ANTISEMITISM IN AUSTRALIA 2019
Incidents and Discourse

Researched, written and compiled by JULIE NATHAN
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This is a condensed version of the
‘ECAJ Report on Antisemitism in Australia 2019’
Antisemitism in Australia 2019: Incidents and Discourse

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Published by ECAJ, and funded by ECAJ Public Fund, a public fund listed on the Register of Harm Prevention Charities under Subdivision 30-EA of the Income Tax Assessment Act 1997.

This is a condensed report. The full version (256 pages) of the ECAJ Report on Antisemitism in Australia 2019 is available on the ECAJ website at www.ecaj.org.au Both reports cover the period from 1 October 2018 to 30 September 2019.

Graphic design: Rebecca Stein

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We do not make any representation that people or organisations named in this Report are or are not antisemitic.

Incidents of antisemitism occurring in Australia can be reported directly to
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13 January 2020

ISSN 2209-9336 (Online)
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“The Holocaust did not begin in the gas chambers - it began with words.”

Professor Irwin Cotler, former Canadian Minister of Justice
During the twelve-month period, from 1 October 2018 to 30 September 2019, there were 368 antisemitic incidents logged by volunteer Community Security Groups (CSGs), official Jewish state roof bodies, and the ECAJ. The total figure consists of 225 attacks and 143 threats.

In the previous 12-month period, ending 30 September 2018, these same bodies logged 366 incidents. Accordingly, there was only an incremental increase in the overall number of reported antisemitic incidents compared to the previous year. However, there was a marked increase in the numbers in some of the more serious categories of incidents.

The 30% year-on-year increase in reported incidents of verbal abuse, harassment and intimidation demonstrates that antisemites felt increasingly emboldened to behave in an aggressive, confrontational and menacing way towards Jews who were doing nothing more than going about their daily lives. Jews continued to be verbally abused and harassed around synagogues on a regular basis, especially over the Jewish Sabbath of Friday evening and Saturday, and on other Jewish holy days and festivals. These are periods when many Jews are congregating at, and walking to or from, synagogue, providing antisemites with an easy target for verbal abuse, harassment and intimidation.

Another of the outstanding features of incidents this year has been the more than doubling in the number of antisemitic graffiti incidents. The messages included in much of the graffiti often called for the murder of Jews: “Kill the Jews” or “Gas the Kikes”. Graffiti supporting Hitler and Nazism was quite prolific, as expressed in words such as “Sieg Heil” and in symbols such as swastikas, SS bolts, crossed out Stars of David. Holocaust denial was another common theme. In contrast, as recorded in the 2018 Antisemitism Report, there were only two reported incidents of graffiti calling for the killing of Jews. Graffiti is seen by some as one way to measure the temperature of antisemitism.

368 recorded antisemitic incidents in Australia during the year ending 30 September 2019. The total figure consists of 225 attacks and 143 threats.

In 2019 there was a 30% spike in the number of reported incidents involving direct verbal abuse, harassment and intimidation. Up from 88 in 2018 to 114 in 2019.

The number of reported graffiti attacks more than doubled from 46 to 95.
The rise in antisemitic and Nazi sentiment is seen even more clearly online especially on sites used by the far-right, white supremacists, Nazis, and other racists. As many people in the far-right embrace the “white replacement” theory and place the blame on “the Jews” for the supposed demise and destruction of the European races, culture and civilisation, including in Australia, antisemitic discourse and acts have increased. Many subscribers to the theory of “white replacement” expressed support for violence, armed action, revolution, terrorism and race war.

Although the Christchurch massacre did not occur in Australia, it was committed by an Australian, Brenton Tarrant, who according to his online ‘manifesto’, believed in the “white replacement” theory. The massacre affected many white supremacists in Australia, with some applauding the act, others accusing Tarrant of being a Jewish agent to sow discord, while others condemned Tarrant out of concern that his crimes would set back the ethno-nationalist agenda.

There is an increasing evidence that those who wish harm to Jews are being inspired and their views reinforced online. One example is the post on 4chan by someone claiming he was about to massacre Jews at a named synagogue in Australia. This was posted just after a shooter in the US had attacked a synagogue.

Another prominent feature of the incidents this year was the inordinately high number of antisemitic emails. Many of these were by supporters of David Icke, the British professional conspiracy theorist and antisemite, who sought a visa to enter Australia, but was denied entry on character grounds. A second but more insidious series of emails denigrated Dr Kerryn Phelps MP and the Jewish community. These spoofed emails were sent to hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people across Australia. Although the content of the email showed signs that the composer may suffer from mental health issues, the emails’ messages were a contemporary re-working of medieval antisemitic tropes concerning “the Jews” as the spreaders of disease and plague and of corruption and as conspiring to harm humanity.

Over the last 12 months the anti-Israel campaign plodded along, largely bereft of energy. However, many of its supporters continued to express anti-Jewish hatred online. This was seen most clearly in comments made on social media pages of anti-Israel and pro-BDS groups and individuals. Many of their views reflected older anti-Jewish themes and tropes, such as belief in “Jewish bloodlust” and supposed Jewish control of the levers of power throughout the world.

Amongst religious communities, namely Christian and Muslim, there are pockets of people who expressed a generic disdain for and even hatred of Jews, either on theologically grounds or, ostensibly, for political reasons. As was seen with Ihsas Khan, there are still people inspired by ideological hatred of Jews and who seek to harm or murder Jews. On the hand, there were signs of a significant rise in the number of leaders and members of other faith communities who reached out for positive engagement seeking to build relationships with the Jewish community, whether through interfaith dialogue or political cooperation in the fight against bigotry and in defence of religious freedom.

