Submission No 42

INQUIRY INTO ANTISEMITISM IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Organisation: Australia's Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism (ASECA)

Date Received: 6 April 2025

ASECA

AUSTRALIA'S SPECIAL ENVOY TO COMBAT ANTISEMITISM

SUBMISSION TO LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL INQUIRY INTO ANTISEMITISM IN NSW

April 2025

1. INTRODUCE YOUR ORGANISATION

The Federal Government appointed Australia's first Special Envoy to Combat Antisemitism (ASECA) on 9 July 2024.

2. STATE IF ADDRESSING ALL TERMS OF REFERENCE

Yes.

3. INDICATE WHETHER OR NOT YOU WOULD LIKE TO GIVE EVIDENCE AT A HEARING

Yes.

RESPONSE TO TERMS OF REFERENCE

A. Causes underlying increasing prevalence and antisemitic incidents across NSW

Antisemitism is rightly called the oldest hatred, with a history dating back thousands of years. In that time this hatred has evolved as a shape shifting virus.

Addressing the European Parliament in 2016, the late Rabbi Jonathan Sacks said:

"Antisemitism means denying the right of Jews to exist collectively as Jews with the same rights as everyone else. It takes different forms in different ages. In the Middle Ages, Jews were hated because of their religion. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century they were hated because of their race. Today they are hated because of their nation state, the state of Israel. It takes different forms but it remains the same thing: the view that Jews have no right to exist as free and equal human beings."

On 26 February this year, Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) Director-General Mike Burgess advised Senate Estimates that antisemitism was the top priority for ASIO in terms of "threats to life". This followed the release of ASIO's Annual Threat Assessment one week earlier, which stated:

> *"Antisemitism festered in Australia before the tragic events in the Middle East, but the drawn-out conflict gave it oxygen – and gave some antisemites an excuse. Jewish Australians were also increasingly conflated with the state of Israel, leading to an increase in antisemitic incidents.*
>
> *"The normalisation of violent protest and intimidating behaviour lowered the threshold for provocative and potentially violent acts. Narratives originally centred on 'freeing Palestine' expanded to include incitements to 'kill the Jews'. Threats transitioned from harassment and intimidation to specific targeting of Jewish communities, places of worship and prominent figures.*
>
> *"I am concerned these attacks have not yet plateaued."*[1]

Whilst antisemitic incidents were already rising in 2022 before the events of 7 October 2023, the events at the Sydney Opera House on 9 October 2023 added fuel to an already difficult situation.

On that evening at Australia's most iconic location, the sails of the Opera House were lit in blue and white. This was intended as an act of solidarity with NSW's Jewish Community. It followed the massacre of approximately 1200 people in Israel as part of Hamas' invasion of Israel on 7 October 2023. This massacre constituted the murder of the largest number of Jews on a single day since the end of the Nazi Holocaust.

Similar iconic buildings were also lit across Australia and the world, including the Eiffel Tower (Paris), Brandenburg Gate (Berlin), Empire State Building (New York), White House (Washington), 10 Downing St (London), EU Commission HQ (Brussels), National Assembly (Sofia), Obelisk (Buenos Aires), Story St Bridge (Brisbane), Adelaide Oval and Parliament House (Adelaide), MCG, National Gallery of Victoria and Old Treasury Building (Melbourne).

Uniquely and upsettingly, NSW's act of solidarity was transformed by protestors marching from Sydney Town Hall to the Opera House and hatefully chanting, "F… the Jews," while NSW Police did nothing to move the protestors on. This was the oldest hatred going from hiding beneath the surface to full throated public expression. The response of the NSW Police to the intimidating tactics of the protestors was to advise NSW's Jewish Community against attending the Sydney Opera House and to avoid Sydney's CBD.

To understand how this approach denied Jews the same rights as everyone else, one can engage in a simple thought experiment. If, for example, homophobic thugs sought to disrupt Sydney's Gay & Lesbian Mardi Gras parade, it is inconceivable that the response from authorities would be advise the LGBTIQA+ community to stay home and avoid the festivities in the interests of minimising confrontation. Instead of cancelling the parade – in the name of "protecting the peace" – authorities would prioritise protecting the rights of the peaceful LGBTIQA community to proceed with the parade.

