Antisemitism online

FACEBOOK AS A SPACE FOR ANTISEMITIC HATE SPEECH
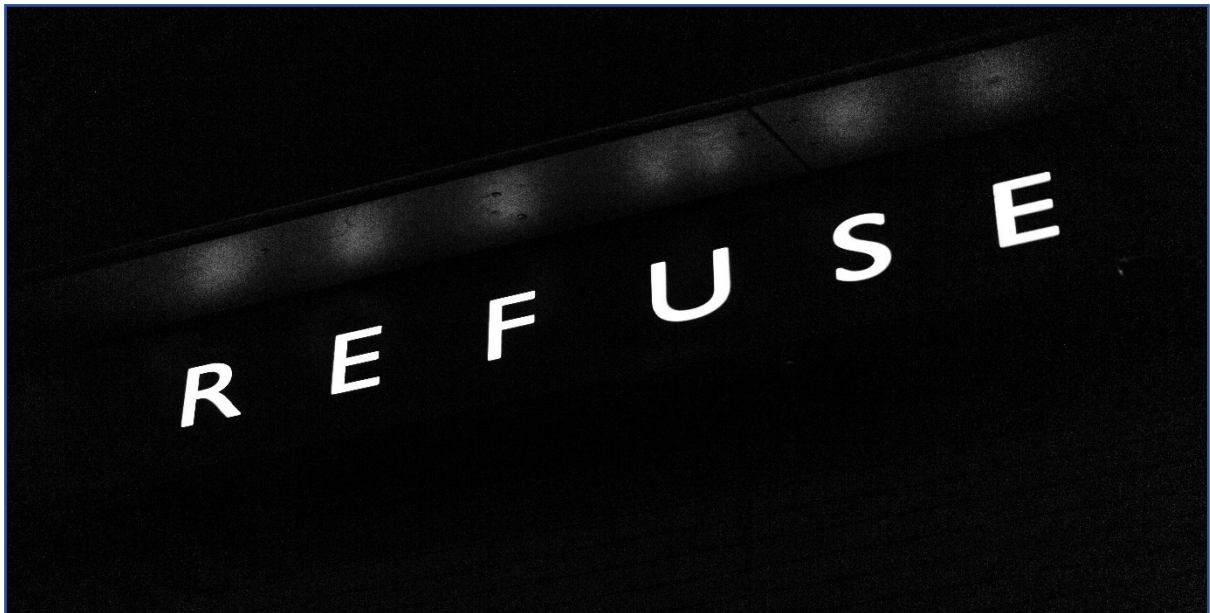
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The document aims to present a summary of the main findings regarding antisemitic statements in the online space from national reports of four (4) Visegrad countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia) in the ComAnCE (Combat Antisemitism in Central Europe) project. The goal of the ComAnCE project is to produce and present, towards the state authorities, police force, fellows researchers, European institutions and bodies, focusing on discrimination and hate crime, a precise categorization, types and indicators of antisemitic hate speech (hate crime) in Central Europe (V4).

ComAnCE project focused on the media, and social networks (especially Facebook) in project countries to analyze antisemitic statements in the online environment (see Chapter "Role of the Media"). This objective has been achieved through an online survey in project countries. All national reports concentrated on their specific topic, which caused most antisemitic reactions (see Chapter "Research and survey"). Project countries created the unique categorization of antisemitic statements according to which they were classified the keywords collected from Facebook users with the use of specific software (Maxqda and CLARIN) (see Chapter "Research Method"). The main output of the ComAnCE project is a remarkable database of antisemitic statements and keywords which is unparalleled in Europe. Moreover, project countries focus on relatively frequent occurrence of antisemitic stereotypes that are deeply rooted in Central European society (see Chapter "Main findings"). From these main findings, we can see that antisemitic statements in Central Europe (V4) is not related to the Jews anymore (so we can talk about "antisemitism without Jews"), but has a more significant impact on radicals or extremists. The audience that could benefit from the project is all research fellows from European countries, whose work focuses on the various types of hatred, all relevant stakeholders and policymakers dealing with these issues and the victims of antisemitic hate speech/hate crime. This type of project is essential because it could help create a customized training program on the counter, combat, localize, categorize and target antisemitic hate speech (hate crime) in the online environment. This project is especially important because several antisemitic statements have appeared in the online space in recent years.

Terminology note

Concerning the term "antisemitism", the scientific literature tends to refer to this term without a hyphen, as this would predict the misleading claim that there is some "Semitism" against which it is possible to object.[1] The *Anti-Defamation League* asserts:

> "*The word "Semitic" was first used by a German historian in 1781 to bind together languages of Middle Eastern origin that have some linguistic similarities. The speakers of those languages, however, do not otherwise have shared heritage or history. There is no such thing as a Semitic peoplehood. Additionally, one could speak a Semitic language and still have Antisemitic views.*"[2]

CEJI – A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe claims:

> "*The word 'antisemitism' usually appears in American publications spelled with a hyphen and a capital letter S: 'antisemitism', whereas in British English, it is spelled as one word with a lowercase s: 'antisemitism'. The question of a hyphen is important because its use implies that the words semitism or semite are actually meaningful, when in fact they do not exist, as we explain in the text.* "[3]

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[1] "Working Definition of Antisemitism", in: *International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance*, (online), in: <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism>

[2] "Spelling of antisemitism vs. Antisemitism", in: *Anti-Defamation League*, (online), in: <https://www.adl.org/spelling>

[3] *Guidelines for identifying & monitoring antisemitism online & offline* (2016), CEJI – A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe, p. 2.

Role of the media

Media are an essential tool in shaping the world views on global societies. With the rise of social media and their power to change the attitudes and opinions of their users, media are becoming a crucial part of everyday life. Especially social networks which became explicitly a primary source of information. However, with the rise and popularization of the Internet, social networks and at the same time the increase in the consumption of online media content, several negative social phenomena have appeared on the Internet in Visegrad countries. Such as antisemitic speech, hate speech, racism, stalking or bullying and various forms of radicalism. These negative phenomena are catalyzed by the anonymity of communication, limited or non-existing regulation and censorship and the rapid flow of information. Also, the wide access to Internet gave this social media a greater impact. For example, in the Czech Republic, more than eight million Czech citizens have access to the Internet, and 80% of them are using Internet on daily basis. In Poland 28.2 million have access to the Internet (84.9 %). In Hungary, the number of internet users is 6 396 000 (66.6% of population) and in Slovakia it is 4 630 000 users (85% population).

Of course the use of various type of social media vary in all Visegrad countries, but Facebook is most popular in the whole region. This was also the main reason why we choose specifically Facebook for our content media analysis. We have selected ten (10) media in all Visegrad countries based on the type of the media, content and position within or outside the mainstream environment. To be more specific, Facebook profiles of these selected media, have a large number of users, and they are also placed on the highest ranks on the Trust barometer or among the readers. The significant number of antisemitic Facebook statements were shared via such media and their discussion under media news is not moderated, neither deleted. The highest amount of antisemitic statements were generated by (1) the most popular tabloid-(fake) style information portal (In The Czech republic: Parlamentnilisty.cz, AC24.cz, Blesk.cz; In Hungary: Blikk, Balra Magyar, 888.hu; In Poland: Fakt; In Slovakia: Nový čas, Plus Jeden Deň, Plus 7 dní, Báječná žena, topky.sk, hlavnesprávy.sk, parlamentné listy, Zem a vek, Slobodný vysielač, Hlavný denník); (2) in the second place was one of the most popular (online) news portals (In The Czech republic: ČT 24, Czech Radio – Radiožurnál, iDNES.cz, Novinky.cz, Aktualne.cz, Seznam.cz; In Hungary: index.hu, 24.hu, origo.hu; In Poland: Gazeta Wyborcza, Sieci, Wirtualna Polska, Onet, Na Temat, Nie, Niezalezna; In Slovakia: Radio express, Radio Slovensko, FUN radio, Pravda, SME, Hospodárske noviny, Život, Denník N, Aktuality.sk); and (3) in the third-place (commercial) television channel (In The Czech republic: TV NOVA, Prima, TV Barrandov; In Hungary: MTV, HírTV, HVG, ATV; In Poland: TVP info, TVN24; In Slovakia: Tv Markíza, Tv JOJ, RTVS, TA3).

Research and survey

In all national reports we have selected ten (10) most popular media with Facebook profiles in all Visegrad countries; however, every report focuses on different events in which antisemitic statements occurred. The research data was the result of online survey of the Facebook comments conducted in all V4 countries at the end of December 2019. Overall, 4137 people completed the online questionnaire. Age, groups were approximately evenly distributed and only persons over 15 years filled in the questionnaire. The lowest age groups were slightly overrepresented in all four countries what reflected characteristics of social network users. The selection of respondents also reflected the administrative division of countries and in all four cases, respondents from all regions of the country were represented.

The respondents were asked about their personal opinion as they should rank which statements would cause most antisemitic reactions. Respondents also had the opportunity to propose their topics, which may have such potential:

The Czech Republic

TOPIC	EVENT	COLLECTION OF DATA
Demonstrations against Prime Minister Andrej Babiš or President Miloš Zeman	Million Moments for Democracy – 1st large demonstration	21. 6. – 30. 6. 2019
	Million Moments for Democracy – 2nd large demonstration	11. 11. – 24. 11. 2019
Information about Israeli-Palestinian conflict	Visit of the President of the Czech Republic Miloš Zeman in Israel – Declared relocation of the Czech Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem	23. 11. – 31. 12. 2018
Migration crisis in Europe	New developments on the Greek-Turkish border in 2020	24. 2. – 22. 3. 2020

Hungary

TOPIC	EVENT	COLLECTION OF DATA
The premiere of the film' Those who remained.'	"Premier of a Holocaust-themed film" was the screening of the film "Those Who Remained" (September-October 2019)	19.09. – 10.10. 2019
Antisemitic attack at a shop in New Jersey	"Antisemitic Attacks in Western Countries" was the 2019 series of attacks on Jews in New Jersey, starting in a kosher shop (December 2019).	03.12. – 24.12. 2019
George Soros' role in the "prison business."	"Campaign against George Soros" was in connection with the so-called "jail business", a term coined by government propagandists to refer to criminals who sue the state for huge sums in compensation, citing poor prison conditions. (January 2020)	28.12.2019 – 18.01. 2020

Poland

TOPIC	EVENT	COLLECTION OF DATA
Attacks on the Polish embassy in Israel	There were noted some attacks on Polish embassy in Israel. It was painted fascistic symbol on the fence of the embassy territory.	18.02.2018 – 11.03.2018
Information about Israeli-Palestinian conflict	The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which has lasted continuously since the middle of the 20th century, is a long-lasting event. A particularly intense media discussion on this topic can be noted for January 2020.	28.01.2020 – 18.02.2020
Celebrations of the anniversaries of liberation KL Auschwitz – Birkenau camp	Resignation of the President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda from participating in the celebration of the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz in Israel.	7.01.2020 - 28.01.2020

TOPIC	EVENT	COLLECTION OF DATA
Milan Mazurek (LSNS) trail	The most actual topic related to neo-fascists political party LSNS, and the trial with former MP Milan Mazurek on his extremist's hatred on the Internet (August - September 2019).	21.08. – 30.09.2019
European Election (migration crisis)	The most actual topic related to the migration crisis – European election 2019 (May 2019).	05.05. – 31.05.2019
Decent Slovakia protests	The protest "Decent Slovakia" after the murder of Jan Kuciak and his fiancé (March 2018).	01.03. – 31.03.2019
Election of Zuzana Čaputová	Election of Zuzana Čaputová for President of Slovak republic (March 2019), this topic was not seen by the respondents as the topic that cause negative emotion towards Jews.Hovewer, we still selected it because there were indicators of a high relevance of data on antisemitism.	10.03. - 31.03.2019

Various types of antisemitism

The analysis of the current occurrence of antisemitic hate speech in the online environment shows that a significant proportion of attacks occurred as a response to various topics. Most often information articles, which to varying degrees were related to the State Israel, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, migration crisis in Europe, activities of NGOs, electoral campaign of candidates, against financier George Soros, traditional antisemitic prejudices against people of real or alleged Jewish descent, liberalism, globalism, Western civilization, USA, European Union, various companies (a Slovak internet security company ESET) and the Holocaust. Another crucial area is related to multiple conspiracy theories (e.g. denial of Holocaust), which, e.g. claim that in the backstage of several worlds or domestic events and phenomena there is a mysterious Jewish lobby or "evil" Jews.

Research methodology

Categorization

All report started with the creation of categories (see bellow in subhead "Categorization based on hate" and "Categorization based on antisemitism as a "mode of thought."), and then researchers put their keywords on the subject imposed by the category. Some of the categories were common to all Visegrad countries, but some of them also depend on the national context. These differences also occurred naturally in the vocabulary itself, where not always every word had a direct translation. In this way, the content of each category was considered from the perspective of the cultural, historical, social, and linguistic context of and from the national context of each Visegrad country.

The reports from Visegrad countries helped us to transform basic-working codes into categories defining antisemitic statements. As there are several theoretical approaches to antisemitism, there is no consensus in academia on the general categorization of antisemitism. For this reason, we were focusing on new forms of antisemitism (e.g. "antisemitism without Jews") which are not visible in previous researches and public opinion polls. Based on the current debates on antisemitism in Europe and considering the specifics of the Central European region, all Visegrad countries created a working version of the categorization.

All reports divided the antisemitic statements (keywords) into these categories: (1) Traditional antisemitism or religious-based antisemitism (based on the long-standing religious prejudices against Jews) (*Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia*); (2) Secondary (current) antisemitism (Anti-Zionism and anti-Israel, Holocaust denial, the demonization of Israel) (*Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia*); (3) New antisemitism or current quasi-neutral claims about the Jews (anti-Zionism, the delegitimization of Israel) (*Czech Republic, Slovakia*); (4) Conspiracy antisemitism (Jewish secret plans) (*Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia);* (5) Antisemitism without Jews or epithets used against Jews that were not categorized with previous categories. (antisemitic slurs and ethnophaulisms) (*Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia);* (6) Stereotypes ("the classical image of Jews") (*Hungary*), (7) Liberalism (anti-Western thinking) (*Hungary*), (7) National antisemitism (*Poland*).