There were signs of an increasing recognition within the mainstream of Australian society, and within the media, of the rise in antisemitism, in Australia and around the Western world. Highlighting this is essential in creating the political will by government and other bodies to deal with the issue more effectively. There needs to be a more concerted and comprehensive effort to counter antisemitism and other forms of racism and bigotry. A major step towards this would be the establishment of a national data base for hate-motivated crimes, adoption of a definition of hate crime, education and training of police and others to enhance their ability to identify and deal with hate crime and hate incidents, and a body to advise government and police on these matters. In addition, a Commonwealth law along the lines of Section 93Z of the NSW law – against incitement and threats of violence – would be a welcome measure.

368 Incidents:
225 Attacks
143 Threats
Incidents Recorded
Antisemitic incidents are manifested through many different kinds of acts. As in the ECAJ’s previous annual Antisemitism Reports, incidents have been categorized as set out in Table 1 below. Incidents are divided into eight categories. Four categories relate to physical attacks against persons or property (including direct verbal abuse, harassment and intimidation of people), and four categories relate to threats of physical harm to persons or property.

Criteria for Inclusion
Incidents are included as antisemitic attacks or threats using the definition of racist violence and the categories developed by the 1991 national inquiry into racially motivated violence conducted by the then Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC).

Under-Reporting
A comparison with data revealed by the Gen17 survey indicates that many incidents of antisemitism in Australia occur but are not formally reported either to appropriate Jewish authorities or to the police. Thus, the statistics in this Report represent only a proportion of antisemitic incidents actually occurring in Australia.

Working Definition of Antisemitism
The most widely accepted definition of antisemitism by western governments, among others, is the ‘Working Definition of Antisemitism’ adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) on 26 May 2016. The IHRA is an intergovernmental body composed of 33 member countries (including Australia), 1 liaison country, 8 observer countries, and 8 Permanent International Partners. For the purposes of this Report, the ECAJ uses the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism. The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism is reproduced in full at the end of this report.

Australia was admitted to full membership of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) on 4 June 2019. The IHRA’s Working Definition of Antisemitism is reproduced in full on page 29.
### Table 1: Antisemitic Incidents Tally

**Year by year: 2013-2019, and % change from 2018 to 2019**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incident Type</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2017</th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>2019</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attacks</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physical assault</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>+33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abuse, etc</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vandalism</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graffiti</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>+107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Threats</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>email/online threat</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>+61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postal mail threat</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>+600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telephone threat</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>+29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posters, stickers, etc</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>231</strong></td>
<td><strong>312</strong></td>
<td><strong>190</strong></td>
<td><strong>210</strong></td>
<td><strong>230</strong></td>
<td><strong>366</strong></td>
<td><strong>368</strong></td>
<td><strong>+0.5</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2: Antisemitic Incidents Tally

**State by state: 1 October 2018 - 30 September 2019**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incident</th>
<th>ACT</th>
<th>Tas.</th>
<th>Qld</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>WA</th>
<th>NSW</th>
<th>Vic</th>
<th>Tally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>physical assault</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abuse, harassment, intimidation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vandalism</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graffiti</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>email/online threat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postal mail threat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telephone, text, fax threat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaflets, posters, stickers, other threat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>0</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>219</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>368</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chart 1: Antisemitic Incidents 2019
By category

Antisemitic Incidents in Australia 2019

Attacks - Physical assault, abuse/harassment, property damage/vandalism, graffiti.
Threats - Email, postal mail, telephone, leaflets/posters.

Chart 2: Antisemitic Incidents 2013 - 2019
Attacks and threats

Antisemitic Incidents in Australia
ATTACKS and THREATS
Antisemitic Incidents: a selection of examples
The following are some of the antisemitic incidents during the period in review.

• Physical assault and verbal abuse of a 12 year old Jewish boy at a public school, where the Jewish boy was punched in the face, had skin gouged out of his shoulder, and was bruised on his back, requiring hospital treatment for his injuries. During the assault the attacker shouted that the Jewish boy was “a cooked up Jewish cunt”, Melbourne (c. July 2019).

• Two teenage boys harassed a female Jewish teenager on a bus, saying “It’s a shame that Hitler didn’t kill all the Jews. ... We would go back and make sure he wipes them all out.” Sydney (30 Oct. 2018).

• A man in a store told an identifiably Jewish person that “You should have died in the Holocaust!” Sydney (3 Nov. 2018).

• A man placed two hoax improvised explosive devices at the back door of a synagogue, Sydney (4 Dec. 2018).

• Verbal abuse of a rabbi by a passenger in a car, calling the rabbi a “fucking selfish cunt of a Jew! You should’ve died in Auschwitz … Want me to get out and show you what Hitler did? … dickhead” Melbourne (28 Jan. 2019).

• Verbal abuse and harassment of three Jewish boys, aged 14 and 15, including the taunt “Gas the Jews!” on a public bus in Melbourne (30 Jan. 2019).

• Verbal abuse and harassment of a 5 year old Jewish boy at a public school in Melbourne over a four month period in 2019 by five classmates, in the school’s bathrooms, who had noticed that he was circumcised, the abuse included being called “Jewish vermin”, “dirty Jew” and “Jewish cockroach” (March to July 2019).

• Threat of violence to conduct a shooting at a named Synagogue in Sydney was posted on social media platform 4chan by an anonymous user. (This threat was made one day after the shooting attack and murder of a Jew in a San Diego synagogue in the USA). (28 April 2019).