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[1] ASIO Annual Threat Assessment 2025: https://www.oni.gov.au/news/asio-annual-threat-assessment-2025

Many in the Jewish community feel that the actions and advice of authorities on 9 October 2023 gave a licence to antisemitism in NSW by permitting an aggressive and intimidating mob, expressing virulently antisemitic views, to take over the focal point of solidarity with the Jewish community at the very moment of the Jewish community's deepest pain and hurt.

After Jews in Sydney were effectively told to stay home for their own safety on 9 October 2023, the intimidating and antisemitic behaviour progressed and, emboldened, came to the places where Jews reside, pray and take their children to school.

Incidents included:

- an arson attack on a Jewish food business;
- repeated arson and graffiti attacks in suburbs with Jewish institutions and significant numbers of Jewish residents;
- arson and graffiti attacks on synagogues; and
- an arson and graffiti attack on a childcare centre adjacent to a Synagogue and Jewish school.

These acts of intimidation and violence each went a little further, adding to the growing sense of vulnerability and unease in the Jewish community.

During this period, we also saw a terrorist attack on the Adass Israel synagogue in Melbourne, with the resultant fire gutting the building and sending occupants fleeing for their lives.

Overall, in the latest full-year reporting period (to 30 September 2024), there has been a 316% increase in antisemitic incidents in Australia.[2]

While NSW proved better than some other jurisdictions about responding to these attacks, in many cases of antisemitic offences, we have not seen arrests made, prosecutions undertaken, convictions recorded or adequate sentences handed down.

Since October 2023, the NSW Parliament has passed three pieces of legislation, partly in response to the increased prevalence and severity of antisemitism in NSW.

The NSW Parliament is to be commended for its response to the rise in antisemitism, however the legislative response has not gone as far as I would have liked in a number of technical respects.

My office will monitor how the legislation works in practice and look forward to continuing to engage with the Government around its efficacy.

In the meantime, I am aware of calls in some fringe quarters of the Parliament to repeal elements of the legislation or allow it to lapse. Much of this is based on the false assertions that:

(a) the legislation was predominantly a response to the case of the Dural caravan (which contained a large quantity of explosives and a list of 'targets' associated with the Jewish community); and
(b) the Dural caravan was merely a harmless "hoax" or did not in fact terrorise the Jewish community.

Neither of these assertions are correct but the second is especially pernicious. Whether or not the caravan was ultimately intended to be used in a terror attack, it had the effect of causing a great deal of fear and anxiety in the Jewish community, which was already on edge following the succession of arson and graffiti attacks, as well as the terror attack on the Adass Israel synagogue in Melbourne.

There is no basis for repealing the legislation passed earlier this year and I commend the Government and Opposition for their steadfastness in this regard.

We must remember that antisemitism, based on ancient tropes and misinformation, shape-shifts and rises up particularly when there is economic stress, as we are experiencing today, and in response to international events. It needs to be forcibly condemned by leaders and in no way given licence.

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[2] ECAJ Report on Anti-Jewish Incidents in Australia 2024. https://www.ecaj.org.au/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/ECAJ-Report-Anti-Jewish-Incidents-Australia-2024-1.pdf

Recommendation 1

Governments must address antisemitism on its own terms, with conviction and leadership, and must denounce it forcibly, without needing to refer to antisemitism in the context of other forms of prejudice.

Recommendation 2

Police, prosecutors and the judiciary should receive education to ensure a clear understanding of the definition of, seriousness and collective impact of antisemitic crimes on the Jewish community and on social cohesion as a whole.

Recommendation 3

In respect of demonstrators, particularly those who engage in intimidation, harassment or threats of violence, NSW Police must be instructed – and given the necessary powers and resources – to prioritise the protection of the peaceful over a desire to maintain the peace.

Recommendation 4

Subject to the further recommendations, below, the NSW Government should maintain and monitor the package of legislative measures passed by the NSW Parliament in early 2025, with a view to consulting on any further measures required to give effect to their underlying intent.

B. Record levels of antisemitism on university campuses and in schools undermining student safety

Universities

In September 2024, University of Sydney Vice Chancellor Mark Scott told a federal parliamentary inquiry into antisemitism at universities that the university had "failed" its Jewish students, academics and staff.[3]

In a similar vein to the instructions of the NSW authorities on 9 October 2023, universities advised Jewish students and staff to stay away from campuses for their own safety during periods of protests and encampments, similarly tolerating and normalising antisemitism through inaction.

