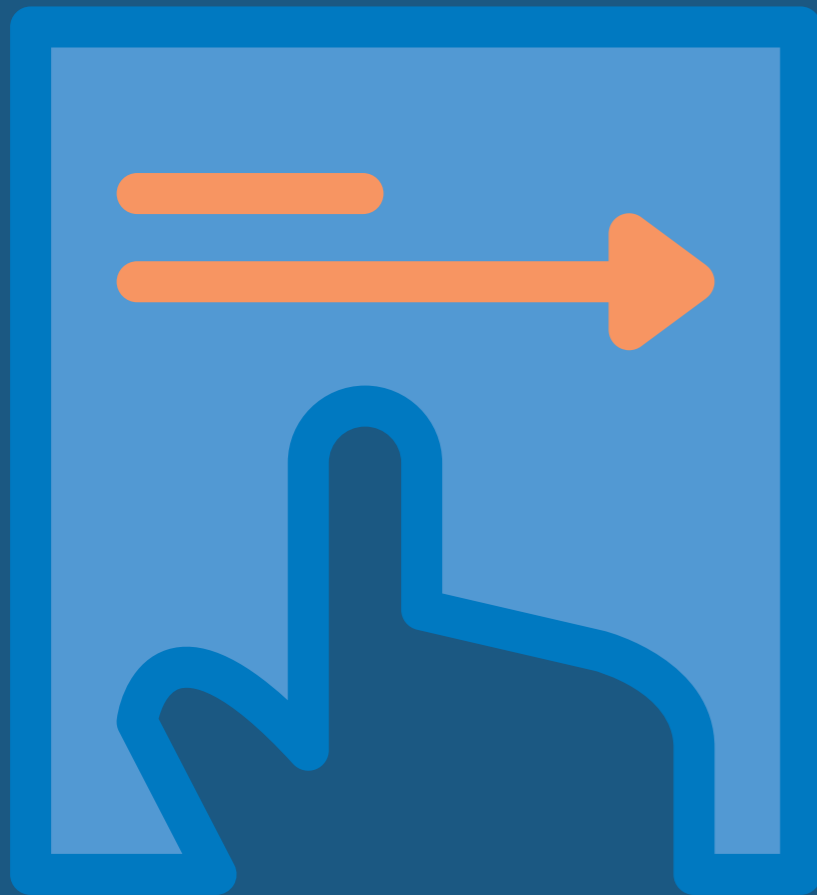


# Defining Antisemitism: The Victorian Experience



# Executive summary



This report seeks to assist policymakers, law enforcement, business leaders and the media to understand the complex and often misunderstood concepts of antisemitism and Zionism, from the perspective of the Victorian Jewish community.

It has been compiled following extensive consultation over an extended period of time with representatives of a diverse range of local Jewish organisations, including a series of surveys and interviews conducted specifically for this report, as well as desktop research.

It finds that

- (1) The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition of Antisemitism is the single most endorsed and widely used definition of antisemitism both within and outside of Jewish communities in Victorian and around the world.
- (2) Zionism is defined by the mainstream Jewish community organisations and individuals as an ancestral and spiritual connection to Israel that is non-violent and not linked to a specific political movement.

- (3) Anti-Zionism is different to being opposed to the policies of the Israeli Government or its military. Rather it is the concept that the Jewish people's connection to Israel is invalid. The word "Zionist" is being used more frequently as a proxy word for "Jew", including in Victoria, and needs to be carefully considered in the context of vilification.

This report has been prepared by the Jewish Community Council of Victoria (JCCV), the peak body for the Victorian Jewish community representing more than 60 organisations, including Jewish schools, synagogues, welfare organisations, cultural institutions and social justice groups.

The research for this report was conducted by Paris Enten, in partnership with the Community Security Group, and with funding from the Victorian Government to support Jewish community-led initiatives to understand and combat antisemitism.



# Introduction

The 2023 Victorian Antisemitism Report, published jointly by the JCCV and the Community Security Group ('CSG'), shows that antisemitism has been rising in Victoria over recent years, accelerated by the events of the October 7 Hamas massacre and the subsequent Israel-Hamas war. In light of the war in Gaza, the lines between antisemitism and legitimate criticism of Israel have become increasingly blurred. This report takes on the challenging task of seeking to redraw some of those lines to help inform government, policy makers, law enforcement and other local institutions.

The Victorian Jewish community witnessed an intensification of antisemitism in October and November 2023, resulting in a 688% increase in reported incidents of antisemitism compared with the same time the previous year.<sup>1</sup> Of these incidents, the majority (56%) featured motives linked to Israel or Palestine.

This report will consider various definitions of antisemitism, all of which seek to address the nuances of the relationship between antisemitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israel sentiment, whilst

preserving free speech, including the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism, the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism, and the Nexus Document.

**Ultimately, the only definition which is fit for purpose and has the overwhelming support of the majority of the Victorian Jewish community<sup>2</sup> is the IHRA definition of antisemitism.**

This report is a practical document intended to be used by those who come across challenging identity-based subject-matter in the course of their work. This is not an academic discovery.

This report draws on survey responses voluntarily provided by mainstream Victorian Jewish organisations, as well as international consensus reached by Jewish communities across six continents. 11 active, vibrant and Victorian Jewish community organisations responded to a wider call out for survey respondents by the JCCV. The organisations that responded included religious

bodies, Jewish schools, cultural institutes and social justice groups. A number of organisations chose not to complete the survey because they did not have an organisational position on a definition as it was not relevant to their work. One organisation stated it did not believe it could respond to such a complex issue in the form of a survey.

Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.

*International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance  
Working Definition of Antisemitism*

<sup>1</sup> [https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658\\_JCCV.VAC\\_.2023.Report\\_FINAL.WEB\\_.pdf](https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658_JCCV.VAC_.2023.Report_FINAL.WEB_.pdf) <sup>2</sup> <https://www.australianjewishnews.com/working-together-for-the-community/>



# Definitions of Antisemitism

The interactions between antisemitism, anti-Zionism and anti-Israel sentiment are complex. Over the years, various definitions of antisemitism have been suggested and endorsed by different groups.

**The three most often-cited definitions are the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism, the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism, and the Nexus Document.**

These legally non-binding definitions serve several important purposes:

- To help assess the validity of claims of antisemitism;
- To educate the media, law enforcement, policy makers and others about what constitutes antisemitism;
- To assist in ascertaining whether an incident might be categorised as a hate crime;
- To determine whether certain conduct may constitute discrimination under various anti-discrimination laws; and
- To assist law enforcement in determining the risk posed by certain groups to the Jewish community.

## The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism<sup>3</sup>

In 2005, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia drafted what has now become known as the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism. In 2016, the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance voted to adopt this definition at its plenary in Bucharest.