• A male driver on seeing Jews walking to synagogue, yelled at them “I’ll put a bullet in your fucking gob”, Melbourne (Fri. 20 Sep. 2019).

• A driver in a car yelled “Heil Hitler” at people leaving the synagogue, Melbourne, (23 Sep. 2019).
A swastika was made by killing the grass in that shape on the front lawn of a private residence belonging to a Jewish person, Sydney (21 Nov. 2018).

Arson attack by pouring accelerant and lighting it, on the sign with a Star of David, outside the Jewish building at Rookwood Cemetery, Sydney (23 March 2019).

A swastika was etched into the glass door of a Jewish-owned business, Sydney (28 March 2019).

The words “KILL JEWS” was etched into the glass carriage door on a train, Sydney (15 May 2019).


Email: “You typical snivelling little Jews. .. the Jewish strong hold of this planet is nearing it’s end. The world awakes to the Jewish parasite and all it’s worldly plunder. Jewish existence is fleeting.” (22 Feb. 2019).

Email: “The worldwide parasite strikes again.” (23 Feb. 2019)

Email: “These WORMS have infiltrated everything with money to destroy the gentile” (Feb. 2019).

Email: “Me and my friends have already purchased 6 Automatic Rifles as we plan to kill hundreds of Jewish Students... ” Brisbane and Sydney (12 March 2019).

Email: “Lying rats ! You have no shame, all you do is destroy destroy destroy, good peaceful people wherever you find them. ... ” (4 April 2019).

Email: “oi yid ... Kikes are so scatological and UGLY. Jews are the world’s foremost problem.” (10 April 2019).

Email: “But keep writing your anti white propaganda behind your keyboard, just be ready to expect violence then as a result, this is why your people are hated!” (27 April 2019).

Email: “Filthy Jewish sacks of shit; ... you scatological Jewish sack of shit. Just another yid wasting my time you kike cunt” (16 May 2019).

Email: “Soon kikes, soon!” (23 May 2019).

Email: “You filthy racist kike!” (21 June 2019).

Email: “Someone ask me to kill you. ... I will be so happy to put a bullet on your skull...” (26 Aug. 2019).
‘Ultimate race hatred’: Bondi Beach mural defaced with 20 swastika symbols
Sydney Morning Herald
February 10, 2019

Jewish MP’s campaign posters defaced with swastikas
SkyNews
April 20, 2019
Convicted terrorist planned to carry out mass murder at university, court told
9 News
May 23, 2019

Jewish boys taunted in shocking cases of antisemitic bullying at Melbourne schools
Sydney Morning Herald
October 3, 2019
The mainstream media, print and online, visual and audio, can be influential in transforming or reinforcing people’s beliefs about a range of issues. All media are selective in the issues they cover, how issues are portrayed, and the slant given. In addition, the internet iterations of mainstream media publishers make possible an enormous volume of public commentary on media articles.

The expression of antisemitic hatreds in the mainstream media or in other public contexts, if not publicly contradicted and condemned by political and community leaders, has the effect of lending legitimacy and acceptability to such hatreds. This can lead to an emboldening of those who are hostile to Jews to go further in acting against Jews, and thus creates an atmosphere of intolerance, bigotry, fear and violence.

Examples of comments posted during the year on the social media sites of Channel 7, Channel 10, SBS, and SMH, include:

- Majda Alisa Filipovic - to do as we are told by our government’s bosses - the Israel lobby and USA.
- Sam Ba - Jewish rat invest in a toothbrush.
- Rita Woodland - Sheeple have no idea how vicious the Israelis are. Oh that’s right not allowed to freely speak your mind about Jewish greed.
- Abdullah Hussein - Boo hoo Jews... still complaining...give it a rest already.
- Paul Curtin - He’s listened to boy blunder his L plate Jew treasurer!!
- Nicko Chillin - He we go again! Jews telling politicians what to do and say!
- Linda Spence - And there goes one of the most outstanding candidates that Labor has had in many years who refused to grovel to the Jewish lobby. It shows just who is running the country.
- Guests: shame on you labour for bowing to Jewish coffers...
- Ramsey Hajaj - Shlomi Kaynan hit the showers son
- Michael Khalil - The Zionist lobby owns both sides of politics...

Posted by Ben Power on Channel 7 News Facebook November 20, 2018

Posted by Jamal El Hassan and Hassan Mousslimani on Channel 7 News Facebook November 20, 2018

Posted by Sean Earl on Channel 7 News Facebook November 20, 2018
This section covers discourse and actions by individuals and parties holding seats in any parliament in Australia, regardless of political leanings or size. It also includes comments made by the members of the public on the social media pages of politicians. The Facebook pages of political parties and of politicians are open for posted comments by members of the public. It in no way suggests that those parties or politicians are antisemitic. Rather it shows that antisemites seek to have politicians and parties hear and provide a legitimate platform for their racist views.

Fraser Anning: Independent Senator for Qld
In a posted image on Facebook about immigration, Anning used a term that is commonly used by antisemites as a code for Jews: “globalist elites”. A comment underneath shows that at least one of his followers’ understanding of the code and called on Anning to “just name them”. The use of the triple parentheses ‘echo’ symbol is well understood as a reference to Jews.

Fraser Anning’s Conservative National Party · February 14 · 2019

- Mihajlo Divac - (((Globalist elites))) so close Fraser just name them already!

Response to Melissa Parke: Nakba rally – “Israel lobby”
Melissa Parke, former Labor candidate for Curtin in the 2019 federal election, spoke at a Nakba rally, organised by the Friends of Palestine WA, in Perth on 25 May 2019. She stated:

- “I am not antisemitic. It is not wrong to say the Israel lobby has excessive influence in the Australian political system.”

