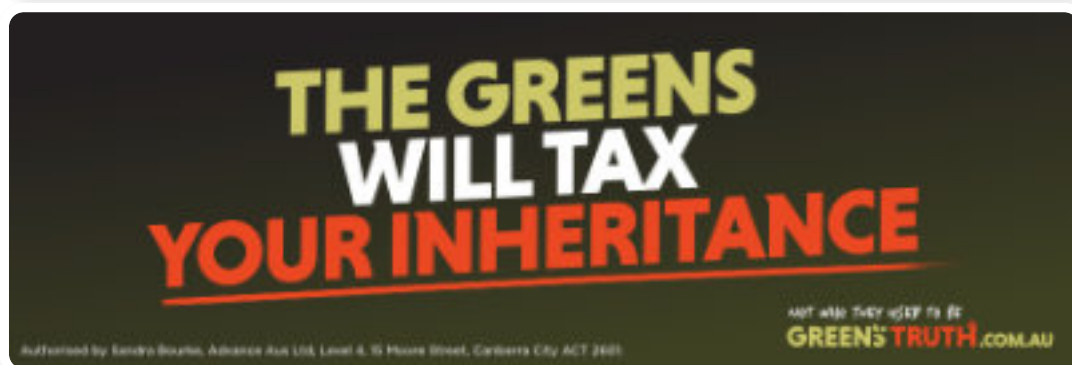
ADVANCE built a renewable energy sub-campaign that exposed the truth about renewables: that they won’t fix the power grid, they pour money into foreign renewables companies and destroy Australia’s natural environment.

In other words, renewable energy is about Dollars and Destruction.

Our powerful 45-minute documentary and ads telling the personal stories of local farmers and families illustrated the way renewable projects have decimated landscapes and destroyed farms and families that have been in operation for generations.







## PHASE 3

# SUMMER STORM

Phase 3 was launched when the rest of the political players were taking a break – SUMMER STORM.

Our research driven approach meant we could frame the campaign, on our terms, right in the heart of Greens seats. And we did it before the other campaigns had even started.

Summer Storm launched in December 2024 and did not let up until February 2025.

As well as targeted online and social media campaigns, we took it to the streets with billboards and posters in 70 unique locations across key seats.

Four 'truth trucks' carrying mobile billboards were on the streets in Brisbane and Melbourne, driving through the seats the Greens were desperate to hold or win for the first time.

Digital ads went out on streaming services like 9Now and 7Plus, airing during big events like the cricket, seen by 2.1 million Australians.

Digital ads were seen 23.1 million times, with 67,000 visits to the Greens Truth website and 38,000 visits to the Her Truth website.

SUMMER STORM proved a crucial step in changing the political landscape. It was the first time someone had really taken the fight to the Greens on their home turf. It changed the course of the campaign and set the stage for the final steps.







Here the broad reach of ADVANCE came into its own.

Through our extensive supporter networks, we were able to make contact with real people who had genuinely once voted Green, but no longer could or would.

Their stories and their truths proved incredibly powerful and convincing, providing not just social proof but allowing others with similar stories to be persuaded to change their vote.

They were some of the most important voices telling Australians that the Greens were not who they used to be.

It also set up the closing message of the campaign: "Can't Vote Greens, Not This Time."





## PHASE 4

# EARLY SUCCESS

## VICTORIAN BY-ELECTION

The Prahran state by-election gave ADVANCE an opportunity to trial run message, campaign and volunteer operations in a real life operation.

The Prahran by-election came about after the deputy leader of the Greens was forced to resign, being one of the harassment cases that formed the “Her Truth” part of our campaign.

Immediately following Summer Storm, ADVANCE swung into action with an electorate-wide sub-campaign that included billboards, social media advertising and direct mail. At the same time, over 300,000 targeted social media ads were flooded into the electorate.

Crucially, ADVANCE could bring tangible resources on the ground into play, mobilising

and organising hundreds of volunteers, and co-ordinating with local groups and organisers to present a united, professional campaign presence.

Our sub-campaign sent a simple message: the Greens used to be about supporting the environment, but had developed a toxic culture that embraced an extreme ideology supporting violent protests and social division.

The voters of Prahran delivered a stinging rebuke, with the Greens losing their deputy leader, and the seat.

It was also a validation that the strategy and campaign execution was working. The next step was to roll it out across the target federal seats.