All categories, however, could be broader, as there are some overlays, and some of the antisemitic claims (keywords) may fit into two or more of these categories. This situation influenced the categorization of comments (keywords). Therefore, all Visegrad countries took into consideration also Working Definition of Antisemitism from the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA)

Categorization based on hate: International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism

IHRA classification of antisemitism sees antisemitism as a "hate speech". Hate is considered to be a great danger to modern liberal democracy. The term "hate" ("hatred") is currently without a generally accepted definition, and it is mostly seen as just a negative emotion or feeling. However, it is not possible to punish an emotion. Furthermore, the concept of hate (hatred) is so vague and opaque that scholars (as well as IHRA) often have to extend the semantic field of hate (hatred) with other concepts which are very close to the meaning of negative emotion or feeling: defamation, dehumanization, demonization, threat, intolerance, prejudice, bias, fear, fright, dislike, contempt, xenophobia, negative generalizations, hostility, discrimination, harming or violence. By

expanding the semantic field of the concept of hatred, scholars face the problem that not all of the above-mentioned concepts shows the same degree of negative emotionality.

IHRA 1	Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.
IHRA 2	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.
IHRA 3	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.
IHRA 4	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).
IHRA 5	Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
IHRA 6	Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.
IHRA 7	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.
IHRA 8	Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
IHRA 9	Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
IHRA 10	Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

If scholars perceive hate as a negative *emotion* or *feeling*, antisemitism is often criticized from a "rationalist" point of view. An aggressor acts without "rationality" or "critical thinking"; thus, he or she must logically act only "irrational": with negative emotion or feeling (hate). For this reason, scholars have to look for the roots or the conditions of prejudice and false consciousness either in pathological personality or in social alienation and conflicts.[4] However, if scholars perceive antisemitism as "irrational", then it is difficult to object antisemitism as a phenomenon that can be understood.

The scientific literature claims that the concept of hate (hatred) is intricately connected to its target or an object. The target or the object of hate (hatred) is often a person or a group. However, the concept of "a person of "a group" is so opaque that scholars often have to extend the semantic field of "hate a person or "hate a group" with a detailed description of this hatred: a person or a group defined by actual or perceived affiliation with ethnicity, race, class, nationality, religion, gender, sexual orientation, disability, political or other thinking. Knowing the target or the object of hatred, however, tells us nothing about the *nature* of hate (hatred) We get into a vicious circle when we must re-identify hatred again as a negative *emotion* or *feeling towards a person or group*. For example, from IHRA definition:

> "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."[5]

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[4] BALIBAR, É. (1994): *Masses, Classes, Ideas*. New York & London: Routledge, p. 199.
[5] "Working Definition of Antisemitism", in: *International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance*, (online), in:
<https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/resources/working-definitions-charters/working-definition-antisemitism>

Nevertheless, what is the intent of this negative emotion or feeling? Some scholars, therefore, believe that it is necessary to abandon the understanding of hate (hatred) as mere negative emotion *towards a person or group*. However, in some instances, pure hate appears, without practical reason and pragmatic interests.[6] The brute violence with hate, e. g. the machete slaughtering in Rwanda is different from the Jewish genocide, from a planned and organized system of a mass killing, because this mass killing needed not to hate, but *distance*, and *separation*.[7]

From historical research, scholars know that the Nazi murderers were ordinary men, and many did not feel hatred for the Jews. In his study, a historian Johann Chapoutot proved with the help of the correspondence of the diaries and letters of Nazi criminals that people like Franz Stangl (commander of Treblinka), Rudolf Höss (commander of Auschwitz) or Karl Jäger (commander of Einsatzkommand 3 and Einsatzgruppe A) did not even feel hatred (as an emotion), but perceived the committing of crimes as an unpleasant but necessary "job".[8] A historian Christopher Browning in his book *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992) pointed out that most of the police forces who murdered Jews in Poland had not fired a shot in anger or hate.[9] In the famous note of a philosopher Theodor Adorno it was "war without hatred".[10] The function of antisemitism was different. Antisemitism was not to provoke hate but *distance,* a *gulf*. Antisemitism created a polarised world in which "the enemy" was objectified and removed from the community of human obligation. All negative stereotyping and dehumanization fostered distance, promoted a psychological distancing – not frenzy, hate and brutalization – with the result that people became apathetic, passive and indifferent towards the fate of the Jews.[11] Antisemitism leads to an absolute rejection of any possible similitude with the *being* of the Jews. The anti-Jewish hate targets at the very *being* of the Jews, whatever they might *do*.[12]

Categorization based on antisemitism as a "mode of thought"

The IHRA Working Definition of Antisemitism prefers an approach to characterize antisemitism based on hate. Moreover, the IHRA definition does not contain a reference to activities such as the BDS (The Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions) Movement.[13] This is the reason why Visegrad countries adopted a slightly different approach. Antisemitism is "a genuine mode of thought", connected with a "desire for knowledge" of who we are, not merely a matter of prejudices or hate. This "mode of thought" is based on the notion that people are *different*, not individually, but *collectively*, and this collective difference "is the universal essence of what we are".

Consequently, this is the reason why racist and antisemitic thinking is about creating closed communities or nowadays Facebook's "bubbles". In these "bubbles" their participants interpret the social world.[14] The function of antisemitism as a "mode of thought" creates psychological and physical distance from other collectives, which is perceived as a completely different, if the "mode of thought" comes up to expectation to answer the antisemites' question of who they are as a *collective*. This characterization of antisemitism tries to "*annihilate*" (attempt to annul the existence of) a target or an object. This "annihilation" might be connected with negative emotions, but negative emotions are not among the key signs of hate (hatred) — the effort to "*annihilate*" (attempt to annul the existence of) works regardless of the degree of negative emotion towards the target or the object. The offender does not want the target or the object to exist at all. So,

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[6] TAGUIEFF, P.-A. (2001): *The Force of Prejudice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 24.

[7] TRAVERSO, E. (2003): *The Origins of Nazi Violence*. New York: The New Press, p. 14.

[8] CHAPOUTOT, J. (2014): *La loi du sang. Penser et agir en nazi*. Paris: Editions Gallimard, p. 15.

[9] BROWNING, R. CH. (2001): *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. London: Penguin Books, p. 161.

[10] ADORNO, TH. (2005): *Minima Moralia*. New York: Verso, p. 56.

[11] BROWNING, R. CH. (2001): *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. London: Penguin Books, p. 162, 200.

[12] TAGUIEFF, P.-A. (2001): *The Force of Prejudice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p. 25.

[13] See: https://bdsmovement.net/

[14] BALIBAR, É. (1994): *Masses, Classes, Ideas*. New York & London: Routledge, p. 199-200, 241.

the working method of project consortium is not an attempt to identify hate (hatred) as an emotion towards an object, but to determine if an offender seeks to "*annihilate*" (attempt to annul the existence of) his target or object. This definition allows them to expand the target and objects of the hate (hatred) they define above and add to "traditional" target or object such as a person or a group a new type of target or object. Our definitions claim that the key signs of hate (hatred) are the "*annihilation*" (attempt to annul the existence of) of very being of the target or the object. From this perspective does not matter what is hatred on a person or a group (e.g. ethnicity, race, class, nationality, religion, gender, sexual orientation, disability, political or other thinking), if hate aims at a very being of a person or a group. We suppose that methodologically reasonable is to create a "general" concepts of hatred, e.g. "annihilate a person" (and its definitional content: ethnicity, race, class, nationality, religion, gender, sexual orientation, disability, political or other thinking).

Based on this approach, Visegrád countries connected IHRA definitions with their own, and added a supplementary definition:

person *(Annihilate: attempt to annul the existence of a (real or alleged) Jew)*	(IHRA01) Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion. Regime of specific behaviour (e.g., violence): aggression, (verbal) attacks, insults, dehumanization, discrimination, persecution, which already show the features of a comprehensive anti-Jewish doctrine.
group *(Annihilate: attempt to annul the existence of (real or alleged) Jews)*	(IHRA02) 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. (IHRA03) 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. Regime of the group exclusion and segregation.
organization *(Annihilate: attempt to annul the existence of real Jewish or alleged Jewish organizations)*	Boycotts are facilitated by urging the public to avoid purchasing goods made by Israeli companies, divestment by urging banks, pension funds, international companies, etc. to stop doing business in Israel, and sanctions by pressuring governments to end military trade and free-trade agreements with Israel. (e.g., The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS)). In the case of this type of antisemitism, it does not matter whether the services, products or organization are owned by Israeli companies. (In the case of Slovakia, for example, company ESET).
state *(Annihilate: attempt to annul the existence of Israel)*	(IHRA07) 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. (IHRA09) Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis. (IHRA10) Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel
people *(Annihilate: attempt to annul the existence of people)*	(IHRA06) Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own people/nations.
property *(Annihilate: attempt to annul the existence of Jewish property)*	Attacks and destruction of Jewish building, school, museum, synagogues, cemeteries, etcetera.
idea *(Annihilate: attempt to annul the existence of ideas allegedly attributed to the Jews as their "invention")*	Accusing Jews, that through lying, deception, "parasitism," materialism, usury, world finances, free market, cosmopolitanism, globalization, liberalism, pacifism, human rights or open society, sought to gain control of the world and thus destroy the "national cultures."
religion *(Annihilate: attempt to annul the existence of Judaism)*	(IHRA08) Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis. As for the concept of anti-Judaism, it is about creating a negative image and rejecting Jews through theological-religious arguments, because the basis of anti-Judaism is aversion

memory *(Annihilate: attempt to annul the existence of memory)*	(resistance) to Judaism. This also includes traditional stereotypes associated with anti-Judaism (e.g. "greed", "avarice", "usury", etc.) (IHRAO4) 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). (Holocaust denial) (IHRAO5) Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.

Keyword

All Visegrad countries with the assistance of the Maxqda and CLARIN software collected comments from the three-week intervals, using various keywords compiled based on previous research with the help of external experts on antisemitism, on hate speech and violent speech, that were interviewed for the purposes of ComAnCE project. Working with the database in this way enabled us to continue with two main actions. First of all, formulating categories according to which statements can be specifically distinguished, and secondly, creating a catalogue of certain linguistic constructions, specific parts of speech or phrases, which should be particularly important not only for average users but also for a group of stakeholders in the field of combating antisemitic hate speech. The list of keywords was broadly designed to encompass obvious expressions of antisemitism, including classical stereotypes, but also so-called "silent" antisemitic narratives that have the potential and impact, and references to antisemitic conspiracy theories. After the keyword search, each ComAnCE partner checked the results manually and selected which ones were considered antisemitic and in which category they could be classified.

Main findings

These main findings focus on relatively frequent occurrence of antisemitic stereotypes that are deeply rooted in Central European society.

"George Soros" (Conspiracy "theories")

In the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia play a person "George Soros" the role of a schemer of behind-the-scenes from "milder version" ("Soros pays people") to monstrous conspiracies "theories" ("Soros organizes the entire government"). However, there is a significant difference between Poland and other countries in the ComAnCE project, even though Poland remain in the same cultural circle (with the Czech Republic and Slovakia even linguistic) and are close neighbours. "George Soros" practically does not function in the antisemitic debate on the Polish ground. In the polish case, he is also not visible as the representation of a typical Jew or an embodiment of all evil and unclean interests. In this part of the analysis, a much more important conclusion for the Polish case is the fact that the main culprit of the vile actions and international agreements unfavourable for Poland is the State of Israel and the politicians governing it. On the other hand in Hungary in contrast to Poland, the Czech Republic and also Slovakia was "George Soros" almost constantly present in government communication in the last five years. We could say that he has now become one of the symbols of Hungarian politics and public discourse. "George Soros" has been accused of anti-national aspirations, and the Parliament adopted the "Stop Soros Package." In Slovakia, in general, all antisemitic conspiracy statements are displaying "Soros", and "America" as the executors of the new world order. The antisemitic conspiracy which is related to "George Soros" is displaying himself as the man villain whose main target is to destroy Europe with migration waves. Conspiracies on "George Soros" vary according to the central theme of the news, but the narrative is the same, to destroy or to rule with his puppets over Europe, Slovakia, or the world.

In the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia narrative "George Soros" became the embodiment of deus ex machina, by which all problems can be "explained". By narrative "George Soros" it is possible to "question" the authenticity of any activity, for example by claiming that people were sponsored by "Soros". In the case of narrative "George Soros," we can see a "modern" version of a fabricated antisemitic text *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. In "classical" version the *Protocols* purports to document the minutes of a late-19th-century meeting attended by world Jewish leaders, the "Elders of Zion", who are conspiring to take over the world. Narrative "George Soros" has become in Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia something like *The Protocols* for 21st century, in which "George Soros" replaces "the Elders of Zion". However, the role of the "the Elders of Zion" took over in case of the Czech Republic Mark Zuckerberg, Rothschild, Bilderberg; in case of Slovakia Rothschilds, Rockefellers, Bushes, Kissinger, Clintons. It is surprising how many motives, which we can find in *The Protocols* can also be found in the "activities" attributed to "George Soros". "George Soros" like "the Elders of Zion" has "secrete" motive to harm the people, states, or the entire world to gain world power. "George Soros" like "the Elders of Zion" affects almost all the iniquities that occur in the state.

In the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia "George Soros" like "the Elders of Zion" has "the minions" (NGOs, media, politicians, ESET, a Slovak internet security company) that permeate all spheres of society. For example, in Hungary, the image of the metropolitan intelligence was also paired with the liberal and Jewish image, which adds another layer to the category. In the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia "George Soros" like "the Elders of Zion" instilled in the "goyim" all the ideas of human rights, freedom, and equality. The "sages" ("Soros") control the world with artificial phrases and artificial theories. The "weapons" of "sages" ("Soros") are the ideas of liberalism: globalization, multiculturalism, gender equality, support for abortions, support the LBGT movement, "inviting" migrants to destroy Christianity or local "national culture" or nations.

