

**Submission
No 68**

MEASURES TO PROHIBIT SLOGANS THAT INCITE HATRED

Organisation: Institute for the Critical Study of Zionism

Date Received: 12 January 2026



Legislative Committee on Law and Safety

Parliament of New South Wales

Submission via web portal:

www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/committees/inquiries/Pages/inquiry-details.aspx?pk=3167

January 12, 2026

Dear Members of the Legislative Committee on Law and Safety:

Below please find the Institute for the Critical Study of Zionism's submission to the commission's inquiry on "Measures to prohibit slogans that incite hatred." We warmly welcome any questions and further discussion.

Sincerely,



Emmaia Gelman, Executive Director
Institute for the Critical Study of Zionism
www.criticalzionismstudies.org



Submission re: "Measures to prohibit slogans that incite hatred"

The Institute for the Critical Study of Zionism, an interdisciplinary organization of scholars in the United States and around the world, writes with grave concern about the proposal currently before the NSW Parliament to classify "phrases like 'globalise the intifada'" as "hateful," "incitement to hatred," and threats to community safety.

Reject efforts to characterize antiracist speech as "hateful" or "inciting"

The phrase "globalize the intifada" is a call for resistance to injustice, just as the phrase "Palestine will be free, from the river to the sea" is a call for freedom for all people from racial and militarized governance—neither is "incitement to hatred." These phrases are expressions of multiracial, transnational political organizing in collective pursuit of

globally-recognized rights, and to resist militarism and state violence. These facts have been repeatedly affirmed by scholars of colonialism, political science, Palestine studies, critical Zionism studies, Holocaust studies, and genocide studies, and most importantly by the community organizations who often use the phrase in political expression. A selection of such explanations is provided here.¹

Reject efforts to classify criticism of Israel/Zionism as “antisemitism”

Any analysis of specific phrases must account for the fact that criticism of Israel and Zionism, including identifying it as racism and scrutinizing in comparison with other racial and colonial regimes, is legitimate and necessary for the understanding of the present and for combatting racism. Here too, scholars, legal experts, and others concur that such criticism must not be treated as “antisemitic.” A selection of the many expert documents detailing these facts is provided here.²

¹ American Association of University Professors and Middle East Studies Assn, “Discriminating Against Dissent: The Weaponization of Civil Rights Law to Repress Campus Speech on Palestine” (2025, mesana.org/pdf/Discriminating_Against_Dissent_Report.pdf)

Yousef Munayyer (PhD in International Relations and Comparative Politics, Senior Fellow at Arab Center Washington DC, former director of US Campaign for Palestinian Rights) “What does ‘From the River to the Sea’ really mean?”, *Jewish Currents*, 2021, jewishcurrents.org/what-does-from-the-river-to-the-sea-really-mean

Chloe Skinner (Research fellow, Institute of Development Studies) “In the face of genocide, the intifada must be globalised”, IDS, 2023, www.ids.ac.uk/opinions/in-the-face-of-genocide-the-intifada-must-be-globalised/

Esther Kaplan (Journalist and former director, Jews for Racial and Economic Justice) “Gaza and the rise of the Jewish left”, Hammer and Hope, 2024, hammerandhope.org/article/gaza-jewish-left

Rouand X (Graduate in political science, researcher in philosophy and postcolonial studies), “What does Globalize the Intifada mean?”, Mondoweiss, 2025, mondoweiss.net/2025/10/what-does-globalize-the-intifada-mean/

² Law & Political Economy Project, “The Rising Threat of Antisemitism Investigations” (Darryl Li, 2025, lpeproject.org/blog/the-rising-threat-of-antisemitism-investigations/)

The Guardian, “Anti-Zionist beliefs ‘worthy of respect’, UK tribunal finds” (2024, www.theguardian.com/money/2024/oct/14/anti-zionist-beliefs-worthy-respect-uk-tribunal-finds-israel)