Since then, the IHRA definition has become the most widely endorsed and adopted definition of antisemitism, having been adopted by over 1,200 prominent individuals and global institutions,<sup>4</sup> including:

- The Victorian Labor Government and Victorian Liberal Party<sup>5</sup>.
- Victoria's Anti-Racism Strategy 2024-29<sup>6</sup>;

<sup>3</sup> See appendix 2 <sup>4</sup> <https://ihra.combatantisemitism.org> <sup>5</sup> <https://www.premier.vic.gov.au/standing-jewish-community-against-antisemitism>; <https://www.australianjewishnews.com/matthew-guy-commits-to-ihra-definition/> <sup>6</sup> <https://www.vic.gov.au/victorias-anti-racism-strategy-2024-2029>

- Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism, Jillian Segal<sup>7</sup>;
- 45 countries,<sup>8</sup> including Australia, the US, the UK and Canada;
- Dozens of state governments and city councils, including bipartisan support in Victoria,<sup>9</sup> and the Glen Eira City Council<sup>10</sup>;
- Referenced by Justice Mortimer in the Federal Court case *Kaplan v State of Victoria (no 8)* [2023] FCA 1092;<sup>11</sup>
- The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance,<sup>12</sup> the European Parliament,<sup>13</sup> and the Latin American Parliament;<sup>14</sup>
- Hundreds of tertiary education institutions, including the University of Melbourne,<sup>15</sup> Monash University,<sup>16</sup> the University of Cambridge, and over 30 US campuses;<sup>17</sup> and
- Hundreds of other Jewish and non-Jewish institutions, including the English Premier League,<sup>18</sup> the Global Imams Council,<sup>19</sup> and dozens of churches<sup>20</sup>.

**In the survey conducted by JCCV for this report, all surveyed Victorian Jewish organisations stated their support for the IHRA definition.<sup>21</sup>**

Among the reasons stated for their use and support of the IHRA definition, the most common

referenced is the fact that the definition is the most widely used, well known and respected, with an emphasis put on a need for consensus to effectively tackle antisemitism.

This is not the first time the Victorian Jewish community has been canvassed on its preferred definition of antisemitism. In 2022, a councillor at the City of Glen Eira proposed the adoption of the IHRA definition by the council. Subsequently, council officers and elected officials consulted with the JCCV, as the peak representative body of the Victorian Community. The JCCV took the question to its own members and 28 of 29 member organisations that attended the vote endorsed the Council's adoption of the IHRA definition.<sup>22</sup>

**Ultimately, while there is no complete consensus, the IHRA definition is the single most endorsed and widely used definition of antisemitism by Jewish people in Victoria, Australia and globally.**

#### **How can we make sure the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism is workable?**

An allegation often levelled at the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism is that it could have a limiting effect on freedom of speech and expression, in particular, criticism of Israel.

This concern has been addressed many times by different Jewish organisations around the world.

In practice, there is clear evidence, including locally, that the adoption of the IHRA definition has not substantively interfered with freedom of speech. One clear example is the 2024 pro-Palestine encampments at Monash University and the University of Melbourne<sup>23</sup>. These became sites of criticism and protest activity against Israel, despite both institutions having endorsed the IHRA definition.<sup>24</sup>



<sup>7</sup> [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/committees/reportsen/RB000450/toc\\_pdf/CommissionofInquiryintoAntisemitismatAustralianUniversitiesBill2024\(No.2\).pdf](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/committees/reportsen/RB000450/toc_pdf/CommissionofInquiryintoAntisemitismatAustralianUniversitiesBill2024(No.2).pdf) <sup>8</sup> <https://holocaustremembrance.com/who-we-are/member-countries> <sup>9</sup> <https://www.premier.vic.gov.au/standing-jewish-community-against-antisemitism> <sup>10</sup> <https://www.gleneira.vic.gov.au/about-council/news/latest-news/council-adopts-the-ihra-working-definition-of-antisemitism> <sup>11</sup> <https://www.judgments.fedcourt.gov.au/judgments/Judgments/fca/single/2023/2023fca1092> <sup>12</sup> <https://rm.coe.int/opinion-ecri-on-ihra-wd-on-antisemitism-2755-7610-7522-1/1680a091dd> <sup>13</sup> [https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/combating-antisemitism/definition-antisemitism\\_en](https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combating-discrimination/racism-and-xenophobia/combating-antisemitism/definition-antisemitism_en) <sup>14</sup> <https://combatantisemitism.org/government-and-policy/latin-american-parliament-adopts-ihra-working-definition-of-antisemitism/> <sup>15</sup> <https://www.unimelb.edu.au/newsroom/news/2023/january/university-of-melbourne-releases-anti-racism-commitment> <sup>16</sup> [https://www.monash.edu/\\_\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0015/3216012/Anti-racism-fact-sheet.pdf](https://www.monash.edu/___data/assets/pdf_file/0015/3216012/Anti-racism-fact-sheet.pdf) <sup>17</sup> <https://www.ajc.org/us-campus-adoption-of-the-working-definition> <sup>18</sup> <https://www.premierleague.com/news/1922439> <sup>19</sup> <https://brandeiscenter.com/global-imams-council-adopts-ihra-definition-of-anti-semitism/> <sup>20</sup> <https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1oewGyFHsfkd3qcilJ9nZKHL4GoDtnEHo/edit#gid=1280818617> <sup>21</sup> See Appendix I <sup>22</sup> <https://www.australianjewishnews.com/glen-eira-adopts-ihra-definition/> <sup>23</sup> <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2024-05-22/pro-palestinian-melbourne-university-encampment/103881534> <sup>24</sup> <https://www.skynews.com.au/australia-news/police-called-in-as-propalestine-protesters-ambush-israeli-remembrance-day-service-at-monash-university/news-story/f09522f3cd6846dd669a4f68432a36b2>



The IHRA definition is intended to be a non-binding guide useful to inform legal and policy frameworks of the government or institution which adopts it. In Victoria, people who are victims of discrimination or vilification have grounds for redress through the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (VEOHRC). Having a definition of antisemitism to assist in guiding the VEOHRC in determining these claims ensures fairness, transparency and predictability.

Another commonly cited deficiency is that the IHRA definition does not give enough consideration to the context in which antisemitic incidents take place, notwithstanding the fact that the preamble of the definition is explicit in its instruction that users of the IHRA definition “tak[e] into account the overall context.”

Nonetheless, some institutions that have adopted the IHRA definition have added their own guidelines around its use to ensure a streamlined, consistent understanding of antisemitism in its various expressions. This was discussed in the Victorian Antisemitism Report 2023,<sup>25</sup> particularly in the context of categorising incidents as anti-Israel, as opposed to antisemitic.

**The Community Security Group (CSG) as the principal organisation to whom antisemitic incidents are reported in Victoria, uses the IHRA definition in categorising reported incidents.**

After October 7, when antisemitic incidents became increasingly and overwhelmingly directed towards Israel and Zionism,<sup>26</sup> CSG observed a need for further clarification around when Israel-related incidents become antisemitic.

The Victorian Antisemitism Report notes that “Israel-related incidents are classified as antisemitic where the incident also involves antisemitic discourse, evident antisemitic motivation and/or targeting of a victim because they are, or are believed to be, Jewish or have relationships to the Jewish community.”

**Rather than adopting a secondary definition to assist in interpreting the meaning of IHRA, CSG devised its own interpretive guidelines to adapt it to the current socio-political climate within Victoria.**

It did so by clarifying that an incident is only antisemitic if it fulfils one or more of the following criteria:

- Expresses anti-Jewish hate (e.g., “F\*\*king Jew”, “Gas the Jews”), including using anti-Jewish tropes.
- Expresses intimidation towards an identifiably Jewish individual.
- Expression of support or gestures associated with a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion which targets Jewish people (e.g., Hitler salute, Hamas flag).