Alongside this is added anti-Western thinking in this Central Eastern European region, which can be a display of Jews and liberal values at the same time. In the case of the Czech Republic, it is manifested in claims connecting Jews with liberalism: *Lie-Judeo-Liberalsdominate*, *Lie-Judeo-Liberal-Demagogue-Cracy*, *Judeocracy*, *Judeo-dictatorship*, *Judeo-Protectorate,* or *Judeo-capitalist system*. The control also society by *Jewish commission* (Parliament), *Judeo-vision* (public TV) or *Jewish news.* To this description, another layer could be added, either Masonic or Bolshevists – thus there is *Jewish Illuminati system*, *Jewish Illuminati mafia*, *Judeo-Masonic banks*, all guided by Judeo-Masonic ultra-centrists. In the second case, the haters write about *Judeo–Bolshevist EU*, *Judeo–Bolshevist campaigns*, or even *Judeo–Bolshevik Nazis.* In Hungary, in line with the narrative of background power, the text and visual elements of posters depicting George Soros with various political figures or just alone were built on the anti-Jewish topic based on Nazi propaganda. It can be claimed that the term "Jewish" has been used in the Hungarian public life for decades in a negative way. Its function is to divide the population and to separate "the Hungarians" and people representing national interests from "liberals" that in practice applies to all political enemies of the governing power. In Poland, we can see the absence of any reference to liberalism, or even to the so-called "leftist", Illuminati, Freemasonry, which is an association to hidden influences. However, it is worth mentioning more than one case of the concept of *Jewish-communism* present. In Slovakia we can see the topic as *Liberal fascism of George Soros*, *Soros' perversions*, *Lenin Soros*, *Soros communist comrade*, *Russia-Jewish beginning*, *Rothschilds*, *Rockefellers, Bushes, Kissinger, Clintons are Satanists*.

For the far-right or conservatives, the Jewish elite represents an omnipotent force whose intent is the destruction of independent nations and the creation of a liberal, Jewish-controlled, new world. Political far left on the contrary believes that a powerful Jewish lobby pulls the strings of domestic politics and controls media to exploit the countries. There are also theories on an alleged secret coalition of Jews and Freemasons and Jewish Reptilians. Older conspiracy claims were related to Jewish Bolshevism. The Jews, accordingly, organized the Russian Revolution and dominated the Communist movements in the world.

Traditional antisemitism or religious-based antisemitism

In all Visegrad countries, the word Jew still functions as a sign of the greedy, a materialistic person, thinking only about their own benefits. In some samples of a hate speech linked to conspiracy theory, mainly related to "George Soros", parallel reflections of traditional stereotypes of religious character could be found. The essence of this kind of prejudice is that they compare Christian culture and religion with Judaism, reinforcing the resulting contradictions. A common claim in religious-based antisemitic statements is that Jews oppress Christians and do not allow them to practice their religion freely. The image of money, betrayal for money (*Judah's money, Dirty Judas dollars* or *30 silver coins from Soros* in the case of the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia) can be traced back to the Bible, and serve as a permanent discursive element in conceptions formed about the Jews. In the case of the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, the central axis of interest is the liberal direction, i.e. the identification of Jews with the left-wing orientation, influence on the fate of the world and hidden power. In the case of Poland, however, all attention is paid to the subject of *money* and unfavourable character traits resulting from its possession, i.e. greed, envy, and stinginess; according to the Polish Facebook users a Jew has cared only about money, and Jews love money more than anything else.

Religion-based antisemitism is more present in Hungary than in Western European countries. It might be partially caused by the fact that in Hungary, Christianity has been a more significant part of daily public political discussions. Refusing the refugee quotas of the European Union, showed itself as the defender of Christian Europe that hindered the "Muslim invasion" by protecting borders. Viktor Orbán and his political community imported this image of oppressed Christianity, where liberals and leftists became the oppressors, into the Hungarian public political discussions. Christians stand in contrast with liberals and migrants "benefiting" from the support of liberals, from which George Soros and the Jews are only a step away in the association system presented

by Fidesz. Antisemitism motivated by the Christian faith is strong among Polish Facebook users as well. However, there is no reference to legends or terrible stories, e.g. about kidnapping small children and turning them into matzo. In general, the religious dimension does not focus on the cult of blood, sacrifice or even betrayal. However, there is no lack of subtle references to *Judas* or *silver coins*, which are still symbols of betrayal in Polish culture. Antisemitism serves as an insult by using characteristic elements of clothing, physiognomy or visible aspects of culture and tradition of people of Jewish origin. Activities directly concerning Jesus or God are *crucifixion, surrender, murder*. The Facebook users also took an interesting path of insulting the Jews by reminding them of the *murder of Christ*, *denying the Messiah*, lack of faith and wasting a chance from God to be a *chosen nation*. As far as the chosen nation is concerned, Internet users emphasize with exceptional accuracy that Jews were given a serious task by God and a privileged role, but they decided to despise it.

Despite new narratives on antisemitism, the traditional stereotypes are also deeply rooted in the Slovak society. "Jewish culture" is displayed as something negative that does not belong to the traditional culture of Slovak society, and the owners of "power" are familiar with the Jews worldview or are supported by the Jewish community, or they are carrying Jewish identity. "Soros's ("Judas") money" is an example of Slovak antisemitism, in the form that a person working in an NGO or other "non-productive sector" lives only from the money of "Jew" who has thus gained control of the person. The person no longer defends the interests of "own nation", but interests Soros ("Jew"). Antisemitic statements express a wide range of "threats" that "Jews" are trying to enforce in Slovakia: liquidation of Slovak "national "culture by the ideas of "liberalism": globalization, multiculturalism, gender equality, support for abortions, support the LBGT movement, "inviting" migrants. "Jew" is a "code": to understanding the globalization and liberalism as a threat to the nation and to exterminate (sick) the Slovak nation.

Holocaust denial

In the Czech Republic, Poland, and Slovakia Holocaust denial includes questioning the extent of genocide, relativizing certain events, blaming the Jews themselves, or even claims, either explicit or implicit, that the Holocaust is a hoax arising from a deliberate Jewish conspiracy designed to advance their interests. In the case of the Czech Republic, we can find topics as "*Hitler was funded by the Zionist Jews, who also invented the Holocaust*".

In Poland, the topic of World War II is sensitive. Poles continuously return to the events of the war. The Internet users have been emphasizing the critical role of the Polish nation in the process of protecting, saving, and helping Jews, who too rarely show their gratitude for those actions. The Jews, on the other hand, are exceptionally ungrateful, and they regularly accuse their saviour of antisemitism and Holocaust denial. The Facebook users also showed extraordinary sensitivity towards the case of restitution of pre-war Jewish property, accusing the Jews of appropriation and other illegal activities outside the law, aimed at restoring their former property. However, it is worth noting that no comment from the court contained an open and uncompromising denial of the existence of the Holocaust. In Slovakia, the data collected from the social media ring the bell about how individuals coming from the region, which was directly facing the horrors of Holocaust can lose the sensitivity and ability to distinguish antisemitic hate speech. The Holocaust still gets too much attention in public debate. The Holocaust deniers claimed that Jews with their power onto the international politics and their financial resources, and media ownership manage to create Holocaust for already mentioned reasons. In Slovakia, we can see the focus on the denial of the scale of the Holocaust and the real number of Jews, who were murdered during this time period. In general, all the claims were not strictly related to the Holocaust denial instead to belittlement Jews as victims, because of all other victims of World War II, including Slavs.

Antisemitic slurs, ethnophaulism, and stereotypes

In all Visegrad countries, we can find comments on so-called "the classical image of Jews". This category includes physical appearance (crooked nose, balding head, curly hair), elements of old jokes (Kohn jokes), economic stereotypes (hunger for money), and public beliefs about the Jews. There is plenty of epithets related to Jews, which serve only as an insult to another debater, or are aimed directly at specific public persons not necessarily of Jewish origin. We can also find an ethnophaulism as a is a type of pejorative, ridiculing or otherwise degrading linguistic expressions that are part of the categorization of large social groups, which is based on certain prototypes or stereotypes (ethnic, religious, etc.).[15]

In the case of the Czech Republic, the name *židák* (Yid, or Kike in the US) is one of the sharpest antisemitic insults present in the Czech language. The word Yid acquires a pejorative and often vulgar meaning, referring to differences, typical features or characteristics attributed to persons of Jewish and non-Jewish origin. However, we can also encounter such a nasty generalizing name for the State of Israel. We also found dozens of vulgarisms and insults that affected both Jews in general and George Soros in particular ("*Jewish devil of the bitch*", "*disgusting Jewish corpse*", "*Khazar bastard*"). These vulgar statements apply to tabloids and, to an even greater extent, alternative media (fake-news media). Swearing includes the naming of animals (lamb, sheep, rat, swine), genitals (pussy, dick), faeces (shit) in all possible variants that the Czech language offers. Swearing indicates questionable morals (whore) or mental disorders of those they are targeting.

In the case of Poland, the most common speech of hatred, not only towards Jews, are direct insults addressed to a specific group or person. In case of antisemitic hate speech, apart from direct insults, universal about many groups, some formulations can be distinguished. They function as insults using characteristic elements of clothing, physiognomy or visible elements of culture and tradition of people of Jewish origin. Thus, there are features used such as peyes, yarmulke, skin complexion, hunchbacked or larger nose, lack of foreskin, characteristic speech and accent, public celebrations of Jewish holidays. Various terms for a Jew, mainly negative, mockery, include *żydki*, *żydeczki* (belittling), *żydy* (contempt), *żydostwo, mosze*. The word *parch* was also noted in the sample, while from animal epithets, it was compared to a beetle. Calling someone a Jew is one of the forms of approximation, and the common adjectives are: *vile* and *untrue*. It is also common to search for a Jewish origin based on the foreign name of a discussant. There are also references to the *Jewish plague*.

In the case of Slovakia, like in the Czech Republic and Poland, the most common speech of hatred, not only towards Jews, are direct insults addressed to a specific group or person. As examples of vulgar ethnophaulism, we can find "*Soros' whore*", "*The Cow owned by Soros*" insidious designation of Zuzana Čaputová, an activist from NGO, who ran for President (2019); "*Soros' trash*", "*Soros' parasites*", Insidious designation of persons that is allegedly controlled/paid by George Soros; "*That ugly hyena, which is tearing the whole of Europe with its dirty money*", insidious antisemitic swearing, statement about "the character" of George Soros. The second most used epithet is the word *"sorosky*" and was decoded as the "*money from Soros paid for those who are calling themselves supporters, followers or members of the open society, liberal politics and civic sector*".

Anti-Israel

In all Visegrad countries, these statements include comments that contain antisemitic overtones in manifestations against the Jewish state. Most statements fall into the area of new antisemitism, or anti-Zionism, that goes beyond the legitimate criticism of the State of Israel. Examples of such statements include the statement that Israel is an occupier committing war crimes, Israel is a racist

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[15] ŠTEFANČÍK, R. (2017) (ed.): *Jazyk a politika. Na pomedzí lingvistiky a politológie II*. Bratislava: EKONÓM, s. 489.

state or a terrorist state, and Palestine is the largest concentration camp. There is also a questioning of Israel's claim to existence, remarks to Apartheid and statement that if Israel had never emerged, there would be more peace in the world.

In the Czech Republic, these claims are based on prejudices against Jews, although at first glance they may seem neutral statements. There are examples of demonization of Israel (comparing to Nazis), the delegitimization of Israel (that it does not have the right to existence, for example), holding all Jews collectively responsible for actions of the State of Israel etc. In Hungary, contributors question the legitimacy of Jews in the Middle East and condemn the actions of Israel as a specifically Jewish state. In these manifestations, it is important to separate foreign policy statements and the judgment of the political system from those that contain a specifically antisemitic content. This is of particular significance in Hungary, as due to the good relations between the Hungarian and Israeli governments, the antisemitic tone may also be included in the current political context.

For the Polish case is the fact that the main culprit of the vile actions and international agreements unfavourable for Poland is the State of Israel and the politicians governing it. Although there are no direct accusations that the Jews had a great deal of power concentrated in groups other than the nation, Internet users recognize the privileged position of Israel, and it remains a possible player in the international game of influence. The servitude of other countries towards Israel, including Poland, is also eagerly pointed out. Moreover, according to the Facebook comments, false narratives about Poland are paid for by Jews. In the case of Slovakia Israel in a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians. Jews are creating the stories about Holocaust by themselves to gain more sympathies for their new state of Israel, and to raise more money via reparations, and demonize and demoralize Germany, and European societies in general.

Antisemitism in the national context

This category is an interesting example of a strictly Polish context. It is the President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda, against whom many hoaxes are made with a Jewish motive in the background. First of all, the term Andrzej Juda (instead of Duda) was used at least six times for the whole attempt, suggesting the President's dependence on Israeli politics and influence. Thus, it can be concluded that such a modification is not only a one-time play on words but slowly becoming an everyday construction in contemporary language. The President's wife Agata Kornhauser-Duda is also a victim of antisemitic hate speech. Her name, of Jewish origin, gives Facebook users a wide field of creative use to discredit the President. At the same time, it is clear from such insults that Jewish origins are considered to be an insult and a cause for shame.

In the case of Slovakia, the most "popular" term was connected to a progressive political party (Progressive Slovakia), LGBT community, European Union, open society and NGOs. The term "liberal" represents liberal democracy, human rights, freedom, globalization, multiculturalism, and gender equality. Although the term is not inherently antisemitic, this term is in Slovakia uses as a pejorative "code" for "Jewish values" or "Soros value" (e.g. "*PSS – Progressive Soros Slovakia*") and people who spread these liberal and progressive ideas and values are allegedly considered as disloyal to Slovakia. This connection was dominantly made within the pre-election time (Presidential election, EP election) or within events that have a dramatical impact on the inner circles and structure of the society.