THE AGE

### Liberals claim victory in Prahran as Greens concede defeat

9 February 2025

THE  
GREENS

The Greens back terror-supporting mobs in the CBD creating a no-go zone for Jewish people.

Eliana  
JEWISH

The Greens support for a protest movement that disrupts the businesses and people of Melbourne every weekend destroys cohesion in our great city

Tony  
CHRISTIAN

The Greens support the terror networks of Iran's Islamic regime.

Omid  
IRANIAN

DELIVERED

**300,000**

Targeted digital ads  
**ON SOCIAL MEDIA**



**100+**  
**VOLUNTEERS**  
With T-shirts and  
how-to-vote cards



**COVERED THE  
ELECTORATE IN  
FLYERS +  
POSTERS**



# SUPPORTING THE BROADER CAUSE

In early 2025, the polls showed Australia was heading towards the worst possible outcome: a minority Greens and Labor government.

That's why ADVANCE made a strategic decision to run a secondary campaign focused on damaging Anthony Albanese's brand in an effort to decrease Labor's vote alongside the Greens.

ADVANCE supporters were also adamant they wanted to see a campaign on Albanese, and it was clear in the leadup to the election that no other party or campaign organisation was going to do it.

Public and private polling told a consistent message that Australians were unhappy with the direction of the country and many of the decisions of the Albanese Labor government in the last three years.

They clearly believed Albanese to be a weak leader, to be focused on the wrong things like the Voice, and to be responsible for the economic pain they were feeling.

This was distilled into the core message:

***Weak, woke, sending us broke.***

ADVANCE targeted 28 key marginal seats across the country where billboards, flyers, and TV and online ads would launch with this message.

Importantly, this secondary campaign ran alongside Greens Truth. Greens target seats were not targeted with Weak, Woke, Broke materials.



## 2,149,485

**Labor Flyers** delivered into 22 of our target Labor electorates



**Facebook & Instagram**  
ads shown



**125 MILLION TIMES to**  
**4.73 MILLION PEOPLE.**



**Youtube ads shown**

**23 MILLION TIMES to**  
**2.24 MILLION PEOPLE.**

**Digital TV**

(27 Marginal Labor Electorates)

## 13.44 Million



**WEAK**  
**WOKE**  
**SENDING US**  
**BROKE.**



## PHASE 5

# ELECTION DAY

## CLOSING WITH THE CALL TO ACTION

The campaign was carefully crafted to achieve a result – and that means convincing people who had previously voted Green not to do so again.

That's why the call to action was designed to convince and persuade that audience: "Can't vote Greens, not this time."

Our field team proved ADVANCE can campaign where it counts, with boots on the ground and people in the streets.

Come election day, ADVANCE was ready and on the ground to help last-minute voters make their decision.

In preparation, ADVANCE had recruited and trained over 160 volunteers for election day, delivering a highly visible presence over the election period – helped by a massive showing of corflute signs, shirts, leaflets and more.

The impact was immediately noticeable. Voters recognised our messaging. They knew why they couldn't vote for the Greens. The message had cut through.



# 1600

Can't Vote Greens  
**T-SHIRTS**  
Printed



# 600,000

HOW-TO-VOTE CARDS

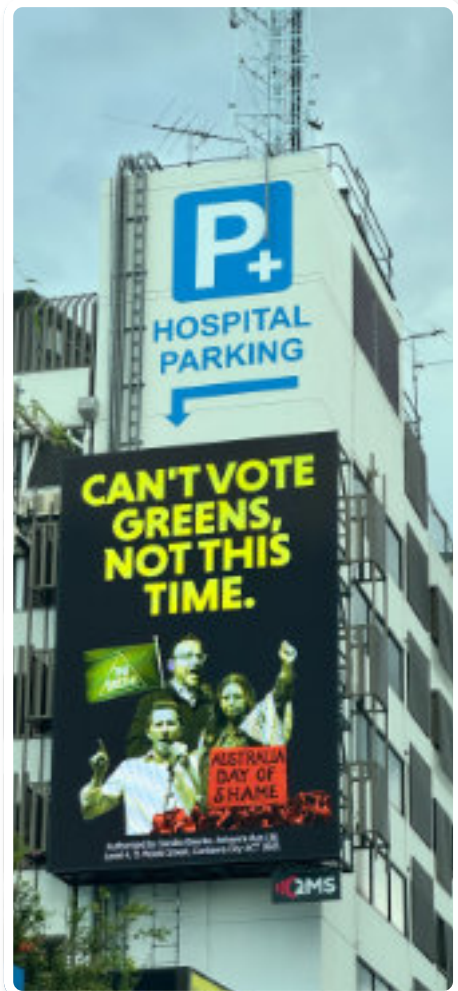




**350+**  
**VOLUNTEERS**  
Over election period



**3000**  
**CORFLUTE SIGNS**  
Deployed





# THE IMPACT

Our messages were co-ordinated,  
consistent and targeted.