- Representations of Zionism, Zionists, Israel or Israelis (as a whole) with the Holocaust or Nazism (i.e., invoking Jewish trauma to target Israel or Zionism).
- Expresses anti-Israel (see below) hate directed towards an identifiably Jewish individual or location, whereby the individual or location does not display any connection to Israel (i.e., targeted solely because they are Jewish).

This context assists in both including or excluding incidents as antisemitic, and has been used to categorise hundreds of incidents reported to CSG as anti-Israel rather than antisemitic. Indeed, CSG’s own internal policy states that where there is room to reasonably explain an incident as being not-antisemitic, they will categorise it as such.

Other communities do adopt different criteria and context does shift and evolve.<sup>27</sup> For example, the UK equivalent of the CSG, the Community Security Trust, uses the IHRA definition as a “helpful set of guidelines to help identify different examples of possible antisemitism,”<sup>28</sup> with its own additional, community-specific guidelines which assist in determining whether an incident is antisemitic.<sup>29</sup>

This process of further elaborating on the IHRA Definition is not unique to Jewish community organisations. For instance, when Cambridge University adopted the IHRA definition, it emphasised the importance of considering intention when defining an Israel-related incident as antisemitic.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> [https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658\\_JCCV.VAC\\_.2023.Report\\_FINAL.WEB\\_.pdf](https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658_JCCV.VAC_.2023.Report_FINAL.WEB_.pdf) p9 <sup>26</sup> [https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658\\_JCCV.VAC\\_.2023.Report\\_FINAL.WEB\\_.pdf](https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658_JCCV.VAC_.2023.Report_FINAL.WEB_.pdf) <sup>27</sup> <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/antisemitism>  
<sup>28</sup> <https://cst.org.uk/antisemitism/what-is-antisemitism> <sup>29</sup> <https://cst.org.uk/public/data/file/f/2/Defintions%20leaflet%20v2.pdf> <sup>30</sup> <https://www.cam.ac.uk/news/the-university-of-cambridge-has-formally-adopted-the-ihra-definition-of-antisemitism>



### The importance of IHRA: Australasian Union of Jewish Students

The Australasian Union of Jewish Students (AUJS) is the peak representative body of Jewish tertiary students in Australia and New Zealand. As antisemitic incidents on campus rise, AUJS leaders are often at the coalface of managing antisemitic reporting and incidents.

**AUJS has implemented the IHRA definition to manage incoming reports of antisemitism, and has long advocated that universities and student unions do the same.**

A senior AUJS representative was consulted in the drafting of this report,<sup>31</sup> and discussed the importance of the IHRA definition in making staff and students feel safe and included on campus.

Asked why AUJS has had such a long-standing commitment to the definition, the leader explained that as a representative organisation, whose leadership is voted on by local Jewish students, it is important to rely on the only definition which has received broad community endorsement.

Again, this leader's comments emphasise the importance of assigning legitimacy to the definition that is supported by the majority of key stakeholders.

### The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism<sup>32</sup>

The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism is a "tool to identify, confront and raise awareness about antisemitism in countries around the world today" (preamble).<sup>33</sup> It includes a preamble, definition, and 15 guidelines which exemplify different statements, actions and opinions which can and cannot be considered antisemitic on their face.

The Declaration is endorsed by more than 350 individual academics, but not by Jewish communities or institutions. It was designed in response to criticisms of the IHRA definition and is intended to both interpret and replace the IHRA definition.

None of the survey respondents expressed support for the Jerusalem Declaration and the AUJS representative stated there had never been any consideration to adopt the Jerusalem Declaration, as IHRA has always been fit for purpose. However, he added the Jerusalem Declaration would unlikely be considered suitable as, reflected in survey responses, it does not have the support of any mainstream Jewish organisation in Australia.

Likewise, a representative of CSG explained<sup>34</sup> that if the organisation was in need of clarification around the IHRA Definition, it is unlikely the Jerusalem Declaration would be considered given it has such a low degree of support among the local Jewish

community. Instead, CSG have engaged in a process of analysing specific local incidents which had already been reported, understanding common themes among them, and creating a unique policy accordingly.

### The Nexus Document: Understanding Antisemitism at its Nexus with Israel and Zionism<sup>35</sup>

The Nexus Document was created by the Nexus Task Force; an academic body designed to "[analyse] issues at the intersection of Israel and antisemitism"<sup>36</sup> in connection with The Bard Center for the Study of Hate. The Nexus Document was first published in February 2021,<sup>37</sup> and has since been updated in June 2024.<sup>38</sup>

The Nexus Document contains a brief preamble, nine statements regarding what is antisemitic, and five statements regarding what is not antisemitic. Interestingly, the Bard Centre for the Study of Hate has not endorsed the Nexus Document,<sup>39</sup> nor has any representative Jewish community organisation in Australia.

<sup>31</sup> See Appendix 4 <sup>32</sup> See Appendix 3 <sup>33</sup> <https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/> <sup>34</sup> See Appendix 5 for interview questions <sup>35</sup> See Appendix 6 <sup>36, 39</sup> <https://nexusprojectus/nexus-task-force/> <sup>37, 38</sup> <https://nexusprojectus/nexus-resources/the-nexus-document/>



# Zionism, Anti-Zionism, and Anti-Israel Sentiments



# Zionism

Zionism is commonly defined as “the movement for the self-determination and statehood for the Jewish people in their ancestral and spiritual homeland, the land of Israel. The vast majority of Jews around the world feel a connection or kinship with Israel, whether or not they explicitly identify as Zionists, and regardless of their opinions on the policies of the Israeli Government.”<sup>40</sup> A May 2024 survey conducted by Monash University found that 91% of Australian Jews felt some emotional attachment to Israel.<sup>41</sup>

Expressions of Zionism in the Victorian Jewish community may include the celebration of Israel’s Independence Day, the waving of Israeli flags, travelling to Israel to celebrate Jewish holidays, to visit family members or for recreation, learning and speaking the modern Hebrew language, and praying in the direction of Jerusalem three times per day. Zionism is a non-violent movement which celebrates the existence of the State of Israel, rather than advocating for any political viewpoint, policy, or decision of the government of Israel.<sup>42</sup>

In the surveys conducted for this report, Jewish community organisations expressed their relationship with Zionism as follows:

- “Our school emphatically supports the indigenous and historic connection of the Jewish people to their ancestral homeland in the Land of Israel, and the right of the Jewish people to self determination as a “free people in our Land” in the modern State of Israel.”
- “Belief of Israel’s right to exist. An ancestral and spiritual connection to Israel.”
- “We believe Israel is the Jewish homeland and the Jewish people have the right to live there safely.”



**Every respondent organisation stated that Zionism is an inherent or central aspect of Jewish identity.**

## Anti-Zionism

Anti-Zionism is the belief that Jewish people's religious and historical connection to Israel is in some way invalid.<sup>43</sup> Anti-Zionism is different from opposing the policies or actions of the Israeli Government or Israeli military. The idea of opposing Israeli Government policy, in the same way you may oppose gun laws in the United States, is freedom of political expression.

In contemporary commentary, anti-Zionism commonly manifests as substitution of the word "Jew", with the word "Zionist" to make a statement of vilification acceptable. Individuals wishing to express an anti-Jewish sentiment are seeking to circumvent hate speech laws or norms by vilifying "Zionists". Zionism is defined as a political ideology, so it is not protected by anti-vilification or hate speech laws. However, Zionism is an ideology almost exclusively held by Jewish people and being intrinsically linked to many Jewish people's identity.