While giving her speech, a protester yelled out:

- “But why did you cave in to the Zionist lobby? We have to fucking wipe them out!”
The following comments were posted on the social media pages of political figures:

- Rodger G Salisbury - LOL Jews were NEVER GASSED in the first place.
- Bacob Berman - Lmfao y’all niggas so mad. Up the chimney!
- Clayton O’Brien - “We’ll report you to the judenpresse and your employer!” “We are the #resistance” Pick one, r-tards
- Oscar Iseult - careful there goy, starting to sound like an anti-Semitic canard
- Davi Petroshekel - Muh 6 million
- Philip West - DAY OF THE ROPE
- Dr mohamed@abuyusuf - Zionist lobbyists in Australia bought Australian politicians.
- Nacherel - Jesus The Holocaust is Fake though...
- Annika Corbert - …Morrison’s capitulation to the Jewish lobby is monstrous & he’s a quizling!
- Colin - The decision was about Jewish lobby donations to the Liberal party. It will only annoy our neighbours.
- Clayton O’Brien - “use your real name so we can doxx and harass you!” We know how you subhumans operate.
- Bacob Berman - Maybe you’d understand Goldstein if your mind wasn’t so focused on selling out the nation.
- Tomassimilliano Gunkovskis - holy crap we bout to get shoahd dude
- Tod Carter - Just 6 million Jews hey? what about the other millions? Oh that’s right they don’t count hey.
- Annika Corbert - Morrison’s capitulation to the Jewish lobby is monstrous & he’s a quizling!
Although most Australians are tolerant and easy-going, and observe the Australian ethos of giving people a “fair-go”, there are segments of society which exhibit and express antisemitism in various forms. Some examples follow of mainstreaming or downgrading (and not necessarily intentionally) of antisemitism:

**Paul Bauert: those “condemned to the gas chamber, at least found some sense of relief”**

A paediatrician in Darwin, Dr Paul Bauert, of the Australian Medical Association, in reference to a Bill proposing new procedures governing medical transfers from offshore detention, compared victims of the Holocaust about to be murdered in gas chambers to asylum seekers in Australia’s offshore detention centres, when he stated on Sky News on 11 February 2019:

“... the main problem these people [asylum seekers] have is the lack of meaning, the lack of any end to what is going on. A lack of certainty. And this more than anything causes severe mental health damage. Even those that finally knew they were about to be condemned to the gas chamber, at least found some sense of relief in knowing what was happening.”

Note: Dr Bauert subsequently retracted and apologised for the comment.

**Dromana Secondary College: Zyklon B canister and swastika cake**

A staff member of Dromana Secondary College, in Melbourne, brought Nazi memorabilia, including Nazi uniforms and badges, a knife and a gun, to a class for a history lesson in the school, in October 2018. The staffer also brought in a home-made cake with a swastika embedded on top, and a replica Zyklon B gas canister, used to gas Jews.
Redbubble: Auschwitz

Redbubble is an online market company, founded in Melbourne. During 2019, Redbubble was selling products, including a mini skirt, t-shirt, cushions and tote bags, with images of the Nazi death camp of Auschwitz on them. The Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum notified Redbubble. Redbubble apologised, and removed the items.

Redbubble: selling Auschwitz-themed items, May 2019

Note: Following an adverse public response, these items were withdrawn from sale.
There are many types of groups and organisations operating within Australia which openly espouse and promote an antisemitic ideology, sometimes intermixed with white supremacist and other racist themes. Many of them are small groups consisting only of a website or a Facebook page, run by no more than a handful of people, while others have a larger membership. However, their influence or popularity online can be out of all proportion to their meagre number of members.

These organisations and groupings are primarily focused on articulating and promoting societal fears, hatreds and resentments, the targets of which vary according to social conditions, but have typically included groups seen as ‘the other’. These include immigrants, Australians of Asian, African, Indigenous or Muslim background, and the perennial ‘other’, Jews.

Some groups subscribe to conspiracy theories about a monolithic Jewish people who conspire together to exercise inordinate power over the world’s governments, banks and media. The level and type of activities engaged in by these hate groups vary, as does their public profile. Some ‘stick to themselves’ as a support group of like-minded people, while others have stood candidates in elections for government.

The far-Right in Australia comprises many disparate groups. Often followers of these groups have split off to form new groups with other like-minded individuals. This has been a recurring theme within the far Right. Several years ago, activists in the far-Right typically targeted Muslims and Islam. Nonetheless, they also usually maintained an anti-Jewish ideology and agenda, often combined with white supremacist, anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalism beliefs. It was not uncommon for them to “blame the Jews” for “Muslim immigration”. More recently, many of these formerly anti-Islam activists have become openly antisemitic and pro-Nazi. Some active individuals have dropped anti-Muslim sentiments and some have even advocated working with Muslims against Jews.

However, antisemitic and other extremist activity has changed over the years. It was once primarily sourced from actual organisations of people meeting and acting together. It is now primarily sourced from virtual groups of “online communities” consisting of like-minded people who may never meet physically but combine together to disseminate hate propaganda online, and reinforce one another’s extremist views, sometimes with violent, and even murderous, consequences.
Prepare again, brave Aussie men
Be ready for the call.
Your motherland is waiting
And watching for you all
To free her from the bondage
Of Jew tyranny.
And strike again another blow
For sweet liberty.
Since the advent of the internet, avowedly antisemitic organisations and individuals have been able to express and propagate their views on websites, video channels, social media platforms, and even via online mainstream media sites.