Conclusion

In all Visegrad countries, antisemitic statements are spreading via serious (public or private) mainstream media, as well as (private) tabloid media, fake news media, and social networks media (mainly Facebook). Antisemitic statements are spread primarily online, due to insufficient regulation of these media. In this case, we see that the media play a significant role because they might be regulated conspiracy "theories" openly, which contribute to the spread of hatred against Jews. In all Visegrad countries, we see a considerable increase in antisemitic hate speech on the Internet and social networks, including Facebook and some of the attacks may be the work of Internet trolls. Still, in the majority of incidents, the haters are ordinary people without a systematic ideological point of view. The Polish report specifies that hate speech towards Jews that we can find these statements on right-wing media (as they define themselves and based on their content) from an ideological point of view. These media adhere to pro-family, Catholic and patriotic values. In the case of Slovakia, after the entry of neofascists political party – Kotleba LSNS (People's Party of Our Slovakia) into mainstream political area (in 2016) conspiracy theories, hate speech based on stereotypes towards otherness had become part of the official political discourse.

In all Visegrad countries, we see that the term "Jewish" has been negatively used in public life. Its function is to divide the population and to separate "the Czechs, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Slovaks" and people representing "national interests" from "liberals" that in practice applies to all political enemies of the governing power. Moreover, as far as conspiracy theories are concerned, it seems that George Soros is a superhuman demon who stands behind everything. He had become a primary target of extremists but also of a large part of the society as soon as Soros appears, all antisemitic stereotypes emerge. However, by interpreting the anti-Soros statements, one should carefully consider the context and also reflect a significantly represented phenomenon of irony and prank.

Antisemitism online in Czech Republic

As in other Visegrád countries, also in the Czech Republic online media play an increasingly important role in disseminating information and entertainment content. This is happening at the expense of traditional media, the press and television in particular, which are continuously losing readers and viewers. Today, more than eight million Czech citizens have access to the Internet and 80% of Czech Internet users is using it on everyday basis.

In the last six years, the equipment of the population of the Czech Republic with reading devices has increased significantly. While in 2014 only a third of citizens over the age of 12 owned an e-book reader, tablet or smartphone, in 2020 it was almost 80%. People most often own a smartphone, it is three quarters of the population, and every third uses a tablet.[16] The availability of electronic devices and access to the Internet is logically related to the increased interest of people in social networks. Today, social networks are used at least occasionally by 92 percent of Czech Internet users, and 79% of these users are on the networks on a daily basis.[17]

According to the AMI Digital Index survey the main reason why people visit social networks is contact with friends (64%). This is followed by entertainment (46%). 43% of their users use explicitly social networks as a source of information.[18] Another 34% of users admit that social networks serve as a source of information. As far as social networks are concerned, the most popular one is the Facebook with 5,3 million users. Facebook is the fourth most visited website in the country, as it is shown in the table below.

Table 1. The most visited websites in the Czech Republic

no	Website	Category	Monthly Traffic (million)	Time Per Visit (Minutes)	Pages Per Visit
1	Seznam.cz	News	222,2	9:40	6,3
2	Google.com	Search	193,3	9:40	8,9
3	Google.cz	Search	185,6	9:47	7,6
4	Facebook.com	Social	166,3	13:31	11,2
5	Youtube.com	TV & Video	141,4	23:49	9,9
6	Novinky.cz	News	67,2	3:32	2,9
7	Idnes.cz	News	66,6	6:02	6,5
8	Super.cz	Celebrity News	44	2:50	2,5
9	Szn.cz	Email	36,4	2:54	1,9
10	Wikipedia.org	Reference	35,3	4:13	3,4

Note: Monthly traffic does not represent unique visitors. Source: Digital 2019 Czech Republic. Available at: https://www.slideshare.net/DataReportal/digital-2019-czech-republic-january-2019-v01.

85% of the Facebook users log in to the site via their smartphones. The average time spent on networks is 143 minutes per day.[19] In average, the users write three comments per month. As in 2020, only 24% of users write comments several times per week or on daily basis. 27 % does it

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[16] Unie vydavatelů. 2020. "Media projekt". Available at: https://www.median.eu/cs/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/MP_2002_presentace_v10.pdf.
[17] AMI Digital Index 2020. Available at: https://www.mediaguru.cz/media/13696/adi-2020.pdf.
[18] AMI Digital Index 2020.
[19] Focus Agency. 2019. Sociální sítě v Česku v roce 2019. Available at: https://www.focus-age.cz/m-journal/aktuality/infografika--socialni-site-v-cesku-v-roce-2019__s288x14828.html.

few times per month, whereas 49% writes comments rarely or never.[20] This rather low level of activity was also confirmed in our survey undertaken in the Czech Republic in 2019.[21] According to it, only 4 percent of respondents write daily or almost daily comments on Facebook posts related to the news, one in five does so at least once a week, one in five writes comments at least once a month, but majority does so only occasionally (34%) or never (20%). There is a trend that older people are more likely to comment. In the youngest age group (15 – 24 years), 30 percent never engage in commenting, while in the oldest one (over 65) it is only 11 percent. Hand in hand with the growth of internet and social network users, and at the same time the increase in the consumption of online media content, a number of negative social phenomena have also moved to the internet, such as hate speech, stalking or bullying and various forms of radicalism. These negative phenomena are catalyzed in particular by the anonymity of communication, limited or no regulation and censorship and the rapid flow of information.

It is therefore not surprising that the number of antisemitic online articles, contributions in social networks, anonymous comments and discussion posts has been growing steadily for several years, as the annual reports of the Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic show.[22] Hate speech appears on individual websites, in discussions under articles on news websites (if operators allow such discussions under articles) and more and more often on social networks. As the discussions under the articles are gradually regulated, including content control and user registration, we decided to focus on the so far limited regulated environment of social networks. As mentioned above, 77% of Czech Facebook users use social networks also as a source of information. From another point of view, according to another survey, it follows that over 40% of the Czech population uses social networks as a source of information.[23] This applies especially to the young generation. According to research conducted by UNICEF, younger children obtain information about what is happening in the world mainly from their parents or siblings (67%) and from television (67%). For older children, social networks are the most popular source (70%), followed by Internet news servers (69%) and television (69%).[24]

To sum up, much of the news has moved to the Internet and to social networks environments. With regard to the above facts, we decided to perform an analysis of antisemitic hate speech in the environment of comments on the Facebook, the most popular social network. This decision also follows from our general research objectives, as the previous quantitative research was carried out in the Facebook environment and significantly contributed to the thematic and methodological anchoring of following media analysis.

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[20] AMI Digital Index 2020. Available at: https://www.mediaguru.cz/media/13696/adi-2020.pdf.
21 Antisemitism 2.0. Opinions, attitudes and perception on Antisemitism in Visegrad countries on the online sphere. Available at: http://www.bpi.sk/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Report-on-public-opinion-in-V4.pdf.
[22] Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic. 2020. Annual Report on Manifestations of Antisemitism in the Czech Republic in 2019. Available at: http://www.fzo.cz/en/wp-content/uploads/Elektronick%C3%A1-data-FZO-VZ19-ENG.pdf
[23] MediaGuru. Lifestyle 2018. Available at: https://www.mediaguru.cz/clanky/2019/06/lifestyle-2018-cesi-prijimaji-informace-nejcasteji-z-internetu/.
[24] UNICEF Czech Republic. 2020. Nouzový stav: děti se doma učí více, přesto se naučí méně. Available at: https://www.unicef.cz/aktualne/171281-nouzovy-stav--deti-se-doma-uci-vice--presto-se-nauci-méně.

Research methodology

An analysis of the current occurrence of antisemitic hate speech in the online environment shows that a significant proportion of attacks occur as a response to various types of communication, most often information articles, which to varying degrees are related to the Jew or the State of Israel, or they evoke traditional antisemitic prejudices against people of real or alleged Jewish descent. Another important area is related to various conspiracy theories, which e.g. claim that in the background of a number of world events or phenomena on the domestic scene there is a mysterious Jewish lobby, or "evil" Jews with ulterior motives, such as George Soros. That is why we are focusing on media content -topics, phenomena, or events that can awake negative emotions towards Jews in a part of Czech society.

In the online survey conducted in 2019 we addressed respondents with a request to estimate such potential of seven listed media topics or events, which we have determined on the basis of our expertise (see table 2 below).

Table 2. List of topics selected for the media analysis

TOPICS, PHENOMENA OR EVENT	MEAN	SLECTION
Information about Israeli-Palestinian conflict	4,28	✓
Migration crisis in Europe	4,12	✓
Activities of NGOs that are supposedly or actually sponsored by George Soros (People in Need, Amnesty International, Open Society Fund)	3,9	
Demonstrations against prime minister Andrej Babiš or president Miloš Zeman	3,47	✓
Electoral campaign of candidates alike Jiří Drahoš in presidential election 2017	3,38	
A reminder of the alleged ritual murder of Anežka Hrůzova (the Hilsner Affair of 1899)	3,59	
Reminder on discrimination against Jews in the period of the so-called Second Republic (1938-1939)	3,55	

Note: Respondents in the online survey chose answers on a scale from 1 to 7, where 7 was the topic that can cause the most negative emotions towards the Jews, 1 the topic that can cause least negative emotions. Figures are means for whole sample (N=1065). Source: BPI. 2020. Antisemitism 2.0. Opinions, attitudes and perception on Antisemitism in Visegrad countries on the online sphere. Available at: http://www.bpi.sk/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Report-on-public-opinion-in-V4.pdf.

According to the respondents, two topics have similarly high potential to cause negative emotions towards the Jews – migration crisis in Europe and information on Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Thus, it is likely that in discussions under online news articles or within commentaries under press release or article on Facebook concerning these topics, antisemitic hate speech would appear. Topics possibly related to activities of the well-known philanthropist George Soros such as political campaigns or demonstrations supposedly financed by him, do not evoke as negative emotions, according to our respondents, however, we have decided to include this topic in the analysis. The reason why we preferred the topic of demonstrations to non-profit activities was to

make the topic easier to grasp, i.e. to assign a specific event with a fixed time limit. Due to the fact that the topics were formulated rather in general, and it was not possible to obtain data for some important events (peak of the European migration crisis in 2015 for instance), the topics were specified and timed.[25] In the table below, three topics selected for the analysis are presented.

Table 3. Selected topics and time period of data collection

TOPIC	EVENT	COLLECTION OF DATA
Demonstrations against Prime Minister Andrej Babiš or President Miloš Zeman	Million Moments for Democracy – 1st large demonstration	21. 6. 2019 – 30. 6. 2019
	Million Moments for Democracy – 2nd large demonstration	11. 11. 2019 – 24. 11. 2019
Information about Israeli-Palestinian conflict	Visit of the President of the Czech Republic Miloš Zeman in Israel – Declared relocation of the Czech Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem	23. 11. 2018 – 31. 12. 2018
Migration crisis in Europe	New developments on the Greek-Turkish border in 2020	24. 2. 2020 – 22. 3. 2020

First, there were large demonstrations against Prime Minister Andrej Babiš or President Miloš Zeman, organised by the organisation Million Moments for Democracy. The first demonstration called *It's up to us!* was held in Letná Park in Prague on 23 June 2019. Second, named *Letná 2 – Again for Democracy*, was also held in Letná on 16 November 2019. In both cases more than 250 thousand of people attended the protest, calling for the resignation of Mr Babiš. The organizers of the demonstrations were sharply criticized by supporters of the government and the president, the participants in the demonstrations were accused of receiving money for their participation, for example from George Soros. According to a 2019 survey by the Nielsen Admosphere for the Endowment Fund for Independent Journalism, one in ten respondents believed that the demonstration against governments in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary was funded by George Soros. 32% disagreed with this, and 59% did not know. In the case of respondents older than 55 years, the positive answers (sum of yes and rather yes) were 19%. 28% of respondents were of the opposite opinion.[26]

The second theme was related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As this is a very broad topic, a specific event was chosen within this area, which intensified the public debate in the Czech Republic. In November 2018 the Czech President Miloš Zeman paid an official visit to Israel. In his speech in the Knesset President Zeman promised that he would do everything in his power to open the Czech embassy in Jerusalem. Additionally, the president declared that he perceived Hamas as a terrorist organization. The third topic is related to the migration crisis in Europe. Since 2015, conspiracy theories and misinformation that some dark forces are behind the migratory flows that seek to destroy Europe have begun to appear in the public debate. For instance, according to the above-mentioned research, 27% of respondents believe that the illegal migration of people from Muslim countries into Europe is in fact deliberately steered by the European Union. Among the organisers of immigration, sponsors of NGOs helping migrants, or whisperers to top European politicians, such as Angela Merkel, again George Soros was often

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[25] Originally, we intended to limit events by including one week before and two weeks after they occur. However, after verifying the coverage of the topics in the mainstream media (and therefore also their Facebook profiles), we adjusted the time limit so as to include the relevant articles as accurately as possible.

[26] Nadační fond nezávislé žurnalistiky. 2019. Dezinformační weby a zpravodajství v ČR. Available at: https://www.nfnz.cz/aktuality/tiskova-zprava-dezinformacni-weby-a-zpravodajstvi-v-cr.

mentioned. For the analysis most recent events related to the immigration to Europe was chosen. In February 2020, a new tension between Turkey and Greece emerged after Turkish authorities declared that Ankara will not prevent migrants from crossing the border. Some media described the situation on the Greek border as dramatic and presented these events as the beginning of another wave of migration.

Subsequently, we chose ten Facebook profiles of selected media for analysis, as shown in table 4 below. These were two TV stations, 2 radio stations and 8 online news profiles. The key to the selection was the popularity of the given media in their respective categories, the readership (or audience, viewership) and the number of followers on their FB profiles. We also took into account the nature of the media according to ownership, type (mainstream or alternative), form (serious, tabloid, fake news). With regard to a certain degree of interconnection of the news portal seznam.cz and novinky.cz, we decided to choose only one of them, the more established with a higher number of followers. For data mining, the web application for social media analytics Zoomsphere was used.[27]

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[27] Available at: https://www.zoomsphere.com/social-media-analytics.