For example, following a suspicious fire at a burger shop in Caulfield in November 2023, pro-Palestinian advocacy groups posted on social media that the fire was a "Zionist terrorist attack". In response, hundreds of people staged a loud and violent demonstration in Caulfield, the suburb with the

highest concentration of Jewish people in Australia, and forced the evacuation of a synagogue.<sup>44</sup> Jewish people were the ultimate target, even though the criticism was levelled at "Zionists".

In response to community concerns about growing anti-Zionism, Meta, the parent company of Facebook, Instagram and Whatsapp, issued guidance via its Policy Forum in July 2024 based on consultation with 145 stakeholders from civil society and academia. Meta stated that it would remove content that "targets 'Zionists' with

dehumanising comparisons, calls for harm or denials of existence on the basis that 'Zionist' in those instances often appears to be a proxy for Jewish or Israeli people".<sup>46</sup>

Australian Attorney General Mark Dreyfus has already written and spoken on this topic, writing in an article: "Substituting Zionist for Jew is considered by some a method of expertly cloaking antisemitism with a critique of anticolonialism. Hint – we know exactly what you mean to say when you say it."<sup>46</sup>

**It is an increasingly common phenomenon to substitute the word "Zionist" for "Jew" to avoid accusations of antisemitism.**



<sup>43</sup> <https://www.ajc.org/news/anti-zionism-and-antisemitism> <sup>44</sup> [https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658\\_JCCV.VAC\\_2023.Report\\_FINAL.WEB\\_.pdf](https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658_JCCV.VAC_2023.Report_FINAL.WEB_.pdf) p.10 <sup>45</sup> <https://transparency.meta.com/en-gb/hate-speech-update-july2024/> <sup>46</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/oct/07/israel-gaza-lebanon-war-comment-mark-dreyfus-ntwnfb>

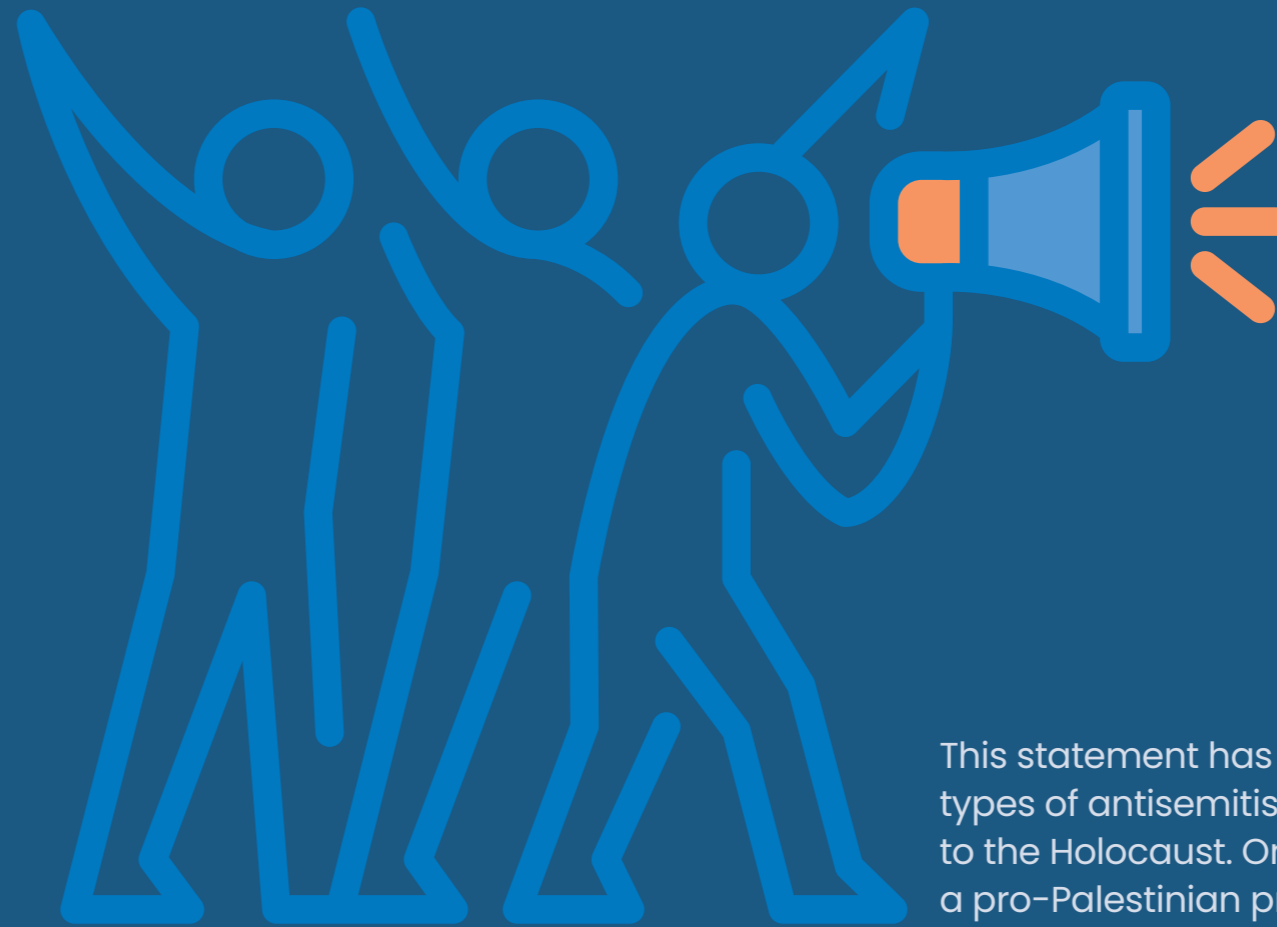
## “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free”

One high profile example of antisemitism is the chant, “from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.” This chant refers to the Jordan River, which forms Israel’s eastern border, and the Mediterranean Sea, which forms Israel’s western border.

The chant is echoed in the charter of Hamas, the terrorist organisation designated by the Commonwealth Government<sup>47</sup>, which perpetrated the massacres of October 7 2023: “Hamas believes that no part of the land of Palestine shall be compromised or conceded... Hamas rejects any alternative to the full and complete liberation of Palestine, from the river to the sea.”<sup>48</sup>

Accordingly, this statement is understood by the Victorian Jewish community to be a demand for the destruction of the state of Israel<sup>49</sup>, with Israel to be replaced by a state of Palestine, making it an anti-Zionist and antisemitic statement.

- The Australian Senate passed a motion in May 2024 declaring this statement “opposes Israel’s right to exist, and is frequently used by those who seek to intimidate Jewish Australians via acts of antisemitism”<sup>50</sup>.