The internet provides a relatively cheap and easy means of publication, giving anyone with a computer potentially a global reach. Items posted on the internet are potentially accessible not just in one local area or country, but throughout the world.

With the internet, vilification and other forms of racism are easily and widely propagated, often with few restraints, and often anonymously. Internet publishers have operated with far less stringent editorial guidelines and standards than those which constrain publishers in the print and electronic media. Even websites ostensibly espousing an anti-racist agenda often fail to uphold their own principles when it comes to vilification of Jews, whether directly or with regard to the State of Israel.
A very small selection of examples follows.

- Adolf Göbbels - Jews are scatological Untermensch…. They are fucking pure filth!!!
- Adolf Göbbels - Fuck Jews.! Hitler never killed the jews but we will soon.! A war is coming
- Blair Cottrell - Rookie Jeffries invites a Jewish guy on for interview but isn’t prepared for sly, underhanded tactics? Sad.
- Christopher Roubis - satanic tribe of Judaism
- David Hilton - While the Jewish-controlled mainstream media leans largely to the Marxist left, the Jewish-controlled alt-media leans heavily to the Zionist right.
- Dean Anderson - Today should be national sorry day. A day the Jews apologise for killing Christ!
- Jamie Jae - Gas every Jew on the planet
- Mattys Modern Life - If I have an oven that can cook three batches of cookies per day and I want to cook 6 million cookies in 5 years, how many cookies do I need to cook in each batch?
- Mattys Modern Life - Jews literally killed Christ. … Jews have been at war with Christ since he was alive.
- Raymond Foster - ... this oven kike get in/ Get in/ This oven/ Kike get in/ … Sieg heil/88 … And heebes/ you’ll leaving as ash/ Get in the oven.
- Raymond Foster - JEWS are the Only Problem, and an Enemy to ALL Mankind.
- Ryan Fletcher - I think its about time to say “fuck your optics I’m going in” [NB the term “Screw your optics, I’m going in” was the term posted online by Robert Bowers just before he went to a synagogue in Pittsburgh in 2018 and murdered 11 Jews.]
- Ryan Fletcher - Legalize the #Kike cull! #GTKRWN #NatSoc #JEWS #AnnudaShoah
• Shermon Burgess - I am with Ryan Fletcher, it is time to legalise the Kike Cull. #fucktheZOG #bringonrahowa

• Shermon Burgess - Adolf Hitler was the Jews punishment for handing Jesus Christ over to the Romans demanding they torture him and crucify him to death. …

• Louie Katsouranis - Unfortunately the world thinks that the Jews are victims but it’s all to their plan. when will people wake up.

• Rob Williams - They’re a cancer and all Hitler done was round them up as every other country had done to piss them off. This gas chamber bullshit was just a hoax so they could forever have their hand out.

• Josh Tonta - Yes, they drink human blood with the matel tov. Childrens blood. Evil :/

• Adam Austin - Cry baby jew used to nobody saying anything about the tribe because jews control the message. Time for another exile!

• Diego Collio-bravo - holocaust never happened the way you think. Far from it and no where near 6 million

• Ivan Car - Also, jews were thrown out 200+ times from various countries. The reason? Undermining the economies and creating debt slavery.

• Oggie Bear - Watch this post get taken down you get banned for couple days … Unfortunately the dirty fuckers run everything Including social media

• Seki Sarma - Nah, their time is up, tick, tock.

• Adam Austin - Truth. The same rats that have been kicked out of every country on Earth dozens of times over. Disgusting animal.

#shlomo shlekels#
18 July 2019 · on XYZ

Posted by Shermon Burgess, with the comment “Christians and Norse Pagans … our enemy … is the international Zionist Jew”, on Gab, 8 July 2019

Antisemitism in Australia 2019
The “White Replacement” Ideology, sometimes referred to as “White Genocide”, has become one of the most prominent themes being propagated online by the political far right.

“White Replacement” refers to the false belief that there is a global conspiracy, usually described as orchestrated by “the Jews,” to “import” non-Europeans - especially Africans, Asians and Arabs - into “white” societies in Europe, North America and Australasia for the express purpose of subjugating and decimating the European races and destroying Western civilisation. Those who subscribe to the “White Replacement” myth believe that through such mass immigration, people of ethnic European background will become a minority group, outnumbered and dominated - that is, replaced - in countries where once they were a majority of the population.

This concept is often twinned with the idea of Cultural Marxism. The “Cultural Marxism” thesis is a conspiracy theory claiming that Jewish academics associated with the Frankfurt School of social theory and philosophy conceived a plot to undermine and destroy European Western culture. This plot is said to be implemented through the promotion of equality, human rights, civil rights, feminism, homosexual rights, abortion, multiculturalism, secularism and internationalism. In this way, “Cultural Marxism” is portrayed as the ideological weapon by which “traditional” Western societal values and national identities are being undermined, and the resilience of “white people” to maintain their own traditional culture is being diminished.

Those who subscribe to the “White Replacement” myth often see the solution in terms of what they term “White Revolution” and “Race War.” They often advocate violence, followed by more violence, with the aim of instigating a civil war in western countries between the majority ethnic Europeans and the various minorities of non-European ethnicity. Acts of terrorism and mass murder, such as occurred at the synagogue in Pittsburgh in 2018 and the mosques in Christchurch in 2019, aim at sparking this “Race War.” The ultimate aim is the “ethnic cleansing”, by deportation or murder, of all people who are not of European ethnicity from Europe, North America and Australasia.
Online comments by Australian subscribers to the white-replacement theory include:

- Adolf Göbbels: ... kikes use it to make money off of us Goy to use it to flood the western world with islamic rats and African niggers!