In my submission to the Senate committee inquiry the need for a judicial inquiry into antisemitism at Australian universities, I made a series of recommendations. I have attached a copy of that submission.

While that submission speaks for itself, my recommendations included:

1. Establishing a judicial inquiry into antisemitism at universities to:
   (a) address the embedded culture of antisemitism at Australian universities;
   (b) allow for evidence to be given in private; and
   (c) investigate foreign funding that may be undermining universities' missions and values;
2. Requiring universities to adopt best practice policies, including around discipline in respect of antisemitic conduct;

[3] 'University of Sydney vice-chancellor Mark Scott apologises to Jewish students over Students for Palestine encampment', *ABC News*, 20 September 2024: https://www.abc.net.au/news/2024-09-20/sydney-uni-vc-mark-scott-apologises-for-anti-semitism-on-campus/104376840

3. Ensuring universities adopt the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism, as endorsed by the Australian and NSW Governments, in order to clarify what is and what is not antisemitism.
4. Introducing training at universities in order to bring about better understanding and cultural change. This could be modelled on existing work that has been undertaken to addressing sexual assault and sexual harassment.

Since that time, I have had numerous discussions with universities, which have collectively taken preliminary steps to address antisemitism at their institutions.

These steps include adopting a sector-wide baseline definition of antisemitism, which, in my view, falls short of the IHRA definition but is a step in the right direction.

Universities have also made some progress in updating their policies and associated procedures, as well as training key staff to understand and recognise antisemitism.

I note that, in recent months, the National Student Ombudsman (NSO) has started accepting complaints of antisemitism and that the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Authority (TEQSA) has started to engage more actively from a regulatory perspective.

It is too soon to make any conclusions about the effectiveness of these preliminary steps but it will be crucial to assess their impact towards the end of the current academic year.

As Special Envoy, I also propose to monitor the performance of universities in dealing with antisemitism and report on my findings.

I note, also, the work of the University Foreign Interference Taskforce (UFIT), which has published guidelines that pertain primarily to access to sensitive research and information that may pose a threat to national security.[4]

Concerns have also been expressed, including to me directly, about the impact on campus discourse more broadly of targeted foreign funding and influence. I remain concerned about external influences on university campus activities – formal and informal, foreign and domestic – and their role in stimulating antisemitism.

The suspected involvement in the encampment at the University of Sydney, for example, of Hizb-ut-Tahrir, a proscribed organisation in several overseas jurisdictions (such as the United Kingdom and Germany), has been widely reported.[5]

Recommendation 5

Universities, TEQSA and the NSO should adopt regular and transparent reporting on the implementation of changes to address antisemitism at universities.

[4] Guidelines to Counter Foreign Interference in the Australian University Sector.
[5] 'Internal docs cast doubt on whether University of Sydney acted on Hizb ut-Tahrir warnings', *The Australian*, 25 September 2024: https://www.theaustralian.com.au/nation/internal-docs-cast-doubt-on-whether-university-of-sydney-acted-on-hizb-uttahrir-warnings/news-story/224744b4705e9e6b38b1d8718183132b

Schools

While much attention has focused on antisemitism at universities, there has also been a level of antisemitic activity in schools.

In September 2023, for example, the Federal Court found that the State of Victoria had breached the Racial Discrimination Act after Brighton Secondary College had failed to adequately address antisemitism directed at five Jewish students between 2015 and 2020.

Interviews with NSW public school students and their families from all the major faith groups, conducted as part of an academic study over two years, found that students are being bullied in schools because of their faith, and that this affects their spiritual, mental, emotional and physical health.[6]

Although the Department of Education has commendably taken a strong stance against all forms of hatred and exclusion, a review and assessment of antisemitic incidents in public schools would be useful.

Recommendation 6

An independent review be undertaken of antisemitic incidents in NSW schools to assess the scale of the problem.

Recommendation 7

Antisemitism education and awareness training be delivered to all school educators.

Recommendation 8

Antisemitism awareness for school children be formalised in the curriculum. This can be delivered in conjunction with Holocaust education but must include current experiences and manifestations of antisemitism.

