1. **On 10 July 2025 you released your 'Plan to Combat Antisemitism'. What particular expertise do you have in social policy programs and initiatives aimed at achieving widespread attitudinal change across a population?**

   The Government appointed me based on my extensive leadership experience across law, business, and public institutions — including in roles that required driving cultural change and building trust across diverse communities. I was honoured to be asked to bring that background to this national challenge.

2. **Can you assist the committee with what evidence, research or examples you relied upon for the proposition that the suggestions you make in your plan will actually achieve widespread attitudinal change across a population?**

   The Plan draws on a wide base of research, including commissioned surveys, consultations with community organisations, and international comparisons, particularly with the UK, Canada and the EU. It is a policy framework grounded in both evidence and expert practice.

3. **In formulating your plan which Jewish organisations did you consult?**

   We consulted over 100 Jewish organisations and individuals. We consulted with community leaders and representatives across every state and territory — including representative bodies, schools, religious groups, youth movements, cultural institutions and security organisations. The Plan reflects their lived experience and priorities.

4. **Did you consult any organisations representing Jewish Australians of a 'non-Zionist' perspective?**

   I welcomed input from a wide range of group representing Jewish Australians, regardless of political or theological views. The focus was antisemitism.

5. **Has your research examined what percentage of Australians may hold antisemitic views and how this compares to the prevalence of other types of prejudice?**

   Research commissioned by my office confirms that antisemitic attitudes persist in Australia, particularly among younger Australians. The focus of this Plan is specifically antisemitism, I have not sought to compare it to other forms of prejudice.

6. **If so, what were the findings and what research and evidence is this based on?**

   Research commissioned by my office identified a concerning generational divide, with younger Australians more likely to hold antisemitic views or consume misinformation online. This aligns with broader findings from other community surveys, public academic studies, and security assessments. My research has informed the Plan but will not be published publicly for security and privacy reasons.

7. **Can you provide the committee with any data/evidence to support your claims of widespread systematic antisemitic discrimination in the public sector? What proportion of these instances relates to criticism of the State of Israel?**

   There is clear evidence of antisemitic discrimination in parts of the public sector including reports of Holocaust denial, stereotyping and exclusion of Jewish staff. This goes well beyond criticism of Israel. I would encourage the committee to review publicly available data.

8. **Can you elucidate on your claims in the plan of 'foreign funding sources' that are supporting 'clusters of antisemitism' and driving 'extreme ideologies' in universities? Can you provide the committee with evidence of this concerning allegation?**

   The Plan highlights credible concerns, raised here and internationally, that foreign funding could be enabling antisemitic activity on campus. It recommends greater transparency and due diligence to ensure universities are not exposed to that risk.

9. **In your report, you reference research that highlights a stark divide between Australians under 35 and those over 35, reflecting generational differences in media consumption and the perceptions younger Australians' have of the Middle East and the Jewish community. Can you outline the specific statistical findings of this research, how the research was conducted and by whom?**

   The research was conducted by a leading market research firm. It explored generational differences in attitudes and media consumption. While the findings informed the Plan, I will not be releasing the research publicly.

10. **At 2.1 the Plan states, "From October 2023 to September 2024, antisemitic incidents surged by 316%, with over 2,000 cases reported – threats, assaults, vandalism and intimidation. In October and November 2023 alone, episodes increased over 700% compared to the previous year, reflecting incitement by those with extremist views and misinformation in the media and online. These figures exclude much of the hate online, where antisemitism has exploded". Can you please advise the precise sources for those statistics?**

    These figures were drawn from data provided by leading Jewish community security organisations that collect and verify these statistics. They reflect documented incidents and do not include the large volume of antisemitic material observed online.