- Blair Cottrell: ... the propagation of an unrelenting hatred of white people ... are accomplishing nothing but the gradual ethnic destruction & replacement of white people world-wide...

- Brenton Tarrant: “The invaders must be removed from European soil, regardless from where they came or when they came. Roma, African, Indian, Turkish, Semitic or other. If they are not of our people, but live in our lands, they must be removed ... How they are removed is irrelevant, peacefully, forcefully, happily, violently or diplomatically. They must be removed.”

- Dean Anderson: Many in the west seem to think that jews are behind their replacement. And they’d be right.

- Fred Grenouille: ... the Muslim problem has been created in Australia, the UK and in Europe, by the Jewish international as part of the plan for world government.

- Jamie Jae: Australia was White until very recently but the large corporations understand (((The Great Replacement))) is happening.

- Kurt Taylor: ... the Jews are conducting a genocide against Whites, day in day out. We must fight back - we must target each and every Jew.

- Matty Rose: Meanwhile, our countries are being stolen from us via mass-immigration, pushed by a (((certain tribe))) that control the money supply. ...

- Mitch Bowden: Muslims are about as sentient as a rabid dog, it is the jews polluting and bombing their kennels forcing them into our countries. Once the boomers are gone we can get back to erasing jew filth.

- Raymond Foster: J*ews are Behind White Genocide.

- Ryan Fletcher: This #WhiteGenocide is a product of the subversive hand of the #Jew, and these kikes must be physically removed!

- Shermon Burgess: Hook nosed Jewish parasites admit that they flood Western nations with mass immigration to bring about TOTAL WHITE GENOCIDE so they can continue to rule the world... #hitlerwasright
In general, mainstream Christians in Australia have not published overt and vile antisemitic expressions of the kind that have been expressed by some Christian clerical figures in Europe and the Americas. There were no known incidents of overt antisemitic rhetoric or activity from within mainstream Christian communities in Australia during the period in review.

However, the following items provide a snapshot of rhetoric by mainstream Christian clerical figures which in our view met certain of the criteria in the IHRA Working Definition.

**Bishop George Browning:**
Bishop George Browning is the former Anglican bishop of Canberra and Goulburn and is President of the Australia Palestine Advocacy Network (APAN). Two of his articles are included here.

**George Browning: 10 Days in the Palestinian Territories**
This article, without a shred of evidence, accused the ECAJ of being behind the cancellation of a visa to Australia for a Palestinian, Bassem Tamimi. In point of fact, the ECAJ made no representations about the visa. Browning then accused “a Lobby” of being able to “cower Australian media and politicians alike.”

“Dear ECAJ, … I was reminded that Bassem had been invited to Australia only to find that when he reached the Amman international airport his Australian visa had been cancelled, presumably on advice from you guys to the Australian government. Bassem asked me who was the freest, himself who stands up against oppression or an Australian like me who is afraid to stand up against a Lobby that manages to cower Australian media and politicians alike. …”

**Father Rod Bower - Parish of Gosford:**
Father Rod Bower, of the Anglican Parish of Gosford, in central NSW, frequently speaks publicly on political and social issues, predominantly in support of refugees and Australians who he believes are treated unfairly. He has not published anti-Jewish rhetoric or engaged in anti-Jewish activity. However, in December 2018, Father Bower posted a photo of the billboard, which contained the text of “Manus is how the Holocaust started”, outside his church, and on Facebook and Twitter. After much public criticism for the Holocaust minimization implicit in the billboard message, Father Bower apologised appropriately.
The Muslim communities within Australia are religiously, ethnically, and politically diverse. There are many excellent and successful interfaith programs and forms of dialogue between Muslims and Jews which seek to break down barriers and create better mutual understanding.

However, there are individuals and groups who identify as Muslims and who in the name of Islam express and promote anti-Jewish views, either from a religious or political perspective, or a confused amalgam of both. Some examples follow.

**Al Quds – Melbourne:**

‘Al Quds - Melbourne’ is a Shiite Muslim group, opposed to the existence of a Jewish State, and organises anti-Israel events, notably the annual Al-Quds Day protest in Melbourne. Its Facebook page contains material that meets the criteria of antisemitism in the IHRA Working Definition. Some examples follow.

- The documentary was never broadcast by Al Jazeera due to pressure from some Jewish groups and individuals.
- Petty attempt by Zionist shills and puppets to intimidate, our community Leaders who stand up for the Palestinian cause.
- What does Holy Quran tells us about ‘Bani Israel’?? How they were responsible for the killing of the Prophet’s?? Why was it only Imam Ali (as) who was able to challenge and defeat the ‘Bani Israel’ people?? What was the role of these oppressors in the advent of Islam, Battle of Khaybar, even the Tragedy of Karbala?? Finally, the continuation of their plots and conspiracies today in the form of Iraq Invasions, ISIS in Syria …

[NB. “Bani Israel” is Arabic for “sons/children of Israel” and is commonly used to denote “Jews”.]
Hizb ut-Tahrir:
Hizb ut-Tahrir is an organisation which campaigns for the establishment of a caliphate (Islamic theocracy) in Australia and throughout the world. Some examples follow.

- The Jewish lobby in Australia according to two former Prime Ministers.
- Protest to support the case of Al-Aqsa after the Zionists stormed into it and persecuted Muslims.
- The criminal Jewish entity continues to bomb innocents on the eve of Ramadhan in Gaza. Ya Allah swt your victory and the day the trees and stones will speak.
- As the occupying Jewish army is making life difficult for Muslims in Palestine to prevent them from going to pray in Al-Masjid Al-Aqsa during Ramadhan.