By planning carefully and promoting  
heavily, we could achieve significant  
impacts with extreme efficiency.



## SOCIALS

Facebook & Instagram ads shown

**50** Million times to  
**2.98** Million people.



Youtube ads shown

**16** Million times to  
**2.38** Million people.



## PRE-ELECTION

*Including Summer Storm, Greens  
Truth and Her Truth.*

Facebook and Instagram ads shown

**55** Million times to  
**6.7** Million people.

Youtube ads shown

**8.3** Million times to  
**2.7** Million people.



The Digital TV Summerstorm  
Campaign for Greens Truth and  
Her Truth were shown

**344,000**

times over December and  
January to target greens voters.

**70** Billboard sites throughout  
Dec/January in the Greens  
Truth Summer Storm

## BILLBOARD TRUCKS

**7** Mobile Billboard Trucks  
from 14 April to 3 May.



Trucks were moving across the 6 Greens  
target seats, and multiple Labor marginals.

## BILLBOARDS

**196** Billboards over a 7-week period leading up to election day



## FLYERS

**1,039,370**

Greens Flyers delivered into six Greens electorates

Greens electorates we went into:  
Brisbane, Ryan, Griffith, Macnamara, Wills, Melbourne



## FREE TO AIR TV

TV ads in 5 capital cities including on Farmer Wants a Wife, MasterChef, Deal or No Deal, AFL, NRL, The Project and more.

Ads played in Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Brisbane and Adelaide from 13 April to 27 April

## DIGITAL TV

ADS SHOWN **6.4** MILLION

GREENS: Digital TV  
(i.e. 9Now, 7Plus etc)

Melbourne (VIC) Ads were shown 1.26 million times  
Macnamara (VIC) Ads were shown 1.47 million times  
Griffith (QLD): Ads were shown 1.08 million times  
Brisbane (QLD) Ads were shown 1.06 million times  
Ryan (QLD) Ads were shown 883,000 times  
Wills (VIC) Ads were shown 662,000 times

## YOUR GENEROSITY

*ADVANCE's army of supporters answered the call for this federal election campaign, pitching in \$13.8 million in the year leading up to election day.*

52,529 Total Number of Donations

\$262.63 Average Donation

\$10.6m Donations for 'Greens Truth'

\$3.2m Donations for 'Weak, Woke, Broke'



# JOB DONE

## ✓ **WILLS BLOCKED**

Two-party preferred swing **+3.2%**  
Primary swing **+2.5%**

The Melbourne inner-north seat of Wills was a big ticket target for the Greens, and they threw everything they had at it. Their high profile candidate resigned as state leader to contest the seat. They received a favourable redistribution and significant Greens resources were pushed into the seat. While they increased their vote, the ADVANCE campaign helped ensure they fell well short.

## ✓ **MACNAMARA BLOCKED**

Two-party preferred swing **N/A\***  
Primary swing **-4.2%**

At the start of the campaign, many pundits thought Macnamara was a sure new gain for the Greens. ADVANCE made sure that didn't happen. The Greens failed to even make it to the final two-party-preferred count. In this vital 'must win' seat, the Greens went backwards 4.2%.

## ✓ **BRISBANE GREENS LOSE SEAT**

Two-party preferred swing **N/A\***  
Primary swing **-1.4%**

The seat of Brisbane was also taken from the Greens after this campaign.

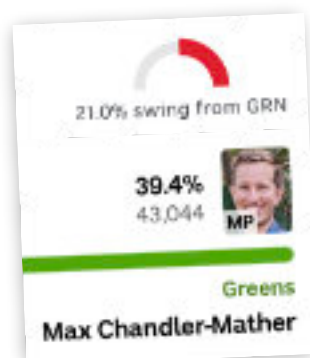
The hit they took to their primary vote was enough to knock them out of the two-party-preferred count.

That means their 2022 53.7% two-party-preferred result became a 25% primary worth nothing.