Additionally,

- Prime Minister Anthony Albanese has called the statement a very violent statement that has no place in Australia.<sup>51</sup>
- Australian Government Minister Mark Butler said “This phrase is fundamentally inconsistent with the ongoing existence of the only Jewish state on the planet.”<sup>52</sup>

This statement has also been used to invoke other types of antisemitism, including that which relates to the Holocaust. One example of this includes a pro-Palestinian protester shouting “from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free. Gas the Jews” at a Jewish person in Melbourne.<sup>53</sup>

The phrase, “free Palestine,” is not considered to be antisemitic on its own. However, when it is often used in combination with other phrases or gestures it can become antisemitic. For instance, an occupant of a car yelled “Free Palestine, f\*\*k the Jews, f\*\*k your country, everybody hates the Jews” at an identifiably Jewish child outside a Jewish school in St Kilda East.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.nationalsecurity.gov.au/what-australia-is-doing/terrorist-organisations/listed-terrorist-organisations/hamas> <sup>48</sup> <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/doctrine-hamas> <sup>49</sup> <https://www.australianjewishnews.com/a-statement-of-violence/>; <https://www.australianjewishnews.com/government-has-lost-control-of-extremist-and-antisemitic-elements/> <sup>50</sup> [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/genpdf/chamber/hansards/27625/0104/hansard\\_frag.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/genpdf/chamber/hansards/27625/0104/hansard_frag.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf) <sup>51</sup> <https://www.skynews.com.au/australia-news/politics/anthony-albanese-issues-strongest-condemnation-yet-of-antiisrael-slogan-from-the-river-to-the-sea-in-interview-for-josh-frydenbergs-new-documentary/news-story/4cc00e220ad78e67bc1cc4181e2f0250> <sup>52</sup> <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2024-05-16/albanese-fatima-payman/103854650> <sup>53, 54</sup> [https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658\\_JCCV.VAC\\_.2023.Report\\_FINAL.WEB\\_.pdf](https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658_JCCV.VAC_.2023.Report_FINAL.WEB_.pdf)



## Zionism = Terrorism

Another example of an antisemitic and anti-Zionist phrase is the phrase “Zionism = Terrorism”. This echoes several other antisemitic phrases which have been heard in Victoria, including “Zionism is fascism”.<sup>55</sup>

The phrase “Zionism = Terrorism” is increasingly being used to demonise the state of Israel.<sup>56</sup> However, as discussed, there is a distinct difference between Zionism – a peaceful movement supported by the vast majority of Victorian Jews in favour of Jewish self-determination – and any real or perceived actions by the Israeli Government.

This is further supported by the addition of phrases such as “Zionism is terrorism” to audits of antisemitism conducted by the US-based Anti-Defamation League,<sup>57</sup> a leading global NGO, whose mission is “to stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all.”<sup>58</sup>

**By equating “Zionism” with terrorism, not only are the vast majority of Jews around Australia being held collectively responsible for the actions of a foreign state, but a fundamental part of Jewish identity is being misrepresented and vilified.**

<sup>55</sup> [https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658\\_JCCV.VAC\\_.2023.Report\\_FINAL.WEB\\_.pdf](https://jccv.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/08/CKA12658_JCCV.VAC_.2023.Report_FINAL.WEB_.pdf) <sup>56</sup> <https://www.adl.org/resources/article/global-antisemitic-incidents-wake-amas-war-israel> <sup>57</sup> <https://www.adl.org/resources/news/explainer-adls-methodology-gathering-and-reporting-antisemitic-incident-data> <sup>58</sup> <https://www.adl.org/about/who-we-are>

## Anti-Israel Sentiment

For the purpose of this report, anti-Israel sentiment relates to statements, feelings or opinions which are critical of Israel. Criticisms of Israel is not, on its own, inherently antisemitic, just as criticism of US gun laws is not anti-American.

However, there are circumstances in which criticism of Israel becomes antisemitic.<sup>59</sup>

For example, when traditional antisemitic tropes, such as Jews being money hungry, powerful and having dual loyalty, are used to criticise Israel, it may become antisemitic.

Likewise, when Israel's detractors use Nazi imagery to criticise Israel, it may become antisemitic, as it both trivialises the Jewish lives lost in the Holocaust, and serves to deliberately offend the Australian Jewish community, home to the largest proportion of Holocaust survivors and their descendants outside of Israel.

This activity has been observed in Victoria, for example posters morphing Israeli leaders' faces with those of Adolf Hitler. In NSW, there was a high profile example of the Star of David on Israel's flag being replaced by a Nazi Hakenkreuz in a demonstration with the words "Stop Nazi Israel"<sup>60</sup>.



<sup>59</sup> <https://www.qjc.org/news/when-anti-israel-sentiment-crosses-the-line-into-antisemitism> <sup>60</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2024/oct/24/alan-yazbek-nomad-group-nazi-symbol-pro-palestine-rally-guilty-plea-ntwnfb>



# Conclusion

The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism is the only definition to receive widespread and mainstream support from both within and outside of the Jewish communities around the world, including in Victoria. As such, it is the preferred definition used by the Victorian Jewish community. This report would encourage institutions, corporations and organisations that wish to proactively address antisemitism to familiarise themselves with this definition.

**This report recommends that organisations and institutions assess how the IHRA Definition can be used and where there is doubt, to take context into account.**

This has been done successfully by Jewish organisations, including Victoria's CSG, and non-Jewish organisations, including Cambridge University.

Context is important when considering antisemitism. The contemporary context is one of heightened tensions in the Middle East. This report has outlined how this ongoing conflict is being used to disguise incidents of antisemitism, through attempts to misuse and misconstrue terms unique to the Jewish community.

By tailoring a widely endorsed and well understood definition to the community's specific needs, institutions, governments and the media are best equipped to engage with the Jewish community, and Jews within their communities.

# Appendix 1 Survey results



## Is your organisation a constituent member of the JCCV?

<b>ORGANISATION 1</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 2</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 3</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 4</b> No	<b>ORGANISATION 5</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 6</b> No
<b>ORGANISATION 7</b> No	<b>ORGANISATION 8</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 9</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 10</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 11</b> Yes	

## What is your organisation's primary focus?

<b>ORGANISATION 1</b> Education	<b>ORGANISATION 2</b> Community services activities in a social setting		<b>ORGANISATION 3</b> Arts and culture	<b>ORGANISATION 4</b> Advocacy and empowerment	<b>ORGANISATION 5</b> Education
<b>ORGANISATION 6</b> Advocacy	<b>ORGANISATION 7</b> Philanthropy	<b>ORGANISATION 8</b> Advocacy and education	<b>ORGANISATION 9</b> Advocacy, education, community, harmony, youth development	<b>ORGANISATION 10</b> Fighting antisemitism through Holocaust education	<b>ORGANISATION 11</b> Tertiary sector

## Who are your key constituents or members?

<b>ORGANISATION 1</b> Volunteers	<b>ORGANISATION 2</b> Members of units and major projects that attend or actively undertake a range of activities	<b>ORGANISATION 3</b> Everyone!	<b>ORGANISATION 4</b> 400 community members, nationally	<b>ORGANISATION 5</b> Our community	
<b>ORGANISATION 6</b> Jewish community of Australia	<b>ORGANISATION 7</b> Grantee organisations in Israel, Jewish community in Australia, general community in Australia	<b>ORGANISATION 8</b> Jewish Women	<b>ORGANISATION 9</b> Our congregation, day school, youth group, funeral home, and Zionist Israel advocacy	<b>ORGANISATION 10</b> People who have been on our program, and their families	<b>ORGANISATION 11</b> University students

## What is your name?

The results of this survey have been anonymised to ensure the security of its respondents.