El-Telegraph:
El Telegraph is based in Melbourne, and claims to be "the largest and longest running Arabic newspaper publication in Australia". Several published articles are highly antisemitic.

- "The Rothschild Family: The German-Jewish Rothschild family controls money. It is known that 99% of the world’s population is controlled by 1% of the world’s rich... The Rothschild family controls everything, even in one percent of the world’s rich.
- The Elders of Zion are deeply aware of the importance of the role that Israel is supposed to play in the region.

Farah News Online:
Farah is based in Sydney, and publishes in Arabic and English. Some of the articles published contained not just antisemitic content demonising Jews, but also included antisemitic conspiracy theories.

- Jews “to seek in the land corruption... and bribe... to spread the desires and oppressions and evil... all categories of vice... and all kinds of very cheap pleasures... with the intention of destroying the human race.”
- Jews “The[r] characteristics of malice, slag, cheapness and greed and deception. And congenital and mental degeneration... and all have gathered in this category of humans [Jews]... Stubborn and elusive... he [the Jew] seeks with all his effort and strength .. to fight God and his messengers and prophets... and mock them... and even kill them !!!
- Jews and Satan seek “the destruction of the human race... by all ways and means”
- The Jews “want to destroy religious and moral values... and break up social and family ties... and authentic connections of relations between people... and restrict it in food, drink and sex !!!". Alsibai' concludes his text by declaring triumphantly that “the children of Israel – the demons of mankind – control humanity, exploiting the weaknesses created in their bodies.”
11. ANTISEMITISM IN THE ANTI-ISRAEL MOVEMENT

Images posted on Tim Anderson’s Facebook page:

Tim Anderson · Twitter on 19 Oct. 2018 and on Facebook on 20 Oct. 2018

Chris Burrell · 4 Dec. 2018

Ben Debney · 6 Dec. 2018

Bryn Awhile · 14 Dec. 2018

Chris Burrell · 4 Dec. 2018

Chris Burrell · 4 Dec. 2018
All governments are legitimately the subject of criticism for their policies and actions, including the governments of Israel as much as those of Australia or any other country. However, some ostensible criticisms of Israel cross the line from ordinary political discourse into antisemitic hate speech. Often this is through demonisation, delegitimisation, and double standards used against Israel.

Other discourse, which is dressed up as ordinary political criticism, is framed within older anti-Jewish motifs, especially the Blood Libel, deicide claims, and conspiracy theories of Jews as a group supposedly controlling or aiming to control the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.

APAN:
The following are some of the comments posted on the Facebook page of APAN (Australia Palestine Advocacy Network).

- John Walker - But it is a fact that Australian politics is also controlled by the Zionist Jews of Australia. …
- Unal Okutgen - australian jews pushing our politicians to control them with money .
- Arzu Minu - Too many zios in power , need to get them ALL out.
- Gerard Harris - Zionazi expansion...
- Todd Cawe - Zionists the new Nazis
- Arzu Minu - When, all governments are under zio rule, money talks
- Gerard Harris - Ultimately it will the Human Family that will decide whether these people are the Chosen Ones.
- Kolin Thumbadoo - It is also an utter repudiation of the insidious, suborning influence of the Zionist lobby and their minions. …
- Chris Leach - Zionism is a racist creed.
- Martin Cowan - Zionism “is” Nazism......
- Dan Denigan - The mind boggles at the hipocrisy. And who are the first to remind us of the holocaust. The very perpetrators of today’s genocide.
- Gerard Harris - Kristallnacht perpetrated by Zionazi State of Israel.
- Lyn Bender - Too horrible . Just like the Holocaust. Israel behaving like a Nazi state.
- Kon Ozal - Wow. On a scale of one to ten this is 3rd Reich.
- Chris Hall - There WILL be justice, with or without government help. Protect the innocent “de-activate” a zionist thug.
- Sam Affara - Yep they forget what Hitler did to them.
- Andrew Watson - An absolute disgrace on Australian Labor Party’s part, once the Party of free speech, democracy and human rights, now a servant of the Australian Jewish Lobby.
- Rachel Hunter - According to the bible it was the Jews that sold Jesus out and crucified him. Zionists are anti-Semitic and need to be called out.
- Malcolm Fitzgibbon - What Israel is doing is totally not God’s will, it is a greedy bloodthirsty tribe of capital Jews who rely on drunks to do there will
- Sandy Hatton - The rest of the world are also Zionist owned, follow the ⚡
- Adrian Lucifer - Not sure when exactly does this world wake up to the fact that these Khazarians are attempting to take over the entire planet???

Tim Anderson:
Tim Anderson was a senior lecturer at the University of Sydney, working there since 1998. He was prominently vocal against Israel, and later became a vocal supporter of President Assad of Syria. In October 2018, Anderson used an image of an Israeli flag with a Nazi swastika superimposed over the Jewish Star of David in course material for the ‘Human Rights and Development’ course. Anderson’s employment was suspended by the University on 3 December 2018, and then terminated by an employment review panel on 8 February 2019. During this period, Anderson posted about this matter on Facebook and Twitter. This elicited many antisemitic comments and images.

- Ramon Gonzzeals Leber - The Jewish lobby got Sydney unvcst in. Back pokats.
- Stacey Lightfoot - Oh dear. As soon as you piss off the Zionists you are finished. (((academia)))
- Ross Vachon - It’s spelled *swastika and the Star Of David now is worse.
- Michael Raymond FitzPatrick - The Jew occupiers of Palestine modus operandi is to murder men, women & children.
Major counters to antisemitism are public condemnations of it by those in various positions of leadership within the country, including politicians, academics, clergy, editors and journalists, businesspeople and trade unionists, and other community leaders.