Table 4. List of Facebook profiles of media selected for the analysis

TITLE	CHARACTERISTIC				MEDIA RANKING (Digital News Report 2019)		MEDIA RANKING (various, national)	Likes on FB (April 2020)	Followers on FB (April 2020)	Internal ranking according the number of followers
	OWNERSHIP	TYPE	CONTENT	FORM	most trusted (all)	most popular (weekly use), within category	most readers, viewers, listeners			
TELEVISION							March 2020			
ČT 24	public	mainstream	news	serious	2	1*	3	447 776	584 955	1
TV NOVA	private	mainstream	entertainment	serious/tabloid	9	2	1	297 128	303 113	2
Prima	private	mainstream	entertainment	serious/tabloid	5	3	2	170 363	208 373	4
TV Barrandov	private	mainstream	entertainment	tabloid	*n.a.*	4	5	44 292	46 361	13
RADIO							2019			
Czech Radio - Radiožurnál	public	mainstream	news	serious	1	1	2	42 511	45 563	14
Radio Impuls	private	mainstream	entertainment	serious/tabloid	*n.a.*	2	1	90 239	99 852	9
ONLINE NEWS PORTAL							April 2020			
Seznam.cz/zprávy	private	mainstream	news/entertainment	serious	8	1	2	110 892	129 780	8
iDNES.cz	private	mainstream	news/entertainment	serious	3	2	3	226 574	230 373	3
Novinky.cz	private	mainstream	news/entertainment	serious	7	3	1	152 544	165 562	5
Aktualne.cz	private	mainstream	news/entertainment	serious	4	4	4	121 309	134 655	6
Blesk.cz	private	mainstream	news/entertainment	tabloid	*n.a.*	8	6	128 421	133 646	7
Parlamentnilisty.cz	private	alternative	news/entertainment	tabloid	11	*n.a.*	14	48 891	49 036	12
AC24.cz	private	alternative	news/entertainment	tabloid/fake news	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	86 532	82 191	10
cz.Sputniknews.com	private	alternative	news/entertainment	tabloid/fake news	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	*n.a.*	45 674	71 639	11

Notes: Media profiles selected for analysis are highlighted in yellow. * ČT 24 is a news channel operated by public Czech Television (ČT). Position in the rating is based on the sum of viewership of all ČT channels. Sources: Asociace televizních organizací. 2020. Available at: www.ato.cz/vysledky/tydenni-data/share/15; Gemius NetMonitor. 2020. Available at: rating.gemius.com/cz/tree/82; MediaGuru Radioprojekt. 2019. Available at: www.mediaguru.cz/clanky/2019/08/na-cele-stale-impuls-evropa-2-se-priblizila-radiozurnalu.

Categorization of antisemitic statements

As there are a number of theoretical approaches to antisemitism, there is no consensus in academia on the general categorization of manifestations of antisemitism. Based on the current debates on Antisemitism in Europe and taking into account the specifics of the Central European region, we have created a working version of categorization (see Table 5).

Table 5. Categorisation of the statements

Theoretical approaches	Working categorisation	Examples
Traditional antisemitism	Traditional antisemitic stereotypes	religious antisemitic statements (deicide), antisemitic stereotypes and canards related to wealth and economy (connected to greed, money-lending and usury etc.)
Secondary antisemitism	Current antisemitic claims	Holocaust denial, exaggeration of collaboration, also demonisation of Israel
New antisemitism	Current quasi-neutral claims	Antisemitic anti-Zionism, demonisation of Israel (comparing to Nazis), delegitimization of Israel,
Conspiracy antisemitism	Conspiracy claims	claims of existence of Zionist/Israel/Jewish lobby and its deeds, Jewish secret plans (New World Order, Freemasonry, Reptilians), Jewish Bolshevism
Antisemitism without Jews (and reflections of above)	Antisemitic slurs, ethnophaulism	various means of verbal aggression related to Jewishness (directly or indirectly)

1. Traditional antisemitic stereotypes are based on long-standing prejudices against Jews, which have become established in European culture over the centuries and are deeply rooted in people's minds. This category includes both religious (Jews as Christ killers, traitors) and economic antisemitic claims (all Jews are wealthy, stingy and greedy, materialist, may cheat non-Jews etc.).

2. Current antisemitic claims are, above all, intentional or ignorant claims related to the Holocaust. This category includes, among others, questioning the extent of genocide, relativising certain events, blaming the Jews themselves, or even claims, either explicit or implicit, that the Holocaust is a hoax arising from a deliberate Jewish conspiracy designed to advance their interests. This category, however, could be broader, as some claims from following category may fall here as well.

3. Current quasi-neutral antisemitic claims are manifestations of modern antisemitism mostly related to the State of Israel, but not exclusively. There are claims based on prejudices against Jews, although at first glance they may seem neutral statements. There are examples of demonisation of Israel (comparing to Nazis), delegitimization of Israel (that it does not have the right to existence, for example), holding all Jews collectively responsible for actions of the State of Israel etc. Nevertheless, the boundary between the two categories (current overt antisemitism and quasi-neutral statements) is blurred, and the assignment depends mainly on the context and motivations of the author.

4. Conspiracy claims about Jews may be related to previous categories, if we focused only on theories about Jewish domination, which controls the world economy with its tentacles. Current conspiracy theories related to Jews are, however, more elaborated, often very contradictory. For the far right or conservatives, the Jewish elite represents an omnipotent force whose intent is the destruction of independent nations and the creation of a liberal, Jewish-controlled, new world. Political far left on contrary believes, that a powerful Jewish lobby pulls the strings of domestic politics and controls media in order to exploit the countries. There are also theories on alleged secret coalition of Jews and Freemasons and Jewish Reptilians. Older conspiracy claims were related to Jewish Bolshevism. The Jews, accordingly, organised Russian Revolution and dominated the Communist movements in the world.

5. Antisemitic slurs and ethnophaulisms are examples of the incivility and impoliteness. There is plenty of epithets related to Jews, which serve only as an insult to another debater, or are aimed directly at specific public persons not necessarily of Jewish origin.

All categories, however, could be broader, as there are some overlays, and some antisemitic claims may fit into two or more of them. For instance, current claims may be related to both economic antisemitism and conspiracy theories in case of George Soros for instance. At the same time, references to Mr Soros' activity may not necessarily be a manifestation of antisemitism. It would be appropriate to sensitively examine the context of the message and the motivation of the author, which is often not possible. However, our intention was not to build new concepts, rather to identify new patterns, occurrence a relevance of antisemitism in online sphere. The aim of the analysis was to identify antisemitic hate speech in obtained dataset, as well as to categorise them according to predetermined criteria. We focused, among others, on trends (occurrence and frequency of statements) and relationships between the messages and the context in which they appear, and more specifically, on universal indicators of antisemitic hate speech.

Pre-prepared categorization enabled the assignment of individual messages to individual categories of antisemitic hate speech. Comments were filtered using Maxqda software with carefully selected keywords, which allowed us to select relevant statements for further analysis. However, a number of statements could be assigned to more than one category, which we assumed when determining the categorization. However, the obtained breakdown of statements allowed us to further investigate the context, intensity, targeting, etc. For context analysis we searched for following code words (see table 6).

Table 6. Key words for designed categorisation

TRADITIONAL ANTISEMITISM	CURRENT ANTISEMITIC CLAIMS	CURRENT QUASI-NEUTRAL CLAIMS	CONSPIRACY CLAIMS	SLURS, ETHNOPHAULISM
Jidáš, 30 stříbrných, lakomec, souvěrci, rituální, lichva, okrádat, zradit	holokaust, vyhlazení, genocida, konečné řešení, kolaborace, židovský výbor, kapo, lež, židofašisté, koncentrák, tábor, komora, plyn, zplynovat, komín	apartheid, okupace, okupant, nárok, Izrael, Palestina, Gaza, terorismus, teroristický, okupantský, nacistický, rasistický	Soros, Rothschild, Bilderberg, (žido)zednář, NWO, iluminát, Chazaři, OSF, neziskovky židobolševik, reptilián, ještěr, lžiliberál, vliv, peníze, spiknutí, banky, ovládat, platit	žid, židovka, židák, Moše, obřezanec, nosatý, prašivý

Main findings

Given the scope and focus of this research report, we have decided not to include a more extensive quantitative content analysis. We will focus on the interpretation of findings and categorization of statements instead.

Demonstrations against Prime Minister Andrej Babiš or President Miloš Zeman in 2019

The Million Moments for Democracy association organised two large demonstrations against Prime Minister Andrej Babiš (and indirectly also President Miloš Zeman), which had been the biggest mass protests since the 1989. The first protest rally was held in June, the second one on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the Velvet Revolution in November. There have been extensive efforts to undermine both organisers and participants, for example by claiming that protests were sponsored by different groups, among which Soros was also mentioned. For example, even former president Václav Klaus publicly claimed that these were demonstrations organized, manipulated, to which, according to him, "paid people" are brought for free from Moravia. This hoax spread rapidly over the Internet. All media thus covered the topic in detail. Mentions of G. Soros appeared on all Facebook profiles of the analysed media. On the public radio profile iRozhlas, the comments mentioning Soros made up less than half a percent of all contributions, with the vast majority having an ironic touch. An example could be the claim that Soros offered little, so people preferred not to participate in the protests, or that Soros is unreliable and did not pay people last time, as he promised. In the case of the tabloids, the provocative nature of some texts that subconsciously pushed the idea that the organizers of demonstrations could be manipulated led to a heated debate. However, the number and nature of the contributions did not differ significantly from the mainstream media. In addition, by checking the discussion directly on Facebook, it was found that the comments defaming G. Soros are the work of a few active individuals who can be described as trolls. On one fake-news media from our list no antisemitic incident was in this case registered. To conclude, no direct antisemitic incidents have been identified in the serious and gossip media in this regard. However, we would like to emphasize at this point that this is a premature conclusion so far, and we will address the issue of the attacks on G. Soros in the next part of the report.

Israeli-Palestine conflict – Visit of the Czech President Miloš Zeman in Israel (2018)

As mentioned above, during the visit, the President declared that he would do his utmost to move the embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. This controversial idea ignited a debate on the domestic political scene and provoked sharp condemnation from the Palestinian Authority. Whereas the tabloid media and conspiracy site Facebook profiles addressed this topic in the selected period only marginally and the comments concerned primarily Czech domestic politics, the serious mainstream media on contrary adequately covered Miloš Zeman's visit to Israel, including detailed descriptions of Zeman's speeches. Comments and subsequent reactions of both domestic and foreign actors also appeared on the Interned. For this reason, there were numerous contributions to the topic, and logically the phenomenon of commenting and discussing in the Facebook environment was more extensive. It also follows that antisemitic statements also appeared in this context, it should be noted, however, that in parallel with the hate speech directed against the Palestinian side. Overall, we registered less than 5% of antisemitic statements in the comments. The vast majority of them fall into the area of new antisemitism, or anti-Zionism, that goes beyond the legitimate criticism of the State of Israel. Examples of such statements include the statement that Israel is an occupier committing war crimes, Israel is a racist state or a terrorist state, and

Palestine is the largest concentration camp. There is also a questioning of Israel's claim to existence, remarks to Apartheid and statement that if Israel had never emerged, there would be more peace in the world. As far as our categorisation is concerned, these incidents are to be considered as current antisemitic claims and quasi neutral statements. Moreover, epithets and curses also appear infrequently, such as naming the President Miloš Zeman by the name Moshe or calling him a Jew.

Migration crisis in Europe – tensions on Greek-Turkish border in 2020

In February 2020, a new wave of immigration to the EU from Turkey was imminent. Czech media described the situation at the Greek border as dramatic, which revived old fears, prejudices and controversies within Czech society. Eventually, however, the situation calmed down at the border and this episode was subsequently overshadowed by the oncoming coronavirus pandemic. We assumed that these events would be revived by conspiracy theories claiming that immigration into the EU was organized by G. Soros, and we expected Antisemitic incidents to reappear on the network. On public media, we did not encounter any antisemitic hate speech. This also applies to tabloids, where we even registered rather positive attitudes towards Israel, that it is able to effectively defend the border (even at the cost of violent incidents). On conspiracy webs, such as Parlamentní listy, there were only few remarks about G. Soros (NGOs, liberal threat to society), thus no conclusion could be drawn. We found out that the anticipated wave of migration from the beginning of 2020 was not a significant trigger of Antisemitism in the Czech internet environment.

Table 7. The share of antisemitic statements in selected comments

KEYWORD	NUMBER OF COMMENTS	ANTISEMITIC HATE SPEECH (total)	SHARE OF ANTISEMITIC STATEMENTS
BILDER	78	4	5%
HILSNER	44	2	4,5%
NETANJA	154	9	6%
ROTHSCHILD	124	37	30%
ŽIDÁK	47	40	85%
ŽIDO	2136	316	14,8%
SOROS	5710	45	0,8%

For this reason, we decided to expand our analysis and collect an even larger package of data through analytical software, but this time not according to the chosen topic, but across the selected period for all ten Facebook profiles we worked with. We have chosen rather longer we chose a longer period of time, from the beginning of 2018 to the middle of 2020. Following key words were applied in the search – *žido-* (a root that is included in words denoting a female Jew, Jewishness and adjective Jewish), ethnophaulism *židák* (Yid), Soros, Rothschild, Hilsner, Netanja-(hu) and Bilder-(berg). The set of keywords was reduced with regard to time, technical possibilities and scope of work, so that it was possible to capture possible antisemitic statements falling into all specified work categories. Subsequently, antisemitic comments and those statements that could carry hidden Antisemitism were selected from the new sets of data. The table below summarises the number of comments and the proportion of antisemitic statements.

We assumed the highest proportion of antisemitic statements would appear in explicit mentions about main actors of conspiracy theories and reflections on Jewish world domination (Rothschild, Bilderberg, Soros). This was confirmed in the case of the name Rothschild, but not in the case of

the word Bilderberg, which was almost never associated with the Jews. In the case of G. Soros, we identified only less than a percentage of the comments as purely Antisemitic attacks. This will be hence the subject of further investigation. Mentions of the Israeli Prime Minister were also only seldom motivated by Antisemitism. Further, the mention of the so-called Hilsner affair (Leopold Hilsner was charged with ritual murder in 1899) brought only two Antisemitic statements, as we assumed that more than a hundred years old events no longer resonate in Czech society. Explicit mention of the offensive word *židák* (Yid) already indicated in itself that it would be antisemitism. However, we were surprised by the high proportion of antisemitic statements in dataset created by the rather general term – root *žido* - we classified every seventh statement as a manifestation of Antisemitism. An overview of typical antisemitic statements falling into selected categories is given below.