11. **You have recommended that, "government funding [to] be withheld, where possible, from universities, programs or individuals within universities that facilitate, enable or fail to act against antisemitism". Can you please advise the committee of some of the most serious examples (perhaps ten in number if you can, but more if you wish) of which you are aware where government funding has been made available where you believe those circumstances exist?**

The recommendation is precautionary, principled and for government to implement. It ensures public funding aligns with community standards. The Plan does not name institutions because its purpose is not to punish but to drive reform. Where serious concerns arise, including persistent failure to protect Jewish students, they should be examined through proper review processes.

12. **Noting that the term genocide is often contentious and debated in many cases where it is applied, do you believe that allegations that Israel is engaging in genocide to be antisemitic? Putting aside whether you believe it is an accurate term, do you believe it to be on the face of it antisemitic for someone to express that opinion?**

    Alleging genocide is not inherently antisemitic. But when such language is used to delegitimise Israel's existence, deny Jewish peoplehood, or justify violence toward Jews, it crosses into antisemitism. Context and intent matter.

13. **Likewise, do you consider it to be on the face of it antisemitic, whether you believe the allegation to be accurate or not, for an individual to express the opinion that Israel upholds a system of apartheid in the Occupied Palestinian Territories?**

    The term "apartheid" is often misapplied in ways that deny Jewish self-determination and delegitimise Israel's existence, core components of modern antisemitism under the internationally accepted definition. While political critique is lawful, framing Israel as an apartheid state is frequently used to vilify Jewish identity and fuel antisemitic sentiment. In that context, yes — it can be antisemitic.

14. **Do you believe that universities, and individuals affiliated with them, should be allowed to debate questions such as if Israel has committed genocide or the crime of apartheid? Should academics and students be penalised, or Universities stripped of funding, for researching such questions if they come to the view that those crimes may have occurred?**

    Academic inquiry must remain free. It is not a licence to incite hate or marginalise Jewish students, debate should be respectful. When teaching or public commentary crosses into conduct that harasses, excludes or vilifies, it may breach university codes and community standards. The Plan targets behaviour, not opinion and calls for accountability where antisemitism is enabled or ignored.

15. **You state in your plan, "The Envoy will monitor media organisations to encourage accurate, fair and responsible reporting and assist them to meet their editorial standards and commitment to impartiality and balance and to avoid accepting false or distorted narratives". Can you please advise of examples of these 'false or distorted narratives' your work has identified as being problematic so as to prompt this statement in your plan? (perhaps ten in number if you can, but again more if you wish).**

This is a proactive measure to promote accuracy and balance. While the Plan does not name specific incidents, many in the Jewish community have raised with me their concern about patterns such as: conflating all Jews with Israeli policy, excluding Jewish voices from stories on antisemitism, downplaying the Holocaust's relevance, misrepresenting community safety concerns, or uncritically platforming individuals who promote antisemitic tropes.

16. **Do you think you are an impartial and objective person so as to be properly playing a quasi-governmental role in assisting media, including publicly funded media, in 'avoiding false or distorted narratives' and in promulgating a supplementary guide for application of the IHRA definition in Australia?**

    The federal government believes so and appointed me on that basis. My role is to advise government on how to uphold national values of fairness, inclusion and safety through greater knowledge and understanding of antisemitism.

17. **What would you say to the suggestion that you are in truth a long-term public protagonist on the side of Israel in the Australian public debate on relevant issues of Australian foreign and domestic policy (which is of course your right) and are therefore not an appropriate person to be playing such a role, because invariably the role you are seeking will focus significantly on 'antisemitism' manifested in your view as criticism of Israel?**

    I reject that suggestion entirely. My focus is antisemitism, not foreign policy. Criticism of any government, including Israel, is not antisemitic. The problem is when that criticism crosses into hate, denial of Jewish identity, or exclusion of Jewish Australians.

18. **What would you say to the suggestion that your involvement in such a role actually has a tendency to further contribute to polarised and divisive perspectives on these issues?**

    I reject that claim. What's divisive is the rise in antisemitism, not efforts to address it.