In addition, government policies and legislation to discourage or restrict antisemitism, and other forms of racism, and to protect Jews and other targeted groups, play a major role in countering antisemitism. In addition to providing individuals and groups who are the targets of racism with the legal means to defend themselves, legislation plays an educative role by setting a community standard that conveys a strong message that public manifestations of racism are unacceptable.

When politicians publicly condemn antisemitism, this plays a crucial role in the fight against antisemitism, as it sets a community standard that antisemitism is not acceptable and will not be tolerated. The following are comments by Australia’s national political leaders condemning antisemitism.

**Scott Morrison, Prime Minister, Liberal, 19 July 2019:**

“I’ll tell you what it’s a time to draw a line on, and it’s antisemitism. I mean, the scourge of anti-Semitic graffiti that we’ve seen in Melbourne just this year, it is absolutely sickening and disgraceful. … Antisemitism has no place in this country.”

**Anthony Albanese, Leader of the Opposition, Labor, 25 Sept 2019:**

“Antisemitism is an ancient prejudice that had no place whatsoever in antiquity, let alone in the modern world. Yet, as we are constantly reminded, it is with us still. Not only is our Jewish community a part of the diversity that gives us our true strength as a society, you are such an intrinsic part of our nation that Australia without you is simply unimaginable. Antisemitism is a poison and we must all stand together against it.”

[This was a private communication to ECAJ, with permission to publish here.]
IHRA 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.”

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.

The Executive Council of Australian Jewry is the elected national representative organisation of the Australian Jewish Community. It is the peak body which sits at the apex, directly or through its constituent and affiliate organisations, of some 200 Jewish community organisations across Australia.

Antisemitism Reports

Each year, since 1990, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry publishes the Report on Antisemitism in Australia. Each report covers a twelve month period from 1 October to 30 September. The author of the annual ECAJ antisemitism reports, 2013-2019, is Julie Nathan.

The ECAJ records antisemitism in two broad categories: incidents and discourse. In general, incidents are what ‘is done to’ Jews, while discourse is what ‘is said about’ Jews. Nevertheless, it is recognised that the latter has a considerable influence on the former.

Current situation for Jews in Australia - Security

It remains true that the Jewish community’s places of worship, schools, communal organisations and community centres need, for security reasons, to operate under the protection of high fences, armed guards, metal detectors, CCTV cameras and the like. This necessity is recognised by Australia’s law enforcement agencies and arises from the entrenched and protean nature of antisemitism in western and Middle Eastern culture, resulting in a high incidence of physical attacks against Jews and Jewish communal buildings over the last three decades, and continuing threats.
“Fighting Antisemitism is a responsibility for the society at large and must not be left to the Jewish community. Antisemitism needs to be fought on all levels and by all possible actors.”


“Antisemitism, if left unchecked by governments, poses risks not only to Jews, but also to members of other minority communities. Antisemitism is toxic to democracy and mutual respect of citizens and threatens all societies in which it goes unchallenged.”

Ahmed Shaheed, UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief //23 Sep. 2019
The ECAJ has been active in exposing antisemitism. It has produced articles which have been published in the Australian media during the period in review. Some of the articles by the ECAJ staff are listed below, in chronological order.

“White Genocide” is incitement to murder
Julie Nathan// 29 October 2018
https://www.abc.net.au/religion/white-genocide-is-incitement-to-murder/10442966

The “White Replacement” myth and the “Race War” brewing
Julie Nathan// 12 February 2019
https://www.abc.net.au/religion/the-white-replacement-myth-and-the-race-war-brewing/10803818
https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-far-right-and-the-white-replacement-myth/

The deadly myth of “White Genocide”
Julie Nathan// 19 March 2019
https://www.abc.net.au/religion/the-deadly-myth-of-white-genocide/10917562
https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/the-deadly-myth-of-white-genocide/

Why we need a uniform national system for classifying and recording hate crimes
Peter Wertheim// 22 March 2019
https://www.abc.net.au/religion/we-need-a-uniform-national-system-for-classifying-and-recording/10930422

Countering the threat of white ethno-nationalist terrorism
Julie Nathan// 5 April 2019
https://www.abc.net.au/religion/countering-the-threat-of-white-ethno-nationalist-terrorism/10975564
https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/countering-white-ethno-nationalist-terrorism/

The Memory of the Holocaust and the Mystery of Unfathomable Evil
Alex Ryzchin// 8 May 2019

The Genocidal Propensity of Antisemitism
Julie Nathan// 10 May 2019
https://www.abc.net.au/religion/the-genocidal-propensity-of-antisemitism/11099498

The Resurgence of Racism in the 2019 federal election - a deep and disturbing trend
Julie Nathan// 31 May 2019
Antisemitism
SEE IT?
EXPERIENCE IT?
REPORT IT.

**WHY REPORT IT?**
As the elected representative national body of the Australian Jewish community, the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ), liaises with government, the media and law enforcement to help keep our community safe.

It is vital therefore that we have accurate data on antisemitic incidents, whether vandalism of property, verbal abuse, online threats, leaflets or posters, or acts of violence.

**WHERE TO REPORT IT?**
Incidents of antisemitism occurring in Australia can be reported directly to Julie Nathan, the ECAJ Research Director, and author of the annual Report on Antisemitism in Australia.

Report antisemitism to: julie@ecaj.org.au
ANTISEMITISM IN AUSTRALIA 2019 Incidents and Discourse