Manifestations of antisemitism according to the categories

Traditional antisemitic

The relatively frequent occurrence of antisemitic stereotypes shows that they are deeply rooted in Central European society. The word Jew still functions as a sign of the greedy, a materialistic person, thinking only for his own benefit:

"*I don't know, is it better to pay 14,000 rent to a well-heeled Jew? or a 14,000 mortgage and stab it into your own?*" – asked a man in discussion related of whether renting or mortgage is more advantageous. "*Of the fifteen thousand (Czech Crowns), some people have to live quite normally. Only the greedy Jew grumbles*" – argued the other user. Another person wrote – "*This is the same as trusting a Jew.*"

In some samples of a hate speech linked to conspiracy theory, mainly related to George Soros, parallel reflections of traditional stereotypes of religious character could be found. An example is the attack on the President of the Slovak Republic:

"*Well, well, another dogsbody for Soros. It is necessary to get rid of such Judas quickly* 😼😼😼"
"*She is Soros' whore and Babiš's henchman. Judas will only give birth to Judas. From the beginning, she has not defended the interests of our country, but is following orders.*"

Current antisemitic claims

As we have already mentioned above, current antisemitic claims are related to the secondary antisemitism. This category includes, among others, questioning the extent of genocide, relativising certain events related to Holocaust, blaming the Jews that they are themselves guilty. We did not encounter a total questioning of the Holocaust, but some relativisation (for instance gas chambers in KL Mauthausen) in the comments occurred. Here are significant examples:

"*Hitler was funded by the Zionist Jews, who also invented the Holocaust, so the two Jewish factions do not like each other, Zionists vs. Semites, do we all understand that?*"
"*in Mauthausen concentration camp have never been gas chambers. 🖐 cf. Jewish historian Yehuda Bauer - A History of the Holocaust, New York 1982, p. 209*"
"*Which Holocaust do you mean? Armenian by Turks, Russian peoples by Jewish Bolsheviks in the USSR or German by Allies in the post-war era?*"
"*From the way the articles are written, it seems that only people of Jewish nationality perished in concentration camps and that it was only the Holocaust. The fact that millions of other people from all over Europe have been murdered there has recently been mentioned less and less.*"

In response to an article on commemorating the liberation of the KL Auschwitz an user wrote:

"*We will never forget. How could we, when the Jewish media reminds us of this every five minutes.*"

„*Israelis have always been geniuses: D first invented Christianity then Muslims, destroyed European beliefs in the gods, shit in Europe worse like locusts ... then they started politics: Bolshevism, communism, capitalism, Judeo-Masonry and what you now call democracy / pseudo-pasquil which is not what was in antiquity /.... we did so many pogroms on them, but neither concentration camps nor gulags moved with those cockroaches.*"

This category, however, is even broader, as some claims related to demonisation and delegitimization of the State Israel may fall here as well.

"*it is no secret that non-Jewish citizens are a secondary group of people in Israel, it does not grant any rights to Palestinians. Hard to discuss with someone who has superficial knowledge, so only two factual remarks - Jews are not a nation in the ethnic sense, just as there is no Christian or Muslim nation, Jews are and always have been a religious community / group. The Jewish "nation" is a fabrication, a construct that was born in the minds of the Zionists.*"

"*As Hitler signed the Jews, today the Jews are signing the world. One name for all, Sörös and the 70-year conflict Israel vs. Palestine ... I'd like to be wrong.*"

"*The atrocities of the Jewish state against their neighbours make them rogue criminals, which is why we have modern antisemitism here.*"

"*Israel is similar to Nazi Germany. Occupation of foreign territories. Torture and killing of Palestinians. And for fifty years already. Today, the extremist Shas party, best known mainly for Lieberman, which is known for his statement about beheading, contributed a lot to this. Otherwise, there is no point in commenting on Netanyahu.*"

Current quasi-neutral claims

These claims manifestations of modern antisemitism similar to the above, but the antisemitism in not overt, and the boundary between the two categories (current overt antisemitism and quasi-neutral statements) may be blurred. The assignment of a statement into this category depends mainly on the context and motivations of the author. As examples may serve:

"*why did no one ever like Jews? It is not talked about ..*"

"*In 2003, Israel withheld information about the absence of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. The ensuing war, in which Israel did not participate, significantly destabilized the Middle East*"

"*it is no secret that non-Jewish citizens are a secondary group of people in Israel, it does not grant any rights to Palestinians. Hard to discuss with someone who has superficial knowledge, so only two factual remarks - Jews are not a nation in the ethnic sense, just as there is no Christian or Muslim nation, Jews are and always have been a religious community / group. The Jewish "nation" is a fabrication, a construct that was born in the minds of the Zionists.*"

"*it's simple, without Jewish terrorists, Israel would never have come into being ...*"

"*The Tsar was executed on the orders of the Jewish Bolsheviks. As far as I know, a Jew does not want to be associated with any country where he was born and what native language he speaks, he is simply a Jew.*"

Conspiracy claims

As in other Central European countries, also in the Czech Republic conspiracy theories fall on fertile ground. In Czech context, the idea of Jewish elite represents an omnipotent force whose intent is the destruction of independent nations also exists. It is manifested in claims connecting

Jews with liberalism - *Lie-Judeo-Liberalsdominate Lie-Judeo-Liberal-Demagogue*-Cracy, Judeocracy, *Judeo-dictatorship*, *Judeo-Protectorate,* or *Judeo-capitalist system*. The control also society by *Jewish commission* (parliament), *Judeo-vision* (public TV) or *Jewish news.* To this description another layer could be added, either Masonic or Bolshevists – thus there is *Jewish Illuminati system*, *Jewish Illuminati mafia*, *Judeo-Masonic banks*, all guided by Judeo-Masonic ultra-centrists. In the second case, the haters write about *Judeo–Bolshevist EU, Judeo–Bolshevist campaigns*, or even *Judeo–Bolshevik Nazis.* Many statements are inconsistent, even contradictory, which also testifies to the degree of knowledge of history and political processes. This type of statement is a relatively common phenomenon on the Internet. Even more common is the attribution of ill-intentions to an American philanthropist with Jewish roots, G. Soros, who is accused of almost all the iniquities that occur in the state. Thus it is argued, that he stood behind Velvet Revolution in 1989 by supporting the Charter 77, helped Václav Havel become the president. Nowadays, he is supporting mass protests against the legitimate government, financing treacherous non-profits (Antifa, Transparency International) and some independent media that seek to destroy the existing order and introduce, for example, LGBD marriages, etc. Soros is also organising mass immigration from Muslim countries, according to some people.

> "*They are called self-hating Jews. Such George Soros also harms humanity, including the Jews. The government of Israel does not let him into the country. Netanyahu told Orban that he fully supported the Hungarians' fight with the speculator Soros.*"
> "*Yeah, Soros's right democracy, yikes, Jews.*"
> "*Migrants are flooding Europe because it is Soros's idea of a multicultural society.*"
>
> "*It is a pretext for the world's elite, such as the Rockefellers, Gates, Rothschilds, Soros … reducing the population, making money on a vaccine that will be mandatory, stop using paper money, behind everything is the purpose …*"

A concise example of Antisemitic thought processes is this statement, which emerged four times on the Facebook profiles of public radio and public television and related to murders in the USA, an interview with an actress about the situation in the Czech Republic, a reminder of President Havel's amnesty in 1990 and the depression around the Christmas holidays:

> "*And are you surprised? … Yes … We thank the nosed that for 30 years they have been freely and with impunity diverting all profits of multinational companies and property away from the Czech Republic abroad … we thank for letting us be enslaved for a quarter salary … we thank for eating canned waste and for not having a place to live with dignity … above all, may our nosed MASTER be well … we just deserve and wish the nosed and their goyim-shabes mafia henchmen such as Leon Tsoukernik[28] always have enough strength and desire to kick us in the face with a heel … welcome in the Czech Masochistic and Incredibly Hypocritical Republic … May live Bakala's and Soros's millionaire pigsty for democracy ...*"

About every tenth comments that was mentioning G. Soros was actually an ironic comment or an attempt to ridicule another, Antisemitic, author. The phenomenon of irony is very interesting in the context of the development of contemporary online Antisemitism and it is worth further addressing it in separate analyses.

As we mentioned above, only 1% of comments related to G. Soros could be in our case considered as overt antisemitism. however, much of the commentary presents borderline cases in which Soros fulfils ideas about Jewish supremacy indirectly, or even not at all. Hackers often do not even know the work of G. Soros (we came across the statement that Soros is a fascist), and they use Soros

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[28] Businessman of Jewish descent, originally from Russia.

inadvertently (because the media, or their favourite politicians said so). Nevertheless, even such claims are dangerous for the society, as concern remains that they can serve as a gateway to the antisemitic subculture that blames Jews for other wrongs. We are convinced that repeating the pattern international banks (financial institutions, or persons representing them) with general mention of Jews along with conspiracy ideas are manifestation of antisemitism. But also dog whistle, blaming Soros without naming him Jew, is not legitimate critic but hidden form of antisemitism, especially in our region.

Antisemitic slurs and ethnophaulism

The name *židák* (Yid, or Kike in the US) is one of the sharpest antisemitic insults functioning in the Czech language. This is a typical example of ethnophaulism, i.e. a type of pejorative, ridiculing or otherwise degrading linguistic expressions that are part of the categorization of large social groups, which is based on certain prototypes or stereotypes (ethnic, religious, etc.). The word Yid acquires a pejorative and often vulgar meaning, referring to differences, typical features or characteristics attributed to persons of Jewish and non-Jewish origin. However, we can also encounter such a vulgar generalizing name for the State of Israel. Between January 2018 and June 2020, 47 statements containing the word Jewish were found in Facebook comments. In eight cases, it was a neutral message, such as a quote from the media, an attempt to explain the term, repeating the term with a touch of irony or condemnation. In the remaining cases it was an ethnophaulism – in 16 cases it was a generalizing statement (the State of Israel, all Jews). In 23 cases it was an attack on specific persons - three times an attack on another discussant, in eighteen cases the target was the person mentioned in a given article to which the Facebook discussion related. Two cases could not be identified, they were an "imaginary" Jew allegedly controlling a commercial television station, and the second was the designation of an Israeli fighter pilot in connection with the conflict in Syria. If we take a closer look at the *ad personam* attacks, only six cases were Jews or persons known to be of Jewish origin (G. Soros, Mark Zuckerberg, Rothschild). In other cases, it was well-known Czech (Václav Havel, Václav Klaus, Karel Schwarzenberg, Andrej Babiš, Pavel Novotný, Petr Kellner) or foreign personalities (Boris Johnson). If we look at the generalizing statements, the five attacks concerned directly or in the context of the state of Israel, especially in the context of Israeli-Palestinian relations. Three cases concerned citizens of the State of Israel in the same context as previously. Three cases concerned Jews in general, one even Poles, who were stereotyped as greedy. Two cases concerned the owners of Tesco department stores and the Czech publishing house Economia, one was not identifiable.

The vast majority (16) of personal attacks have the character of a swearing (almost all cases where the attack was against a person of non-Jewish origin). In four cases, it was a repetition of traditional stereotypes, such as the claim that Jews are greedy or untrustworthy. The other two cases involved the development of conspiracy theories about Jewish influence in the world. It is similar in the case of generalizing statements. Here, swearing also made up the majority (10), the remaining six were based on the stereotypical perception of Jews. Most attacks were recorded on the profiles of the most read online media - idnes.cz (25%) and novinky.cz, but they also appeared rarely in discussions on the profiles of public television ČT24. Thus, it cannot be concluded that haters primarily or only focus on tabloid media or conspiracy sites. To sum up, it turns out that antisemitic hate speech can be triggered by reading articles directly related to the State of Israel, especially in the context of Middle East tensions, Holocaust remarks (e.g. the trial of Adolf Eichmann) or references to various Jewish people. In the case of stereotypical attacks, they can be triggered by texts on the average wage in the Czech Republic or wages in various fields of labour market (e.g. supermarkets), which evoke deep-rooted stereotypes associated with traditional antisemitism.

We also found dozens of vulgarisms and insults that affected both Jews in general and G. Soros in particular. This applies in particular to tabloids and, to an even greater extent, alternative media (fake-news media). Swearing includes the naming of animals (lamb, sheep, rat, swine), genitals (pussy, dick), faeces (shit) in all possible variants that the Czech language offers. Swearing indicate

questionable morals (whore) or mental disorders of those they are targeting. As mentioned above, the target of the attacks is people of both Jewish and non-Jewish descent. We argue, that the level of incivility and impoliteness is very high in the Internet, not only on Facebook. In the process of the selection of antisemitic incidents from the data set, we recorded a higher concentration of unscrupulous antisemitic attacks on the AC24 conspiracy web, or in its Facebook environment, respectively. This finding led us to study this environment in more detail. In selecting three specific topics, we logically omitted a number of other topics that potentially also catalyze antisemitic hate speech. After all, we had been aware of that since the beginning of the research. We were also aware that simply searching for commentaries containing the name Soros might not cover a significant number of those comments that relate to Soros, but do not include his name with respect to the article to which they respond. Therefore, we decided to perform a detailed probe on the AC24 portal and present the results as a brief case study below. We believe that the findings are relevant to the overall conclusions of this report.

An example. AC24 conspiracy web as a cesspit of hatred and lies

The portal was founded in December 2011 and since then has focused mainly on news from around the world, but recently, it covers domestic politics as well. It belongs to the top five most dangerous fake-news websites. AC24 is a frequent disseminator of false information, which usually arises either from the publication of unsubstantiated reports or through the poor translation and interpretation of articles on serious English-language media. The AC24 commits a large number of offenses and uses manipulation techniques that include distorting mainstream media articles, publishing conspiracy theories as serious news, and using photographs or other records with insufficient informative value to confirm them.[29] For the case study we have selected two 2019 articles on AC24 related to George Soros. According to the first article, Goroge Soros wants to add fluorine to drinking water in Russia. In the second article it is argued, that Soros recommends that the EU create a new European tax to support migrants. Both articles are based on untruth and misinterpretation. Moreover, no references to any sources are given.