19. **Earlier this year a Mr. Mark Leibler tweeted this tweet: [screenshot provided]. Do you regard this criticism of Jewish Australians as antisemitic? (In that it attacks in a trenchant and arguably quite dehumanising way people, at least in part because they are Jewish?). If so, is this form of antisemitism something the committee should make specific recommendations about?**

    I won't comment on individual tweets, but any statement, from any side, that dehumanises or vilifies people because they are Jewish is antisemitic.

20. **Your plan calls for adoption of the IHRA Definition of Antisemitism. That definition contains illustrative 'examples' of antisemitism, with one being, "Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavour". Do you consider as Envoy that Australians and Australians should be guided by the definition such that calls for a**

'one state solution' in Israel/Palestine i.e. a state that accords equal legal rights to all inhabitants of that place (i.e. through a secular state) is necessarily or presumptively antisemitic because it would be considered a call for a state of affairs that would 'deny the Jewish people their right to self-determination'?

The IHRA definition is already the accepted definition of the Australian Government. It serves as a guiding framework to help identify when criticism of Israel crosses into antisemitism. Whether a call for a one-state solution is antisemitic depends on the context, intent and impact, particularly if it denies Jewish self-determination. Each case must be assessed on its own merits.

21. **If a Palestinian Australian approached you as Envoy and informed you that they had been forced to leave Palestine in 1948 or 1967 and since then they and their family have been denied a right of return, while any Jewish person in the world can be granted Israeli citizenship and that they believe Israel is indeed a 'racist endeavour' would you regard their statements as antisemitic or presumptively so? Should Australians regard them as so? Would you advise media and university organisations to regard them as so?**

    The role of the Envoy is to combat antisemitism in Australia not to adjudicate complex historical disputes or individual foreign policy grievances. The focus is ensuring that all Australians, including Jewish Australians, can live in safety and dignity, free from hate.

22. **The Jewish Council of Australia has expressed concern about this definition exacerbating antisemitism. Do you see the adoption of a broad, contested definition, as open to misuse and a means to silence dissent of Israel and/or Israeli policies and actions? Do such actions have a potential to worsen antisemitism in Australia?**

    The Jewish Council of Australia marked its first birthday only in February and remains a fringe group with no representative mandate. It does not speak for the vast majority of Jewish Australians, nor for the long-established community organisations that have led the fight against antisemitism for decades. Its opposition to the IHRA definition is completely out of step with national and international consensus including the Australian Government.

23. **In the Special Envoy's Plan to Combat Antisemitism you recommend that "Having recognised its value and status, the Australian government should require consistent application and adoption of the IHRA definition across all levels of government, public institutions and regulatory bodies. This will provide a unified framework for identifying, educating on, monitoring and responding effectively to antisemitic incidents." and that you, as the Special Envoy would "work with state and federal governments to require the IHRA working definition of antisemitism to be used across all levels of government and public institutions to inform their practical understanding of antisemitism." Are you aware that the author of the**

IHRA definition, Kenneth Stern has criticised the usage of the definition in the manner you have proposed?

The IHRA definition is the official definition of the Australian Government and is endorsed by over 40 democratic nations. The Plan recommends its consistent use across public institutions to provide a clear, unified framework for identifying and addressing antisemitism.

24. **The recommendation of withholding funding and implementing a report card, which in turn is predicated on a broad and controversial definition, is seen by some as also increasing the risk of antisemitism and entrenching positions. It also places an unprecedented emphasis on antisemitism in a manner which no other forms of racism has received, including the institutional and historical racism which continues as against our Indigenous peoples. Do the recommendations risk creating a divide in Australian society as between the Jewish community and other communities in the different treatment and emphasis sought to be placed on antisemitism compared to all other forms of racism?**

    No. The Plan does not create division, it responds to one. Antisemitism has surged to unprecedented levels and Australia's security community has identified it as a leading threat to public safety. The recommendations reflect the urgency and seriousness of that threat. Addressing antisemitism does not come at the expense of other communities, it strengthens the broader fight against all forms of hate.