Rutgers Center for Security, Race, & Rights: “Threats to Free Speech and Palestinian Civil Rights: The IHRA Definition of Antisemitism” (2025, csrr.rutgers.edu/wp-content/uploads/2025/09/final-csrr-ihra-issue-brief.pdf)

Letter from civil rights organizations: “Reject IHRA Definition That Is Causing Severe Anti-Palestinian Racism” (2024, palestinelegal.org/news/reject-ihra-2024)

American Association of University Professors, “Legislative threats to Academic Freedom: Redefinitions of antisemitism and racism” (2022, www.aaup.org/reports-publications/aaup-policies-reports/policy-statements/legislative-threats-academic-freedom)

Letter from 128 scholars specializing in antisemitism, Holocaust Studies, Modern Jewish History and

These legislative demands aim to divert resources from antiracist political efforts

Even as we file this brief, we remind the NSW Parliament that scholars and community organizations have recognized that the constant demand to *explain* that such phrases are not hateful or violent is created as a diversion from demands to stop actual violence: to end Israeli colonialism and genocide, and to end political repression of the global movement in support of Palestinian rights.

Claims of “hate” and “incitement” originate with bad-faith actors

The media and internet are, indeed, full of claims that “globalize the intifada” and “Palestine will be free, from the river to the sea” are calls for attacks on Jews—but these claims are led and intensively amplified by Israel advocacy organizations whose mission depends on misportraying those whom the Israeli state seeks to dominate (Palestinians, opponents of colonialism, and anti-Zionist Jews, among others) as “hateful” and “violent.” To be sure, the same claims are adopted and repeated by some voices outside of those organizations, including by Jewish people who have repeatedly heard Zionist organizations’ messaging, and who consequently feel real fear. Such distorted meanings, generated by bad-faith actors, do not mean that the phrases are actually hateful or inciting. They are comparable to fearful whites’ assertion that “anti-racist is code for anti-white,” a claim similarly propagated by white supremacist organizations seeking to rationalize their “need” to dominate racialized others.³ In other words, misguided and fearful conclusions about what others “really mean” are not credible, and must not become the basis for policy.

Urging policymakers to query the source of calls for such policy

Indeed, we urge you to consider the political actors who are calling on the NSW government to treat as “hateful” such calls to defend human and legal rights. Claims about such phrases are used overwhelmingly as the tools of lawfare and media attacks on antiracist movements, supportive elected officials, and public goods like university education that are disfavored by proponents of the Israeli state, militarism, and/or white supremacy. They are constantly debunked as bad-faith efforts to weaponize and instrumentalize concerns about actual antisemitism.⁴ The Israeli state, which is currently

related fields: “128 scholars warn: ‘Don’t trap the United Nations in a vague and weaponized definition of antisemitism’” (2022 media.euobserver.com/9e86df02ddf67c6046d190b65e4380df.pdf)

³ See Lee Bebout, “Weaponizing Victimhood.” *News on the Right: Studying Conservative News Cultures*, 2019, Oxford Academic Press, p.74

⁴ See Lara Friedman, “The How-To of Shutting Down Pro-Palestinian Speech and Protest in the US” in *Suppressing Dissent*, H.A. Hellyer and Zaha Hassan, eds., 2024, Oneworld Publications, lawfare.fmep.org/; and Barry Trachtenberg, “The End of Antisemitism: How the Fight Against Hate Became a Weapon of Repression,” 2025, *Contending Modernities*, contendingmodernities.nd.edu/global-currents/end-of-antisemitism/.

engaged in a legally-recognized genocide against Palestinians, has spent decades developing political infrastructure for advancing this disingenuous argument. Among the tools it has produced or helped to produce are the IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism and Examples, the Concert program, etc. which additionally enlist local groups and individuals to further its messages.⁵

Recognizing growing convergences of Zionism and global racial supremacist movements