## What is your role within the organisation?

<b>ORGANISATION 1</b> CEO	<b>ORGANISATION 2</b> President	<b>ORGANISATION 3</b> Director and CEO	<b>ORGANISATION 4</b> Co-found and Co-director	<b>ORGANISATION 5</b> Deputy Principal, Director	<b>ORGANISATION 6</b> Founder
<b>ORGANISATION 7</b> CEO and Director	<b>ORGANISATION 8</b> CEO	<b>ORGANISATION 9</b> IPP	<b>ORGANISATION 10</b> CEO	<b>ORGANISATION 11</b> President of Victorian branch	



## Please select the definition with which you are familiar

<p><b>ORGANISATION 1</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 2</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA); Jerusalem Declaration of Antisemitism (JDA); The 3 Ds</p>		<p><b>ORGANISATION 3</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 4</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 5</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA); The 3 Ds</p>
<p><b>ORGANISATION 6</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 7</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA); Jerusalem Declaration of Antisemitism (JDA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 8</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA); Nexus Document on Antisemitism</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 9</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA); Jerusalem Declaration of Antisemitism (JDA); Nexus Document on Antisemitism; The 3 Ds</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 10</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA); Jerusalem Declaration of Antisemitism (JDA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 11</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA); Jerusalem Declaration of Antisemitism (JDA); Nexus Document on Antisemitism; The 3 Ds</p>

## “Which definition of antisemitism does your organisation use or support?”

### If your organisation has not needed to adopt a definition, which would you be most likely to support?”

<p><b>ORGANISATION 1</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 2</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 3</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 4</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 5</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA); The 3 Ds</p>	
<p><b>ORGANISATION 6</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 7</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 8</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 9</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 10</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 11</b> International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Working Definition (IHRA)</p>

**Please provide reasons for your organisation’s choice of definition. If relevant, include instances where you have had to use this definition in practice.**

<p><b>ORGANISATION 1</b> Well known and respected.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 2</b> This is the most widely accepted definition, and it is good to go with a definition accepted by consensus. It is useful as it also gives examples that involve Israel, which is particularly important today.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 3</b> We have not needed to formally adopt a definition. We stands at the forefront of dialogue. Our role is not just to educate and inform, but to actively foster understanding and empathy, to bridge divides and illuminate paths towards peace and mutual respect.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 4</b> The most well known but I don’t know enough about this.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 5</b> IHRA acknowledges the anti-Semitism inherent (and disguised in) in the many instances of illegitimate and inconsistent criticism of Israel, particularly in today’s climate.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 6</b> Most comprehensive.</p>
<p><b>ORGANISATION 7</b> Most widely used and includes clear reference to Israel.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 8</b> Not yet needed to use it.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 9</b> It provides a pretty comprehensive coverage of Antisemitism and brings us in line with most important organisations around the world.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 10</b> IHRA seems to be the most well known.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 11</b> The IHRA definition provides clarity of what does and does not constitute antisemitism, and includes examples, taking into account issues that are particularly relevant on politically charged university campuses. We work towards ensuring it is implemented at an institutional level for universities.</p>	

## “How does your organisation define Zionism?”

### If your organisation does not have a definition of Zionism, how would you describe your organisation’s relationship with Zionism?”

<p><b>ORGANISATION 1</b> We are not political or about advocacy so would simply reference the support for all to have a homeland.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 2</b> No official definition but strongly supportive. We loudly advocate for Israel whenever we can.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 3</b> We believe in Israel’s right to exist.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 4</b> Belief of Israel’s right to exist. An ancestral and spiritual connection to Israel. We are an advocacy group for Zionists.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 5</b> Our school emphatically supports the indigenous and historic connection of the Jewish people to their ancestral homeland in the Land of Israel, and the right of the Jewish people to self determination as a “free people in our Land” in the modern State of Israel.</p>	
<p><b>ORGANISATION 6</b> Jewish connection to its historical homeland.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 7</b> We are a proudly and openly Zionist Foundation.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 8</b> We believe Israel is the Jewish homeland and the Jewish people have the right to live there safely.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 9</b> The establishment of a Jewish home and security for all Jews around the world.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 10</b> Our organisation is a Zionist organisation. Visiting Israel on Yom Hazikaron and Yom Ha’aztmaut every year are very important parts of our program. We aim for our participants to return home and advocate for Israel and the Jewish people.</p>	<p><b>ORGANISATION 11</b> It is one of the four pillars of our organisation. In simple terms, it would be the Jewish people’s right to self determination in their ancestral homeland.</p>

## Does your organisation consider Zionism to be an inherent, or central, aspect of Jewish identity?

<b>ORGANISATION 1</b> We do not have a view.	<b>ORGANISATION 2</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 3</b> We do not publicly discuss Zionism as separate to Judaism.		<b>ORGANISATION 4</b> Inherent yes	<b>ORGANISATION 5</b> Yes
<b>ORGANISATION 6</b> Central	<b>ORGANISATION 7</b> Central and fundamental	<b>ORGANISATION 8</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 9</b> 100%	<b>ORGANISATION 10</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 11</b> Yes

## How does your organisation define anti-Zionism?

<b>ORGANISATION 1</b> We don't	<b>ORGANISATION 2</b> No	<b>ORGANISATION 3</b> We address anything antisemitic or that harms Jewish belief, culture and identity.	<b>ORGANISATION 4</b> An incessant focus on Israel, double standards, denial of our historical and indigenous connection, disinformation and overall Israel's right to exist.	<b>ORGANISATION 5</b> The denial of the above definitions of Zionism, and the illegitimate, singling out and demonising of Israel (c/f legitimate criticism of Israel and her policy makers).	<b>ORGANISATION 6</b> Singling out Israel for different treatment or holding Israel to different standards applied to other nations, a denial of the historic connection of the Jews to Israel.
<b>ORGANISATION 7</b> N/A	<b>ORGANISATION 8</b> N/A	<b>ORGANISATION 9</b> The campaign to denigrate, oppose and annihilate the idea of the State Of Israel.	<b>ORGANISATION 10</b> N/A	<b>ORGANISATION 11</b> Opposition to Jewish self determination in Israel / unequivocal opposition to the existence of a Jewish state in the Jewish people's ancestral homeland.	

## Does your organisation believe that the definition of antisemitism should include Zionism or anti-Zionism?

<b>ORGANISATION 1</b> No	<b>ORGANISATION 2</b> Yes, but I believe that IHRA does this, although one could argue whether this is as clear as it could be. That is why the 3 Ds is sometimes useful.		<b>ORGANISATION 3</b> N/A	<b>ORGANISATION 4</b> Yes	<b>ORGANISATION 5</b> Yes
<b>ORGANISATION 6</b> 100%	<b>ORGANISATION 7</b> Absolutely	<b>ORGANISATION 8</b> N/A	<b>ORGANISATION 9</b> Not really	<b>ORGANISATION 10</b> We have not discussed this at a board level.	<b>ORGANISATION 11</b> Yes – in accordance with IHRA.