C. The threat to social cohesion in New South Wales presented by antisemitism

The Jewish community is a peaceful, law abiding community that is well-integrated into Australian society, shares its values and has contributed to Australia and NSW in particular in all fields of endeavour.

Those who attack the Australian Jewish community are the antithesis of those Australian values and social cohesion.

It is emblematic that, when Jewish Australians stand together, they do so as proud Australians, often carrying Australian flags or singing Advance Australia Fair.

In stark contrast, one of the chants repeated at the Sydney Opera House on the evening of 9 October 2023, alongside "F… the Jews", was "Shame, Australia, Shame".

As history has shown, particularly during the 20th century, antisemitism is the proverbial "canary in the coal mine" for ruptures in social fabric.

The late Rabbi Sacks explained it in the following terms: "The hate that begins with Jews never ends with Jews. Antisemitism is the world's most reliable early warning sign of a major threat to freedom, humanity and the dignity of difference."

[6] 'School bullying rampant', *The Australian Jewish News*, 1 September 2022. https://www.australianjewishnews.com/school-bullying-rampant/

Addressing antisemitism includes a commitment by governments to show leadership, and represent public expectations, as the stewards of public funds and the guardians of social cohesion.

Immediately following the serious arson attack on the Adass Israel synagogue, Victorian Premier Jacinta Allan announced her Government's intention to introduce "a simple, Victorian-focused 'social cohesion pledge' that multicultural organisations must observe to apply for government grants – with consequences if the pledge is broken".[7]

This commitment should extend well beyond multicultural organisations, as envisaged by the Victorian Premier, and should include funding or benefits provided in all spheres, including cultural and educational settings.

Ensuring that individuals who engage in antisemitic rhetoric or incitement (and organisations who choose to associate with them) do not receive public grants, funding or appointments is a crucial step governments can take to convey that they consider antisemitism to be an unacceptable threat to social cohesion.

On the other hand, maintaining the funding to, or appointments of, such individuals or organisations provides an implicit tolerance of antisemitism, and minimises its seriousness, by indicating that it is not a bar to government support. The impact on the Jewish community of continued government support for those involved in antisemitism is weighty.

As a result, all government appointments, grants and funding agreements should include an enforceable term that allows for termination in the event that:

- the recipient engages in inflammatory antisemitic rhetoric or incitement; or
- in the case of an organisation, it is led by or consciously associates with an individual engaged in such conduct.

Such a condition may be set out in the relevant enabling legislation or at the level of the funding agreement or letter of appointment.

Other incidents, such as the video of two nurses at Bankstown Hospital, indicate that antisemitism may be widespread in many sectors within the community, including the public sector. In order to reduce levels of antisemitism and reinforce social cohesion, the Government should support a state-wide campaign to educate teachers, health workers and others in the public sector about antisemitism and its threat not only to social cohesion but also to a strong democracy. My office would be happy to work with the Government on this.

Recommendation 9

The NSW Government should develop and enforce legislation and/or model clauses for funding agreements and appointments to ensure that government funding or appointments are subject to cancellation if:

a) the individual recipients engage in antisemitic rhetoric or incitement; or

b) a recipient organisation is led by (or consciously associates with) such individuals.

Recommendation 10

The NSW Government should support a campaign to educate public service workers about antisemitism and its risks to social cohesion.

[7] Premier of Victoria, The Hon Jacinta Allan MP, 'Strong Action To Fight Hate And Help Victoria Heal', 17 December 2024: https://www.premier.vic.gov.au/strong-action-fight-hate-and-help-victoria-heal

D. How community safety might be enhanced, on behalf of the Jewish community of New South Wales

Meeting security needs

Government's first obligation is to protect the safety of its citizens.

The face of antisemitism in NSW is reflected in the stark contrast between a Sydney Jewish kindergarten and its neighbouring commercial childcare centre.

The Jewish kindergarten has four obvious layers of security, while the adjoining childcare centre has only a childproof gate.

The need for a greater level of security at Jewish premises has existed for decades, reflecting what was understood to be a serious but fringe extremist antisemitic threat. Over the past 18 months, that threat has become much more pronounced and immediate.

No other community in NSW is expected to live with a threat to their children's lives that necessitates four layers of security, implemented on advice from government and police.