Through these and other projects, the Israeli state and Zionist institutions have advocated for decades—indeed since the early 1970s—for the equation of Israel and Zionism with Jewishness.⁶ In recent years they have been joined by all manner of racists, include anti-Muslim Western supremacists and proponents of racial fascism—including U.S. elected leaders—who have found Zionism an useful vehicle for advancing their own attacks on racialized people and popular movements for democracy.⁷ In Australia this has been seen since the attack at the Bondi Hannukah by the Sea event at which 15 people were murdered by two gunmen who were not associated with the movement against genocide and for Palestinian liberation. Nevertheless, political and media actors have been seeking to conflate the two.⁸

Recognizing the Palestine solidarity movement's refusal of invitations to antisemitism

The Zionist claim that equates *Israel* with *Jews* outrageously invites observers of Israel's genocide to adopt antisemitism as a response. Therefore it is essential for your investigation to note that the global movement for Palestinian liberation, the thousands of small and large organizations gathered under the call to “globalize the intifada,” have

⁵ On the Israeli state's construction of infrastructure for bad-faith claims, see Jamie Stern-Weiner, “The Politics of a Definition,” Free Speech on Israel, 2021, www.documentcloud.org/documents/20689366-stern-weiner-j-fsoi-the-politics-of-a-definition/.

On the Israeli state's work to seed “anti-Zionism is antisemitism” narrative, see Itamar Benzaquen and The Seventh Eye, “The new hasbara campaign Israel doesn't want you to know about,” +972 Magazine, 2022, www.972mag.com/hasbara-funding-foreign-agents/ and Maria Flannery et al, “The new front of war: Inside Israel's digital 'hasbara' offensive,” Eurovision News, 2025, spotlight.ebu.ch/p/the-new-front-of-war-inside-israels.

⁶ See Michael Drexler et al, “Keyword: Antisemitic”, 2025, NYU Press, keywords.nyupress.org/keywords-continued/antisemitic/.

⁷ On Zionism and Hindutva, see Em Hilton, “The violent phobias that bind Hindutva and Zionism” (with journalist Asad Essa), +972 Magazine, 2022, www.972mag.com/india-israel-zionism-hindutva/.

On Zionism and white nationalism see Raphael Magarik, “A Dangerous Alliance” (2024, *Jewish Currents*, jewishcurrents.org/a-dangerous-alliance

⁸ “The Right Is Exploiting the Bondi Massacre to Silence Dissent: Interview with Sarah Schwartz and Max Kaiser”, Jacobin Magazine, 9 January 2026. jacobin.com/2026/01/australia-bondi-antisemitism-protest-palestine

repeatedly and continuously *refused* the Zionist invitation to antisemitism, and continually clarified their refusal of racism, colonialism, and the domination of peoples. These groups are essential *defenders* against antisemitism and racism. The claim that their political speech targets, criticizes, or “makes Jews unsafe” is an abuse of the public’s real concern about marginalization.⁹

Refusing repressive bids to “keep people safe” by criminalizing movements against repression

History teaches that repressive political movements often claim that they are “keeping people safe” and “protecting the public from dangerous disorder” by criminalizing the very social forces standing up against repression. In this time of genocide, extreme volatility, and danger, we urge you not to support the repression of social and political movements against racism.¹⁰

Call to intervene in racism by *rejecting* weaponized charges of antisemitism, hate, and “incitement to violence”

Australian policymakers *should* intervene in racism broadly, and antisemitism in particular, including by rejecting Zionist claims that Israel, genocide, and Jews are actually the same. It must not adopt the repressive, counterfactual, and indeed racist claim that phrases like “globalize the intifada” are hateful or incitements to violence.

###

⁹ See for instance Maher Cherif, “Palestinians and the Phenomenon of ‘Antisemitism’”, 2024, Journal of Palestine Studies, www.palestine-studies.org/en/node/1655045, and Ben Lorber, “Toward a Sober Assessment of Campus Antisemitism,” 2023, *Jewish Currents*, jewishcurrents.org/toward-a-sober-assessment-of-campus-antisemitism.

¹⁰ See Jason Stanley, *How Fascism Works: The Politics of Us and Them*, 2020, Random House, www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/586030/how-fascism-works-by-jason-stanley/.