## Please include any other comments, or use this as a space if you have run out of room on an earlier question.

<b>ORGANISATION 1</b> Our role is quite unique as an organisation with a universal education message.	<b>ORGANISATION 2</b> Our role in supporting Jews in this era of rising antisemitism is a little indirect, but essentially it is via the provision of safe spaces for Jews to come together and celebrate our rich tradition with pride.	<b>ORGANISATION 3</b> Our mission is to weave the rich tapestry that is our Jewish heritage with the diverse narrative of our modern world. We do this through our exhibitions, our programs and our educational initiatives.	<b>ORGANISATION 4</b>	<b>ORGANISATION 5</b>	<b>ORGANISATION 6</b>
<b>ORGANISATION 7</b>	<b>ORGANISATION 8</b>	<b>ORGANISATION 9</b> It is still legitimate to criticise the policies of the Israel Government as any government, but not to denigrate the right of Israel to exist nor to use anti zionism as excuse to attack Jews physically, emotionally or mentally.		<b>ORGANISATION 10</b>	<b>ORGANISATION 11</b>

# Appendix 2

# The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance Definition of Antisemitism

In the spirit of the Stockholm Declaration that states: “With humanity still scarred by ...antisemitism and xenophobia the international community shares a solemn responsibility to fight those evils” the committee on Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial called the IHRA Plenary in Budapest 2015 to adopt the following working definition of antisemitism.

On 26 May 2016, the Plenary in Bucharest decided to: Adopt the following non-legally binding working definition of antisemitism:

“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”

To guide IHRA in its work, the following examples may serve as illustrations:

Manifestations might include the targeting of the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic. Antisemitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for “why things go wrong.” It is expressed in speech, writing, visual forms and action, and employs sinister stereotypes and negative character traits.

Contemporary examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere could, taking into account the overall context, include, but are not limited to:

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective – such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.

- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

**Antisemitic acts are criminal** when they are so defined by law (for example, denial of the Holocaust or distribution of antisemitic materials in some countries).

**Criminal acts are antisemitic** when the targets of attacks, whether they are people or property – such as buildings, schools, places of worship and cemeteries – are selected because they are, or are perceived to be, Jewish or linked to Jews.

**Antisemitic discrimination** is the denial to Jews of opportunities or services available to others and is illegal in many countries.

# Appendix 3

# The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism

**The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism** is a tool to identify, confront and raise awareness about antisemitism as it manifests in countries around the world today. It includes a preamble, definition, and a set of 15 guidelines that provide detailed guidance for those seeking to recognize antisemitism in order to craft responses. It was developed by a group of scholars in the fields of Holocaust history, Jewish studies, and Middle East studies to meet what has become a growing challenge: providing clear guidance to identify and fight antisemitism while protecting free expression. Initially signed by 210 scholars, it has now around 350 signatories.



## Preamble

We, the undersigned, present the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism, the product of an initiative that originated in Jerusalem. We include in our number international scholars working in Antisemitism Studies and related fields, including Jewish, Holocaust, Israel, Palestine, and Middle East Studies. The text of the Declaration has benefited from consultation with legal scholars and members of civil society.

Inspired by the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the 1969 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the 2000 Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, and the 2005 United Nations Resolution on Holocaust Remembrance, we hold that while antisemitism has certain distinctive features, the fight against it is inseparable from the overall fight against all forms of racial, ethnic, cultural, religious, and gender discrimination.

Conscious of the historical persecution of Jews throughout history and of the universal lessons of the Holocaust, and viewing with alarm the reassertion of antisemitism by groups that mobilize hatred and violence in politics, society, and on the internet, we seek to provide a usable, concise, and historically-informed core definition of antisemitism with a set of guidelines.

The Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism responds to “the IHRA Definition,” the document that was adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) in 2016. Because the IHRA Definition is unclear in key respects and widely open to different interpretations, it has caused confusion and generated controversy, hence weakening the fight against antisemitism. Noting that it calls itself “a working definition,” we have sought to improve on it by offering (a) a clearer core definition and (b) a coherent set of guidelines. We hope this will be helpful for monitoring and combating antisemitism, as well as for educational purposes. We propose our non-legally binding Declaration as an alternative to the IHRA Definition. Institutions that have already adopted the IHRA Definition can use our text as a tool for interpreting it.

The IHRA Definition includes 11 “examples” of antisemitism, 7 of which focus on the State of Israel. While this puts undue emphasis on one arena, there is a widely-felt need for clarity on the limits of legitimate political speech and action concerning Zionism, Israel, and Palestine. Our aim is twofold: (1) to strengthen the fight against antisemitism by clarifying what it is and how it is manifested, (2) to protect a space for an open debate about the vexed question of the future of Israel/Palestine.

We do not all share the same political views and we are not seeking to promote a partisan political agenda. Determining that a controversial view or action is not antisemitic implies neither that we endorse it nor that we do not.

The guidelines that focus on Israel-Palestine (numbers 6 to 15) should be taken together. In general, when applying the guidelines each should be read in the light of the others and always with a view to context. Context can include the intention behind an utterance, or a pattern of speech over time, or even the identity of the speaker, especially when the subject is Israel or Zionism. So, for example, hostility to Israel could be an expression of an antisemitic animus, or it could be a reaction to a human rights violation, or it could be the emotion that a Palestinian person feels on account of their experience at the hands of the State. In short, judgement and sensitivity are needed in applying these guidelines to concrete situations.

## Definition

Antisemitism is discrimination, prejudice, hostility or violence against Jews as Jews (or Jewish institutions as Jewish).

## Guidelines

### A. General

1. It is racist to essentialize (treat a character trait as inherent) or to make sweeping negative generalizations about a given population. What is true of racism in general is true of antisemitism in particular.
2. What is particular in classic antisemitism is the idea that Jews are linked to the forces of evil. This stands at the core of many anti-Jewish fantasies, such as the idea of a Jewish conspiracy in which “the Jews” possess hidden power that they use to promote their own collective agenda at the expense of other people. This linkage between Jews and evil continues in the present: in the fantasy that “the Jews” control governments with a “hidden hand,” that they own the banks, control the media, act as “a state within a state,” and are responsible for spreading disease (such as Covid-19). All these features can be instrumentalized by different (and even antagonistic) political causes.
3. Antisemitism can be manifested in words, visual images, and deeds. Examples of antisemitic words include utterances that all Jews are wealthy, inherently stingy,

or unpatriotic. In antisemitic caricatures, Jews are often depicted as grotesque, with big noses and associated with wealth. Examples of antisemitic deeds are: assaulting someone because she or he is Jewish, attacking a synagogue, daubing swastikas on Jewish graves, or refusing to hire or promote people because they are Jewish.

4. Antisemitism can be direct or indirect, explicit or coded. For example, “The Rothschilds control the world” is a coded statement about the alleged power of “the Jews” over banks and international finance. Similarly, portraying Israel as the ultimate evil or grossly exaggerating its actual influence can be a coded way of racializing and stigmatizing Jews. In many cases, identifying coded speech is a matter of context and judgement, taking account of these guidelines.
5. Denying or minimizing the Holocaust by claiming that the deliberate Nazi genocide of the Jews did not take place, or that there were no extermination camps or gas chambers, or that the number of victims was a fraction of the actual total, is antisemitic.

### B. Israel and Palestine: examples that, on the face of it, are antisemitic

6. Applying the symbols, images and negative stereotypes of classical antisemitism (see guidelines 2 and 3) to the State of Israel.
7. Holding Jews collectively responsible for Israel’s conduct or treating Jews, simply because they are Jewish, as agents of Israel.
8. Requiring people, because they are Jewish, publicly to condemn Israel or Zionism (for example, at a political meeting).
9. Assuming that non-Israeli Jews, simply because they are Jews, are necessarily more loyal to Israel than to their own countries.
10. Denying the right of Jews in the State of Israel to exist and flourish, collectively and individually, as Jews, in accordance with the principle of equality.