## ✓ **GRIFFITH GREENS LOSE SEAT & FUTURE LEADER**

Two-party preferred swing **-21%**  
Primary swing **-2.9%**

With a two-party-preferred swing of over 20%, the Greens lost not only this vital seat but also their most outspoken member and a future leader. This seat saw the Greens two-party-preferred count drop from over 60% to just 39.4%. A massive loss for the Greens.



\*The Greens candidate did not poll well enough to finish in the top two.



9NEWS

## Greens lose seats in devastating blow

4 May 2025



**MELBOURNE**  
**GREENS LOSE SEAT &**  
**CURRENT LEADER**

**-10%**

Two-party preferred swing **-10%**

Primary swing **-5.3%**

One of the most important results in the campaign was a massive blow to the Greens quest for power. Adam Bandt's primary vote went from 49% to 39%, and the two-party-preferred count went from 56.5% to 47%, losing the seat and the leader.

This result has significant implications for the Greens right across the country.

Of the six target seats, we were completely successful in five, including taking out the leader.

Their vote went down across the country and in both houses of parliament. We blocked their attempts to gain seats and three quarters of their sitting MPs lost their seats.

We also significantly shifted the national conversation about the Greens as a brand, showing up in local and state elections from Victoria to Queensland and even in the A.C.T., where one third of the Greens seats fell during this campaign.

This was not an accident. This was a result of ADVANCE doing the work to get the job done.



THE NIGHTLY 7 May 2025

## Adam Bandt loses Melbourne seat amid Greens wipeout

The leader of the Greens has become the latest casualty of a shocking election result for the minor party that is set to retain just one seat in the lower house.



**RYAN**  
**GREENS HOLD**

Two-party preferred swing **+0.6%**

Primary swing **-1.2%**

The only seat the Greens retained was Ryan in Queensland. While the sitting Greens MP, Elizabeth Watson-Brown, copped a 1.2% primary vote swing against her, an increased Labor vote unfortunately meant their preferences got her over the line.

***This campaign would not have been possible without the incredible support ADVANCE gets from around the country. To the donors, the volunteers, and the hundreds of thousands of supporters around the country -***

***Thank you.***

*If you haven't completed it yet,*  
**Do our post-election survey.**

[www.advanceaustralia.org.au/survey-2025](http://www.advanceaustralia.org.au/survey-2025)

And join one of our ongoing campaigns.  
This fight is not over – we've only just begun.

Scan here  
for survey



## ONGOING CAMPAIGNS

The activists on the left don't rest between elections, and neither do we.

Join ADVANCE's ongoing campaigns to continue the fight against the activists and elites.



### END WELCOME TO COUNTRY

Australians are fed up with the Welcome to Country. It's constant. You hear it more than the national anthem now. Make no mistake: What started as a simple gesture has turned into a full-blown activist-led push to attack Australia's history and its values.

It's time for taxpayers to stop funding them.

[www.advanceaustralia.org.au/end-welcome-to-country](http://www.advanceaustralia.org.au/end-welcome-to-country)

### STOP THE IMMIGRATION MADNESS

Anthony Albanese and the Labor Party have just let in more than 1 MILLION migrants. Thanks to him, hard-working Australians are now sleeping in cars, waiting longer at the hospital, and now have to face constant protests from people who hate this great nation.

Let's be perfectly blunt: mass immigration is destroying the Australian way of life and it's time to stop it.

[www.advanceaustralia.org.au/stop-immigration](http://www.advanceaustralia.org.au/stop-immigration)



### UTE TAX

The Anthony Albanese Labor/Greens/Teal alliance is pushing so-called "fuel efficiency standards", which really mean you pay more for your next ute or big family car. All while they get cheaper Teslas. It's a ute tax by another name. Do you have a job where you need to drive long distances? Tough luck. Need enough power to haul big loads? Too bad. Need a bigger car to get your kids safely to school and sport? Think again.

Sign the petition now and tell the inner city elites to back off.

[www.advanceaustralia.org.au/ute\\_tax](http://www.advanceaustralia.org.au/ute_tax)



## ADVANCE *Generations*

Restoring Australia's values goes beyond just election results.

The election is over, but the fight for Australia's freedom, prosperity and security will take generations. That is why we started ADVANCE Generations.

ADVANCE Generations gives our generous donors and supporters the chance to leave a gift to ADVANCE in their will – helping us to fight for, protect and preserve the country that we love.