Successive governments and NSW Police have largely required the NSW Jewish community to fund and provide personnel to protect their own community. This has placed an unfair burden on the Jewish community.

Following 7 October 2023 and the subsequent global escalation in antisemitic threats and incidents, the Commonwealth Government increased support through the Grants for Safer Communities Program and other security initiatives. The NSW Government also provided a level of funding. This assistance has been welcome and has had an immediate positive impact on the community's ability to respond to heightened risk.

Simultaneously, NSW Police's Operation Shelter temporarily increased the public provision of security for the Jewish Community in response to the immediate threat.

The increase police taskings and security funding—while necessary—was reactive and time-limited, however. The scale and persistence of current threats, coupled with NSW Police's own constraints in delivering full coverage across all high-risk sites, make clear the need for a sustainable funding solution particularly for ongoing operational funding needs.

The safety of the Jewish community can be significantly enhanced through a formal, long-term government commitment to funding the operational capacity of community-based security. These organisations provide critical protection to communal institutions and vulnerable sites, reduce resource demands on NSW Police and have demonstrated their effectiveness over many years.

By formalising operational funding and integrating community security groups into broader public safety planning, the Government can enhance both the effectiveness and sustainability of Jewish community protection.

Recommendation 11

The NSW Government should establish a guaranteed, long-term operational funding model to support the continued delivery of professional security to Jewish communal institutions, including training, staffing, coordination, and threat monitoring.

Recommendation 12

Continued support for emergency preparedness initiatives within the community, including scenario-based training and community resilience programs.

E. Ways to improve security arrangements around synagogues

Earlier this year, the NSW Parliament passed the *Crimes Amendment (Places of Worship) Act 2025* (the *Places of Worship Act*), which provides:

> "A person in or near a place of worship must not—
> (a) without reasonable excuse, intentionally block, impede or hinder a person accessing or leaving, or attempting to access or leave, the place of worship, or
> (b) harass, intimidate or threaten a person accessing or leaving, or attempting to access or leave, the place of worship".[8]

In contrast to the *Public Health Amendment (Safe Access to Reproductive Health Clinics) Act 2018*, which established a 150 metre "safe access zone" around abortion providers, the *Places of Worship Act* did not establish a safe access zone around places of worship.

These laws should also be extended to prevent intimidation or harassment – such as by aggressive protesters – outside other faith-based institutions such as schools or aged care facilities.

Recommendation 13

The NSW Parliament should amend the provisions of the Places of Worship Act to more closely mirror the "safe access zone" laws in respect of premises that provide abortions and extend them to apply to other vulnerable faith-based institutions.

Synagogues remain at heightened risk due to their visibility, symbolic significance, and vital role in Jewish religious and communal life. Security measures around these sites must reflect the scale and complexity of the threats they face.

Improvements to the security of synagogues should focus on both infrastructure and operational support.

I have consulted with those involved with providing security to synagogues and, on the basis of that engagement, make the following recommendations.

Recommendation 14

Increased government investment in protective infrastructure, including access control systems, perimeter hardening, high-resolution CCTV and secure communication systems.

Recommendation 15

Continued focus on easing the ability of synagogues to obtain necessary development approvals to implement enhanced security infrastructure.

Recommendation 16

Provision of long-term operational funding to support the deployment of trained security personnel familiar with synagogue operations and threat environments.

Recommendation 17

Recognition of synagogues within formal emergency response frameworks, including designated priority response protocols from police and other agencies.

[8] *Crimes Amendment (Places of Worship) Act 2025*.

F. Arrangements to protect individuals from the practice of "doxing"

In February 2024 it was reported that a list of the private information, including physical and email addresses, websites, social media accounts, phone numbers, employment and business details, photographs and other personal details, of more than 600 Jewish Australian academics and creatives had been made public or “doxed”.

Following publication of the list, it was reported that many of the people who had been ‘doxed’ had:

- been ‘unfriended’;
- been excluded from artistic spaces and activities;
- lost business or had employment terminated;
- had to relocate their homes and businesses;
- been attacked and harassed on line; and
- in one case, received a photo of their child with the text “we know where you live”.