25. **The committee has heard evidence of a significant number of complaints of 'antisemitism' from members of the Jewish community to police that appear to actually just be legitimate political speech critical of Israel. Do you think that there might be a role for education within the Jewish community about the history of the Palestinian people so as to reduce the perception that certain speech actions are antisemitism when in fact they are legitimate speech based on legitimate interpretations and understandings of historical events and present realities? Might such education assist to reduce fear levels within the Jewish community?**

    When people report antisemitism, it's because they feel targeted, often with good reason. Education is always valuable, but the focus of this Plan is protecting Australians from hate, not asking vulnerable communities to adjust their sensitivity to it.

26. **Do you believe that disapproval among the Australian community at the conduct of the Israeli Defence Force in Gaza (and the resultant death toll and destruction of infrastructure) is a factor driving antisemitism in Australia?**

    Antisemitism is never justified, no matter the events overseas. Holding views on international conflicts is entirely legitimate. Targeting Jewish Australians because of those events is not. Antisemitism is driven by hate, not policy disagreement.

27. **If so, do you believe education is needed to deepen and widen understanding that Jewish Australians generally are not responsible for crimes committed by the State of Israel?**

    There is a broad need for education, not because Jewish Australians need to be separated from foreign events, but because no group should ever be targeted for who they are. The idea that any Australian community must prove it is not responsible for overseas conflicts is fundamentally flawed. Education should reinforce shared values of respect, pluralism and individual responsibility, not pander to prejudice.

28. **In February, following President Trump's announcement of a proposal that would involve the forcible displacement of Palestinians from Gaza, you stated that "The Jewish community and general community see Mr Trump as a president who ultimately wants to bring peace to the Middle East … How he gets there won't be a straight road and we all await developments with interest." Do you consider forcible displacement of Palestinians to be a legitimate potential course of action to take in response to conflict in the Middle East?**

    As Special Envoy, my focus is on combating antisemitism in Australia, not commenting on foreign policy proposals or international conflicts.

29. **Do you believe that persons and organisations conflating Zionism, Judaism and Israel and criticism of Israel with antisemitism, in an attempt to rebuff criticisms of Israel, may be driving a dynamic whereby certain members of the Australian community are increasingly aligning the conduct of Israel with Jewish Australians and therefore increasing levels of antisemitism?**

    The responsibility for antisemitism lies with those expressing hate, not with those calling it out. Conflation is a risk in any public debate, which is why clear definitions and respectful discourse matter. But blaming Jewish Australians for how others respond to criticism of Israel is both dangerous and wrong.

30. **Further do you believe this may be occurring for at least two reasons, a) because it creates a monolithic conception in people's minds of Jewish people where Zionism, Judaism and Israel are aligned and b) because people's resentment at having their disapproval labelled in this way leads them to resent those they perceive to be responsible for mischaracterising their disapproval?**

    Again, the cause of antisemitism is not people feeling misunderstood, it is an age-old prejudice. While public debate can be complex, blaming Jewish Australians for how others react to being challenged is a form of deflection. Antisemitism is never justified by resentment, and no community should be held responsible for the false perceptions of others.

31. **Do you accept that you yourself have contributed to this conflation of Judaism, Zionism and Israel and the conflation of criticism of Israel with antisemitism**

through your work, both as Envoy and in your previous capacity as past president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry? If so, in what ways and how have you since sought to avoid these conflations?

No, I do not accept that. My work has always been guided by clear distinctions between legitimate political critique and antisemitism. The Plan is built on the government adopted IHRA definition, which explicitly protects free expression while identifying when criticism becomes hate. My focus has been — and remains — protecting Jewish Australians from antisemitism, not policing political opinion.

32. **What measures can the committee recommend to educate the Australian community that Zionism and Judaism are different things?**

Australians are entitled to hold diverse views on Zionism, Judaism, or any belief system. What the committee *should* recommend is education that promotes respect, rejects stereotyping, and reinforces that no group should be collectively blamed or targeted, in short that antisemitism is unacceptable.