*“Supporting Advance Generations is a very good way to protect the values and country that we cherish for the next generation.”*

– Hon. Tony Abbott AC, former Prime Minister of Australia

If you would like to know more, or you would like to leave a gift to ADVANCE in your will, please follow the details below:

Name: Advance Generations Ltd

ABN: 67 686 128 478

Address: Level 15, 225 George St, Sydney NSW 2000





**ADVANCE**

Authorised by Matthew Sheahan, Advance Australia,  
Level 4, 15 Moore Street, Canberra City ACT 2601.

## ***Attachment C***

### **What ADVANCE means to its supporters. In their own words.**

The following is a sample of responses from ADVANCE supporters when asked “What does ADVANCE mean to you?” Some responses have been edited for spelling and punctuation but are otherwise reproduced exactly as they were written in the survey.

“A voice for the silent majority.” *Michael*

“A voice for a normal person to question major parties on their policies.” *Bridget*

“A proper voice to real people.” *Ben*

“Advance is doing more to help Australians; especially upholding our values, than the major parties are doing.” *Greg*

“They represent Hope. Our current politicians are weak and have no convictions beyond winning an election.” *Sandra*

“[ADVANCE] stands for everyday Australians & giving the people the power to live in prosperity.” *Colleen*

“Advance cares about the Australian people & the future of this country.” *Teresa*

“A strong voice from every day Australians.” *Ralph*

“Hope for a better, safer, more successful Australia.” *Lucille*

“Hope.” *Keith*

“A voice for what I believe in. One person cannot make a significant difference. A group of us can.” *Brian*

“It is the only chance for true representation for many of us.” *Michael*

“Advance is the revolt of ordinary Australians against the elites.” *Crispin*

“Advance means supporting sane common sense policies with Australian families being supported and creating a national Patriotic identity and vision.” *Marc*

“Fairness, common sense, practical solutions, one nation, one flag, true conservatism and family core values.” *Renee*

“Someone who is looking out for the Australia we all cherish.” *Anthony*

“You are my hope.” *Eliza*

“A chance to right the wrongs nearly all parties are ignoring. We need democracy back.” *Kevin*

“[ADVANCE is] saying difficult things that need to be said, thinking about strategic issues for the country, while most people focus only on their home financial position.” *Andrew*

"A chance for a better future." *Ray*

"Looking after real australia." *Marcus*

"They are the voice for the silent majority." *Annette*

"Finally someone with the balls to tell it the way it should be." *Colin*

"Someone to stand up for all Australians." *Brenda*

"Common sense." *Jim*

"It offers an opportunity for my views and concerns, politically, to be recognised and brought to be alert." *Matthew*

"Hope for the future." *Craig*

"A no nonsense campaigning body that gets straight to the point in a language that most Real Australians Understand." *Michael*

"In this mixed up world it is good to read some common sense." *Hugh*

"A source of common sense and a reality check for the population." *Desma*

"Hopefully a change for the better where politicians and bureaucrats recognise they are working for the people not ruling over the very people paying their livelihoods." *Anonymous*

"Thank God someone is trying to keep accountability of Government." *Gail*

"I totally appreciate you & all who are able to stand up & fight the good fight of faith." *Lynne*

"An opportunity to promote some common sense values that seem to have eluded all of the major parties in Australia." *Garry*

"An important centre-right activist movement with the resources and technical know-how to influence voting patterns." *Chris*

"An alternative to the big two uniparties." *William*

"The potential to advocate for sensible actions without the compromise of politics. Courage to say it how it is." *Henry*

"Trying to maintain common sense against the odds." *Paul*

"A flicker of hope." *Philip*

"Hopefully, a breath of fresh air and common sense." *Kitty*

"Voice for the normal people and a better country." *Gary*

"Standing up for our rights and freedom and making politicians listen to what the people want." *Margaret*

"Advancement of common sense." *Judy*



“Since the work Advance did on the 2023 referendum, I held hope that a voice was available for the silent majority against the noisy minority who pressure the country into believing what they preach when in my view the evidence for more conservative views was stronger. I hope that this continues.” *Rosemary*

“A much-needed voice for aware Australian citizens.” *Robert*

“Australia’s future.” *Geoffrey*

“It’s good to have you trying to bring the real issues into the spotlight.” *David*

“Holding major political parties to account on their BS.” *Jodi*

“An organisation fighting for Australia’s future and no one else seems to be.” *Ann*

“A voice against Left Wing Green, Teal idiots.” *Kerry*