I have met with a number of those individuals who were subject to this “doxing” and the damage to their lives, livelihoods and senses of identity and community is heart-rending. Many report trauma and that they do not feel they have been “heard” by police, who sometimes minimise the impact or dismiss the significance of these events. They continue to also feel ostracised by the broader cultural community.

I understand that the Australian Federal Police (AFP) have been investigating possible offences following the publication of the private information, though it appears no arrests or prosecutions have occurred to date.

In late 2024, the Commonwealth Parliament passed the *Privacy and Other Legislation Amendment Act 2024* to more directly outlaw doxing.

I will monitor the implementation and effectiveness of this legislation.

Recommendation 18

To address the trauma and feeling of being unheard among victims of doxing, the NSW Government could establish an official forum for victims to discuss their experiences, in a similar way that recent victims of natural disasters have been able to do so.

Recommendation 19

The AFP should provide public clarity to victims of past doxing as to whether they can expect charges to be laid in response to the extended investigation of these incidents.

Recommendation 20

Create NSW should develop a strategy to:

a) actively remove the barriers that have been erected to prevent Jewish creatives engaging in their art forms and prevent future such barriers from being erected; and

b) enable already ostracised Jewish creatives to be re-established in their art forms.

G. Privacy arrangements around public information that may identify an individual or their address, such as land title records and electoral roll information.

Arrangements exist for individuals to have their home addresses omitted from many public registers to ensure that such information cannot be easily used to harass or intimidate them.

Such practices and procedures are utilised by a variety of people, including as parliamentarians, members of the judiciary and senior police, whose employment and public profiles might attract malefactors.

My office has been told that there are no established practices and procedures for this to occur in respect of land title records and that, as Service NSW does not have an established process for such applications, every application to omit relevant data requires an individualised application to NSW Land Registry Services.

Equally, I am advised that Transport for NSW also does not have its own established simple process for omitting home address details associated with driver and vehicle registration.

Such processes are currently highly manual, cumbersome and involve a number of bureaucratic hurdles. This serves as an effective barrier to the protection of information of vulnerable individuals, such as high-profile members of the Jewish community.

Recommendation 21

The NSW Government should introduce uniform, streamlined procedures to enable the omission of private information of at-risk individuals from all publicly available registers, including the land titles records.

H. The role of the Sydney Jewish Museum in providing Holocaust education for students

The Sydney Jewish Museum plays an important educational role in education the NSW community about the Holocaust.

Structured Holocaust education as part of the school curriculum is critically important so all students might be educated against antisemitic prejudice and hatred. Commendably, such education is now a compulsory part of the high school curriculum in NSW.

At the same time, and as reflected in the quote from Rabbi Sacks at the top of this submission, antisemitism is a shape-shifting virus. The antisemitism of the Middle Ages was different to the antisemitism of Nazi Germany, which was different to the antisemitism of the Soviet Union and is different to antisemitism on university campuses today.

Like a virus, if we focus solely on inoculating against a previous strain, its effectiveness may be limited against the latest strain.

It is vitally important and useful to understand – and learn the lessons of – the Holocaust. At the same time, however, it is equally as important to the present-day Jewish community to understand and recognise the modern manifestations and drivers of antisemitism in 2025.

Most Jewish Australians feel a connection with the State of Israel as a fundamental part of their Jewish identity. Calls for its destruction – as opposed to criticism of Israel's policies or actions – are therefore seen by the Jewish community in Australia as an attack on a foundational element of Jewish life. According to the IHRA definition of antisemitism, endorsed by both the Commonwealth and NSW governments, such a denial of a right to Jewish self-determination is also antisemitic.

An understanding of the role played by the land of Israel in Jewish history, religion and culture over 3,500 years is very important and should be conveyed in conjunction with any education provided by the Sydney Jewish Museum.

Recommendation 22

As many school students as can be practically accommodated should be facilitated, including through funding support where necessary, to attend the Sydney Jewish Museum. This should apply to all school systems: public, Catholic and independent.

Recommendation 23

Alongside vital Holocaust education, which is now included in the NSW curriculum, school lesson plans should include education about current manifestations of antisemitism. This requires a layered approach to teaching to include:

(1) An understanding of ethics, humanity and kindness.

(2) An understanding of the Holocaust as an example of hatred and antisemitism at the time.

(3) An understanding of contemporary antisemitism and its link with anti-Zionism.