In the case of the first article, only 17 comments were published on Facebook. We found that very third commentary called for the death of G. Soros. In three cases, the following antisemitic insults were used: *Jewish devil of the bitch, disgusting Jewish corpse, Khazar bastard*. In case of the second article, also every third (21 out of 68) openly calls for harm, killing, or a quick death of G. Soros. Other comments called for his imprisonment, insane asylum, contain invectives such as *rat, moron, scum, jerk, zombie, coward, shit, dick*. Five comments are overt antisemitic manifestations, as the authors argue that you will find a Jew behind the money for instance. There are also slurs such as Yid, fucking Jew and fucking Judas. Below, few direct quotations are presented:

> „*the fucking Jew, a pity Hitler hadn't gasified him, could have been Peace in the world*"
> "*I didn't wish anyone death, but in this case I would have acknowledged if this monster had died*!" "*That no one can shoot this fucking Jew in the head*"
> „*Let him die, please !!* 🙏 *It is him who is destroying Europe, he wants to destroy all nations*"

It should be noted here that the above-mentioned third statements fulfill the substance of the crime and their authors could be brought to justice. It is obvious that fake news media, with their manipulated and false content, contribute both to the spread of untruths and to incitement to hatred of Jews.

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[29] Evropské hodnoty. 2016. Fungování českých dezinformačních webů. Available at: https://www.evropskehodnoty.cz/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Fungov%C3%A1n%C3%AD-%C4%8Desk%C3%BDch-dezinforma%C4%8Dn%C3%ADch-web%C5%AF_F.pdf.
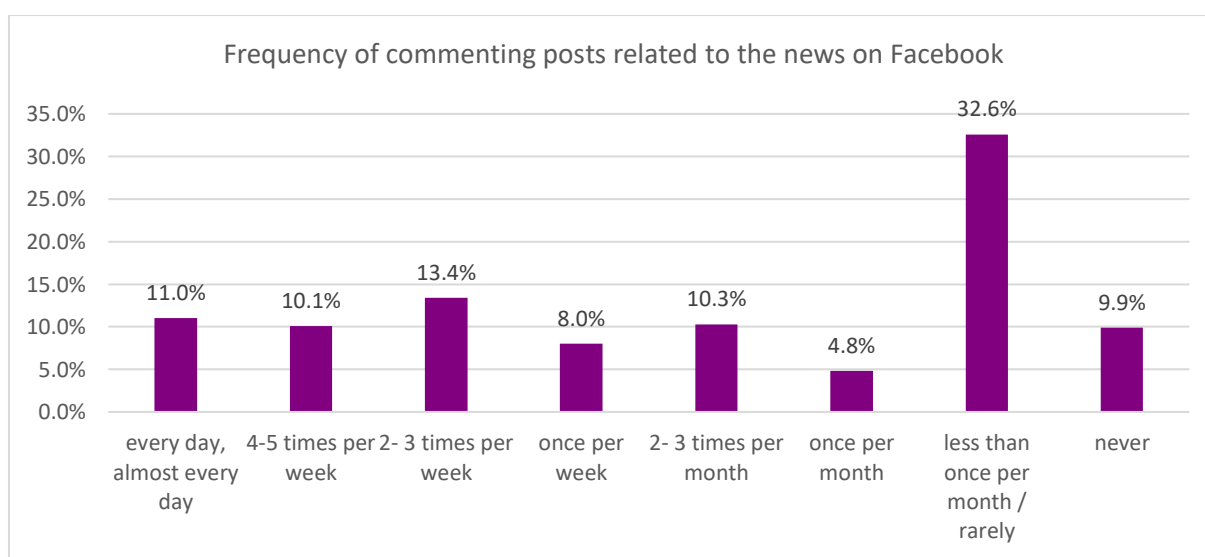
Conclusion

In general, the attitude of the Czechs towards Jews and the State of Israel is positive. Yet we are seeing a huge increase in antisemitic hate speech in the Internet and social networks including Facebook. Some of the attacks may be the work of Internet trolls, but in majority of incidents a closer look convinces us that the haters are normal people around us. For the analysis of online hate speech, we selected three topics, but it turned out that this did not lead to the selection of all relevant categories of Antisemitism. That is why we obtained another data-set, which helped us to better anchor our findings. We argue, that the media play a big role because they might be instructive, suggest openly conspiracy theories, lies, which contribute to the spread of hatred against Jews.

All categories of antisemitism are present in the Czech online environment, but the most represented are conspiracy theories and insults, epithets and ethnophaulisms. As far as conspiracy theories are concerned, it seems that Soros is a superhuman demon who stands behind everything. He had become a main target of extremists but also of a large part of the society. as soon as Soros appears, all Antisemitic stereotypes emerge. However, by interpreting the anti-Soros statements, we argue, one has to carefully consider the context and reflect also a significantly represented phenomenon of irony and prank. Hate speech is a dangerous phenomenon and must be confronted with both repression and education.

Antisemitism online in Hungary

In the 21st century the value of digital media has increased by many aspects: this is the most accessible platform providing free content where people can reach information from various sources. With the spread of social media, the time of the interaction has decreased to minimal as well: under the articles we can express our opinions whenever we want. However with this freedom verbal aggression has increased as well: billions of comments can hardly be filtered, and the foundational values can only be partially under the control of system administrators and algorithms. For that reason the comment sections of these news feeds have become the centre of antisemitism today. As part of the ComAnCE project we tried to explore analysing Facebook comments what kind of Antisemitic content can be found in the comment sections.

According to Napoleoncat[30], in Hungary the number of internet users are 6 396 000, which is 66.6 percent of the population, and this number is still growing. With this number Facebook is the 2nd-5th most popular site among internet users according to the lists that examine Hungarian internet usage. The majority (52.7 percent) of the users are women. The biggest group of users are between the age of 25 and 34, there are 1 490 000 people in this agegroup. The fewest people are in the group of 13-17-year-olds, only the 3,4 percent of the users. This may be due to other social media sites that recently gained ground among younger generations such as Snapchat or TikTok. These platforms can divide this age group which means that Facebook will have less users as well. Between the genders the biggest difference is in the group of 55-64-year-olds, the difference is around 130 000 people for the benefit of women. The smallest difference is between the age of 18-24, it's not more than 0,1 pecent, which is not more than 10 000 people.

Frequency of commenting posts related to the news on Facebook

Category	Percentage
every day, almost every day	11.0%
4-5 times per week	10.1%
2-3 times per week	13.4%
once per week	8.0%
2-3 times per month	10.3%
once per month	4.8%
less than once per month / rarely	32.6%
never	9.9%

A research from 2016 (Association of Hungarian Content Providers & NRC[31]) has shown that Hungarians spend around 86 minutes daily on Facebook. The peak of the time are the evening hours when Facebook is the most visited, more precisely between 6 and 9 pm. Examining the commenting habits, we can see that overall, 57.5 percent of people comment on news at least once a month, meaning that more than half of the respondents are actively involved in discussing

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[30] https://napoleoncat.com/stats/facebook-users-in-hungary/2020/10
[31] http://mte.hu/_magyar_facebook_trendek/

the news, providing feedback to the article in some way. The disaggregated data show that men are more likely to comment on a political-themed post and are more likely to engage in online discussion on a particular topic. We can also see that by age group, the 25-34 age group and those over 55 are the ones who comment the most under each article. We chose Facebook for our research because of widespread use. In the next step we selected three time interval we wanted to analyse the comments about. During the selection we considered that they should included events that are important and relevant for the people and for our research as well. For this we looked at our previous representative online research. In connection with the topics, we selected comment sections from the Facebook page of the media sources of our choice. For each period, we examined each article and its comments over a three-week time interval.

1. The chosen event on the theme of "Premier of a Holocaust-themed film" was the screening of the film "Those Who Remained" (September-October 2019)

2. The chosen event on the topic of "Antisemitic Attacks in Western Countries" was the 2019 series of attacks on Jews in New Jersey, starting in a kosher shop (December 2019).

3. The chosen event on the topic „Campaign against George Soros" was in connection with the so called "jail business", a term coined by government propagandists to refer to criminals who sue the state for huge sums in compensation, citing poor prison conditions. (January 2020)

1. Table: Chosen topics

Theme	Duration of collection	FB comments
Premiere of the film 'Those who remained'	09.19 – 10.10. 2019	9 965
Antisemitic attack at a shop in New Jersey	12.03 – 12.24. 2019	11 660
George Soros' role in the „prison business"	12.28. 2019 – 01.18. 2020	12 859

2. Table: Chosen media

| MEDIA | Type of media | Ownership | | Content | Orientation | Media ranking | | FB fan page Y/N | Amount of likes on FB [×] | Amount of followers on FB[×] | Internal ranking according the likes/ followers |
		State	Private			the most readable	the most trusted				
Blikk	print/online		x	gossip / mix	tabloid	1	-	https://www.facebook.com/blikkhu/	761 952	754 759	2
MTV	TV/online	x		news	right	5	11	https://www.facebook.com/hirado.hu	222 339,000	232 555,000	9
Balra Magyar	online		x	alternative /news	radical-left	-	-	https://www.facebook.com/hirekbalrol	45 602	45 857,000	10
HírTV	TV		x	News	right	4	8	https://www.facebook.com/hirtv	262 531,000	268 194,000	7
HVG	print/online		x	news / mix	left	2 (in print) / 5 (in online)	2	https://www.facebook.com/hvghu/	566 724	557 716	4
index.hu	online		x	news / mix	center	1	3	https://www.facebook.com/Indexhu/	586 850	615 699	3
24.hu	online		x	news / mix	center	2	4	https://www.facebook.com/24ponthu/	783 321	771 735	1
origo.hu	online		x	news / mix	right	3	9	https://www.facebook.com/OrigoHirek/	478 548	467 202	5
ATV	TV		x	news	center-left	3	5	https://www.facebook.com/atv.hu	364 502,000	465 643,000	6
888.hu	online		x	altenative/news	right	-	-	https://www.facebook.com/888ponthu/	252 700	253 484	8

Methodology

In the course of our research, we found that although the topics we had selected were all topics sensitive to Judaism that had been present in public life for a long time, we still only saw Antisemitic manifestations in less than 1 percent of the comments[32]. Thus, it can be said that although Antisemitism can be found on Hungarian Facebook, it can be seen in an insignificant number in the comments of public pages at the system level. As a continuation of the research, it would definitely be worthwhile to examine the comments of closed groups as well.

Comments from the three-week interval associated with the selected events were selected using the Maxqda program, using various keywords compiled based on our previous research and expert interviews for the project. After the keyword search, we checked the results manually and selected which ones were considered Antisemitic and in which category they could be classified. The categories were also set up based on the international glossary and our interviews:

1. Religious-based Antisemitism: the essence of this kind of prejudice is that they contrast Christian culture and religion with Judaism, reinforcing the resulting contradictions. A common claim in religious-based Antisemitic statements is that Jews oppress Christians and do not allow them to practice their religion freely. Rabbi stereotypes also appear several times. Interestingly, many times the Jewish and Muslim religions are treated as one, and the two together are presented as pushing the Christian into the background.

2. Anti-Zionism and anti-Israel: this includes comments that contain Antisemitic overtones in manifestations against the Jewish state. Contributors question the legitimacy of Jews in the Middle East and condemn the actions of Israel as a specifically Jewish state. In these manifestations, it is important to separate foreign policy statements and the judgment of the political system from those that contain a specifically Antisemitic content. This is of special significance in Hungary, as due to the good relations between the Hungarian and Israeli governments, the Antisemitic tone may also be included in the current political context.

3. Stereotypes: In this category, we collected the elements that represent "the classical image of Jews". This category includes physical appearance (crooked nose, balding head, curly hair), elements of old jokes (Kohn jokes), economic stereotypes (hunger for money), and public beliefs about the division of Jews.

4. Liberalism: it is an interesting new phenomenon that in the 21st century, there is an ever-increasing blurring of liberal ideals and Jews among radical, chauvinistic ideologies. Alongside this is added anti-Western thinking in the Central Easteren European region, which can be a display of Jews and liberal values at the same time. In Hungary, the image of the metropolitan intelligentsia was also paired with the liberal and Jewish image, which adds another layer to the category.

5. Conspiracy theories: the widest category includes the manifestations in which the world power of the Jews is "revealed". These can focus on several types of action, depending on the aspect from which we approach the issue of gaining influence. We have further separated three major categories
    a. Economic background power: this category is close to stereotypes, but the point of these types of manifestations is not that Jews are hungry for money, but rather that they have gained power in the economy and can control the world from the background due to their

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[32] We analysed every comments in the above mentioned time interval, under every article, not just those that dealt with the themes.

economic gravity. Although our research does not cover it, it is an interesting new phenomenon that in connection with the coronavirus epidemic, there have been several theories that wealthy Jews organized the epidemic so that drugs could be sold.

b. Political power: closely related to the previous category, however, it is important to note here it is the politicians that are directly controlled, thus politics itself also. In such manifestations, the purpose of the Jew is to control and reshape our lives. This category also undermines democracy, repeatedly arguing that legitimately elected leaders are not really lords of their own power and they are only puppets of the Jews in the background.

c. Treason: This category is also related to the previous two and the category of anti-Zionism. The idea is that Jews will betray their country, because it is not even their country, it is just a tool they sacrifice for their plans.

In the case of conspiracy theories, it is important to highlight the person of George Soros, who the Hungarian government brings in connection with the migration crisis on official platforms, both in the CEE region and specifically in Hungary. Based on this, several conspiracy theories about George Soros as a Jewish economic power of Hungarian origin are circulating in Hungary, within which such comments can be in the category of economic (Jewish philanthropist who buys himself in the leadershop of the Union with his money), political (through NGOs and his influence he directs immigration and politicians for this purpose) and treason (Soros sacrifices Hungary and Europe on migration to create a new world order).

Code system

Comments were filtered using Maxqda with different keywords, so we only examined comments that were more closely related to the topic. Based on these, we also tried to search for latent variables, with words that we could connect with a single expression, an abstract concept. Although we had preconceptions about which Antisemitic category certain terms belong to, the comments we collected were manually checked into which category they could be channeled.