### **C. Israel and Palestine: examples that, on the face of it, are not antisemitic** (whether or not one approves of the view or action)

11. Supporting the Palestinian demand for justice and the full grant of their political, national, civil and human rights, as encapsulated in international law.
12. Criticizing or opposing Zionism as a form of nationalism, or arguing for a variety of constitutional arrangements for Jews and Palestinians in the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean. It is not antisemitic to support arrangements that accord full equality to all inhabitants "between the river and the sea," whether in two states, a binational state, unitary democratic state, federal state, or in whatever form.
13. Evidence-based criticism of Israel as a state. This includes its institutions and founding principles. It also includes its policies and practices, domestic and abroad, such as the conduct of Israel in the West Bank and Gaza, the role Israel plays in the region, or any other way in which, as a state, it influences events in the world. It is not antisemitic to point out systematic racial discrimination. In general, the same norms of debate that apply to other states and to other conflicts over national self-determination apply in the case of Israel and Palestine. Thus, even if contentious, it is not antisemitic, in and of itself, to compare Israel with other historical cases, including settler-colonialism or apartheid.
14. Boycott, divestment and sanctions are commonplace, non-violent forms of political protest against states. In the Israeli case they are not, in and of themselves, antisemitic.
15. Political speech does not have to be measured, proportional, tempered, or reasonable to be protected under article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights and other human rights instruments. Criticism that some may see as excessive or contentious, or as reflecting a "double standard," is not, in and of itself, antisemitic. In general, the line between antisemitic and non-antisemitic speech is different from the line between unreasonable and reasonable speech.

# Appendix 4

# AUJS representative Interview Questions

## Question 1

What definition of antisemitism, if any, does AUJS use?

## Question 2

For what reason?

## Question 3

Was there ever any consideration of other definitions?

## Question 4

What, if any, is the impact when campuses have adopted IHRA?

## Question 5

Does AUJS have an opinion on the adoption of the Jerusalem Declaration or Nexus Document?

## Question 6

In your experience, do you find IHRA fit for purpose?

## Question 7

How have the events of October 7th and subsequent Israel-Hamas War impacted the types of antisemitism you have seen on campus?

## Question 8

Can you provide any examples in which the IHRA definition has proven to be of use?

# Appendix 5

# CSG Representative interview questions

## Question 1

How does CSG categorise antisemitism when a report comes in?

## Question 2

How was this process developed?

## Question 3

Has CSG ever considered alternative definitions of antisemitism, for example, the Jerusalem Declaration or Nexus Document?

## Question 4

In your experience, do you find IHRA fit for purpose?

## Question 5

How have the events of October 7th and subsequent Israel-Hamas War impacted the types of antisemitism you have seen on campus?

## Question 6

Can you provide any examples in which the IHRA definition has proven to be of use?

# Appendix 6

# The Nexus Document

## The Nexus Document

### Understanding Antisemitism at its Nexus with Israel and Zionism

This definition of antisemitism, and the examples that follow, derive from a White Paper drafted by the Nexus Task Force, which examines the issues at the nexus of antisemitism and Israel in American politics. The definition is designed as a guide for policymakers and community leaders as they grapple with the complexities at the intersection of Israel and antisemitism.

Antisemitism consists of anti-Jewish beliefs, attitudes, actions or systemic conditions. It includes negative beliefs and feelings about Jews, hostile

behavior directed against Jews (because they are Jews), and conditions that discriminate against Jews and significantly impede their ability to participate as equals in political, religious, cultural, economic, or social life.

As an embodiment of collective Jewish organization and action, Israel is a magnet for and a target of antisemitic behavior. Thus, it is important for Jews and their allies to understand what is and what is not antisemitic in relation to Israel.

### What is Antisemitic?

1. All claims of antisemitism made by Jews, like all claims of discrimination and oppression in general, should be given serious attention.
2. Whether speech or conduct about Zionism and Israel is antisemitic should be based on the standards for speech or conduct that apply to antisemitic behavior in general.
3. It is antisemitic to promote myths, stereotypes or attitudes about Zionism and/or Israel that derive from and/or reinforce antisemitic accusations and tropes. These include:
  - a. Characterizing Israel as being part of a sinister world conspiracy of Jewish control of the media, economy, government or other financial, cultural or societal institutions.
  - b. Indiscriminately blaming suffering and injustices around the world on a hidden Jewish conspiracy or of being the maligning hand of Israel or Zionism.
  - c. Holding individuals or institutions, because they are Jewish and priori culpable of real or imagined wrongdoing committed by Israel.
  - d. Considering Jews to be a priori incapable of setting aside their loyalty to the Jewish people and/or Israel.
  - e. Denigrating or denying the Jewish identity of certain Jews because they are perceived as holding the “wrong” position (whether too critical or too favorable) on Israel.

4. It is antisemitic to use symbols and images that present all Jews as collectively guilty for the actions of the State of Israel.
5. It is antisemitic to attack and/or physically harm a Jew because of her/his relationship to Israel.
6. It is antisemitic to convey intense hostility toward Jews who are connected to Israel in a way that intentionally or irresponsibly (acting with disregard to potential violent consequences) provokes antisemitic violence.
7. It is antisemitic to treat Israel in a negative manner based on a claim that Jews alone should be denied the right to define themselves as a people and to exercise any form of self-determination.
8. It is antisemitic to advocate a political solution that denies Jews the right to define themselves as a people, thereby denying them—because they are Jews—the right to self-determination and/or to deny them the right to physical safety and full human, civil, and religious rights.
9. It is antisemitic to treat Israel differently solely because it is a Jewish state, using standards different than those applied to other countries.

### What is Not Antisemitic?

1. As a general rule, criticism of Zionism and Israel, opposition to Israel’s policies, or nonviolent political action directed at the State of Israel and/or its policies should not, as such, be deemed antisemitic.

2. Using accusations of antisemitism as a tool to suppress criticism of Israel is dangerous on many levels. It distracts attention from bona fide antisemitism, infringes on the principle of freedom of expression, and militates against constructive dialogue and debate among people with differing opinions.
3. Even contentious, strident, or harsh criticism of Israel for its policies and actions, including those that led to the creation of Israel, is not per se illegitimate or antisemitic.
4. Opposition to Zionism and/or Israel does not necessarily reflect specific anti-Jewish animus nor purposefully lead to antisemitic behaviors and conditions. (For example, someone might oppose the principle of nationalism or ethnonationalist ideology. Similarly, someone’s personal or national experience may have been adversely affected by the creation of the State of Israel. These motivations or attitudes towards Israel and/or Zionism do not necessarily constitute antisemitic behavior.)
5. Paying disproportionate attention to Israel and treating Israel differently than other countries is not prima facie proof of antisemitism. (There are numerous reasons for devoting special attention to Israel and treating Israel differently, e.g., some people care about Israel more; others may pay more attention because Israel has a special relationship with the United States and receives \$4 billion in American aid).



306 Hawthorn Road  
Caulfield South Vic 3162  
+61 3 9272 5566  
[community@jccv.org.au](mailto:community@jccv.org.au)

JCCV acknowledges the traditional owners of country throughout Australia and their continuing connection to land and community. We pay our respect to them and their cultures, and to the Elders, past, present and emerging.