NO	Key Words		Code	
1.	Izrael	Israel		
2.	Térség	Region		
3.	Héber	Hebrew	Antiszemitizmus	Antisemitism
4.	Antiszemita	Antisemitic		
5.	Judapest	Judapest		
6.	Antiszemitizmus	Antisemitism		
7.	Összetartozás	Togetherness		
8.	Kommunizmus	Communism		
9.	Pénz	Money		Stereotypes
10.	Horgasorrú	Hooked-nose		
11.	Kapzsi	Greedy	Sztereotípiák	
12.	Nyerészkedő	Profiteer		
13.	Pénzéhes	Mercenary		
14.	Mohó	Grabby		
15.	Pénzleső	Money grubber		
16.	Összeesküvés elméletek	Conspiracy theories	Összeesküvés elméletek	
17.	Hatalom	Power		Conspiracy

				theories
18.	Világuralom	World power		
19.	Befolyás	Influence		
20.	Soros György	George Soros		
21.	Soros Gyuri	Gyuri Soros	Soros György	George Soros
22.	Filantróp	Filantrope		
23.	Soros	Soros		
24.	Liberalizmus	Liberalism		
25.	Liberál	Liberal		
26.	Liberális	Liberalist		
27.	Illiberalizmus	Illiberalism		
28.	SZDSZ	SZDSZ (Alliance of Free Democrats)	Liberalizmus - Illiberalizmus	Liberalism - Illiberalism
29.	Illiberális	Illiberalist		
30.	Libsi	Liberal (slang)		
31.	Ballibsi	Left-liberal (slang)		
32.	Libernyák	Liberal (slang)		
33.	Fasizmus	Fascism		
34.	Fasiszta	Fascist		
35.	Hitler	Hitler	Fasizmus	Fascism
36.	Náci	Nazi		
37.	Nácizmus	Nazism		

Main findings

In the course of our research, we analyzed all the comments that passed our filtering based on our code system, proceeding according to the groups outlined above. Our goal was to see for each group what the motivations are, where they come from, and what direction they have. Although a comment falls into several categories or subcategories, we have sought to provide clear examples to make each distinction as understandable as possible.

Conspiracy theories

Acquisition of political power

In connection with the acquisition of political power, the debate around George Soros and the related non-governmental organizations was one of the loudest in the past period. An outstanding example is the debate around the CEU, i.e. the Central European University. The essence of the narrative is that together with Soros / on behalf of Soros (who, due to his economic power, is easily able to put pressure on certain actors in the political arena), both European Union actors and the Hungarian opposition are working to turn Hungary into an "immigrant country[33]" through the resettlement of migrants. The accusation of Antisemitism has been firmly rejected by the government on several occasions, stressing that it is not Soros' religion but the views he represents that are seen as a problem. During a visit to Israel by Foreign Minister Péter Szijjártó, he said that it was the anti-Semite who involved the accusation of Antisemitism in this policy debate. However, according to some, this is an example of modern Antisemitism: Miklós Tamás Gáspár[34] sees Soros as a symbol in his essay, who, in his opinion, presents modern Antisemitism well. Antisemitism, which is no longer linked to origin but to certain principles, the worldview of individuals and non-governmental organizations, and represents not only national interests but universal principles.

Treason

Although several Central-Eastern European countries have used some of their elements, the nationalist approach to the refugee crisis has become the strongest in Hungary within the region. The government communication used during the campaign blurred the boundaries between the term refugee and migrant as well as between migrant and terrorist. It is not without reason that an accusation of Antisemitism arose in connection with the campaign: in line with the narrative of background power, the text and visual elements of posters depicting George Soros with various political figures or just alone were clearly built on anti-Jewish topoi based on Nazi propaganda. Due to the quality of the image of the enemy, it can go far, it can be used in connection with several characters, saying that they are all people of George Soros. Accordingly, government communication has been used in the context of NGOs, the international "left" and "liberals" in general, and already in a targeted way with the European Union / "Brussels" and the opposition.

> *"This is what the Jews of Brussels want to force (…) on the European Member States (…) it is shown here that the European Union is nothing more than a SLAVE-HOLDING TRADE COMPANY"*

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[33] Bíró-Nagy A. (2018): Politikai lottóötös: a migráció jelentősége a magyar politikában, 2014–2018. In Böcskei Balázs és Szabó Andrea (szerk.) Várakozások és valóságok. Parlamenti választás 2018. Napvilág Kiadó; MTA TK PTI, Budapest: 269-291.
[34] https://merce.hu/2020/08/22/tgm-soros-magyarorszagon-es-izraelben/

"It's a unique genre of opposition. Liars Traitors, actors, thieves, DICTATORS. Power Hungry Soros-agent." "Lying ... fake-scam-dilettante-Sorosist opposition ...."

Opposite the nation, national interests, is the "traitor" Soros: *"" treason "?! who wants to joke here? This Soros has no HOME !! This figure has MONEY and has evil ideas! "*

Examining the comments in the context of the topic, one of the main key words was the background power. Conspiracy theory, in its more general and specific form, can easily be translated into the political influence of other countries *("This kind of Jewish background power is everywhere, they wreak war where they want it if their interests want it! They own much of the world, but that's little for them !!! ")*, or in specific examples like Germany and Angela Merkel *(" Because you have to implement the background power you undertook to betray your own kind for good money ")*, and Austria and Sebastian Kurz *("Well this is it .. He spits his voters in the eye again. This, of course, is funded by his background power. ")*.

Irony

Although not previously established as an official category, we felt that we should also specifically address the ironic segment of the "Soros Phenomenon". Indeed, the most difficult part of the research was separating individual insults and irony from hate speech and Antisemitism. And for the irony, the responses to the Soros campaigns of recent years are the best examples based on our research. George Soros has been an almost constant player in government communication for more than five years and has now become one of the symbols of Hungarian politics and public discourse. Among other things, he has been accused of anti-national aspirations, background power organization, the so-called Soros campaign, the national consultation on Soros, and the Parliament adopted the "Stop Soros Package." Over time, of course, the phenomenon also began to shape public discourse. Primarily on the opposition side, remarks mockingly reacting to the "Soros Phenomenon" appeared, with people trying to set a curved mirror for the government and its voter base. Soros's name appears almost as a calling word in political news, as evidenced by the following disagreements: *"Soros was!" , "It could have been Soros behind the thing", and "Soros!"* or just *"when is Soros coming?".* It is also conceivable that the commentaries reflect on conspiracy theories in a mocking way. A good example of this is, *"There is no poverty here. I think that's just what Soros invented." Soros rewrote history. " "... the "Stars of Eger" is part of the Soros plan" and "This damn climate change has more crimes than Soros!"*

There are also a number of comments related to the keywords most commonly found in government communication: *"Four things are needed for human happiness: Soros, migrants, libiral, Brussels,"* and *"The many Soros hireling, migrant-friendly, could not appreciate this honest, socially sensitive, absolutely democratic Fidesz led by Orbán. "* Even more observable in these comments is that the government's means of communication can be easily applied when criticizing the ruling party. In recent years, a number of other politically colored turns of speech have also appeared in public discourse, such as the wording "you are the Soros (you are the next one)". Related to this, in 2017, there was a sharp critique of a photo that read "he was Soros (he was the next one)" on the side of a slaughtered pig. The case showed excellently that, where appropriate, humor can cross the line of xenophobia, in this case Antisemitism. It is possible to easily find ironic content related to Soros on the social media as well. An example of this is the following poem:

> „stop soros soros
> stop soros stop stop soros
> soros soros stop".

Furthermore, the phenomenon can also be observed in a newspaper article summarizing an extraordinary parliamentary session titled "Fidesz: The Opposition Got Caught, Acted, Soros[35]" or the "stop oligarch" package (referring to the „Stop Soros" package) proposed by the MSZP in 2018. The frequency of the occurrence of the "Soros" signal in the presented comments and media products clearly proves that today George Soros has become one of the most divisive symbols of Hungarian political life. The above-mentioned phenomenon has actively shaped public discourse over the years and has also given rise to the emergence of humorous, ironic opinions.

Stereotypes

Both the established enemy images and the conspiracy theories outlined around them are built upon stereotypes that have formed part of the collective knowledge for a relatively long time. The image of money, betrayal for money is to be traced back to the Bible, the intellectual superiority, brilliancy and in contrary to these the weak physical capabilities have been practically present since the 19th century as a permanent discursive element in conceptions formed about the Jews. The mixing of Judaism and communism also goes back at least to the beginning of 20th century: although the Hungarian Soviet Republic proclaimed in 1919 only existed for 133 days and the members of Jewish descent in the Revolutionary Governing Council had no Jewish identity at all, the proletarian dictatorship was fundamentally considered as a Jewish dictatorship by the far-right discourse set up after 1919. In the Horthy-area, the myth of "Jewish dictatorship" was transmitted by several publications and books, in effect the narrative aimed to legitimate the more and more radical Antisemitism measures. This association has been present to date in different ways, which is to be seen in comments as well: "the majority of communists is Jewish", "Ask the Mazsihisz (Magyar Zsidó Hitközségek Szövetsége – Federation of Hungarian Jewish Communities), the communist Jews. On the other side, the opposition commentators frequently referred to Köves Slomó, the leader of EMIH (Egységes Magyarországi Izraelita Hitközség - Unified Hungarian Jewish Congregation). The subject of critics is mostly „the alliance" with Hungary's governing party, Fidesz, but these comments aren't free from Antisemitism, either. Here, the motive of inhesion stands in contrast with money, greed for power and betrayal.

> „He would sell the Jewish brothers without thinking twice, he only peeks his own interests"
> „The government plays the role of supporting Jews, in turn, this false community induces antisemitism against Jews, but the Red Beard loves only money."
> „Until now, Jews HELD TOGETHER, but it seems, people like Slomó LEARNT TO KISS ASS AND SELL THEIR COMMUNITY MEMBERS."

Religion-based antisemitism

Religion-based antisemitism is more present in Hungary than in Western European countries. It might be partly caused by the fact that in Hungary, Christianity has been a bigger part of daily public political discussions. After 1998, the self-definition of Fidesz was expanded by the attributes of civil and national, and after 2002 also by Christian democratic[36]. Throughout the years, representing and defending Christian values became a more and more prominent part of the communication of Fidesz. This „engagement" is shown by the coalition of FIDESZ and KDNP as well, for the first time, the two parties participated in the national elections with a common party list in 2006. The governing party could organically integrate this tool into the narrative about its migration policy, too: Refusing the refugee quotas of the European Union, it showed itself as the defender of the Christian Europe that

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[35]https://index.hu/belfold/2019/01/03/fidesz_az_ellenzek_lebukott_szineszkedett_soros_parlamenti_rendkivuli_ulesen/
[36] Szabó I. (2007) A nemzet fogalmi konstrukciója a Fidesz diskurzusaiban 1998 és 2006 között. Politikatudományi Szemle 16 (3): 129–159.

hindered the „Muslim invasion" by protecting borders. Viktor Orbán and his political community imported this image of oppressed Christianity into the Hungarian public political discussions, wherewith liberals and leftists became the oppressors, just like in America. Christians stand in contrast with liberals and migrants "benefiting" from the support of liberals, from which George Soros and the Jews are only a step away in the association system presented by Fidesz. Accordingly, in the comments not only Islamism appeared as a danger for Christian Europe, the oppression of Christians also got associated with "Jewish oppressors".

> „Anything can be said about Christianity, but as soon as Jews or Muslims are „mocked", already half of the world is upset or they detonate."

The narrative of Christian and national in contrast with liberal and Jewish can logically exclude Hungarian Jews from the Hungarian population: „Who cares about Hanuka. WE HUNGARIANS HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. Why do we always have to praise the Jews?"

The phrase „Judah's money" became a frequently used element of the Hungarian public political discussions and it is occasionally applied by almost any political side. Although it seems like that users often do not realize the antisemitist character of their comments and apply them as a summarizing label instead of the accusation of betrayal for money and bribe, the term brings back Nazi phrasing. For instance, in Germany all parties (except for his own) voted to exclude a politician from a political body because of this and similar expressions. The term also appeared in comments without a seemingly intentional usage of antisemitism: „let's rather call it Judah's money", „simply distributing and foraying, something of Judah's money." But there were also some examples for applying it in the context traced out by the government: „So dear leftists and liberals, for how much Judah's money are you willing to bring migrants close to your home???"

Liberalism = Judaism?

In Hungary, the mixing of liberal ideology with Judaism goes a long way back in history. For instance, the liberal Budapest has been called „Judapest" since the 1890s. Nowadays, the intentional mixing of these terms is primarily used to stigmatize public figures and politicians. In the Hungarian public life (partly because of the already mentioned causes) it can easily occur that a person is called a Jew, not because of their descent, but any other characteristics or political views: it might be enough to have a beard, wear glasses or just to be an opposition politician or voter. It is often claimed that these parties or people do not represent the Hungarian population, but a liberal economic and political elite that endangers the country's actual and ethical security. Similar to political parties, also artists and public figures might be called a Jew, who do not agree with the views of the governing party. A good example for this is Péter Esterházy, who provoked such a reaction as a writer. This means, calling a person a Jew is the categorization and stigmatization of opposition thinking in general. The liberal party SZDSZ was described as „the Jewish party" as well, which proves us that the initial mixing of liberalism and Judaism has been present since the end of communism.

The negative attitude towards this political party can be seen in the following comments: „SZDSZ promised us only the best, but it brought in the slogan „DON'T ACT LIKE A HUNGARIAN!", „These are Jews, … of SZDSZ, the media portrays it, too!" or „This is a bearded civil activist with an ex-SZDSZ profile, the one, who is loud from the armchair and travels everywhere with a free ticket, isn't it?" To summarize, it can be claimed that the term „Jewish" has been used in the Hungarian public life for decades in a negative way. Its function is to divide the population and to separate „the Hungarians" and people representing national interests from "liberals" that in practice applies to all political enemies of the governing power.

Conclusion

In general, we can see that the term "antisemitism" has become an extremely politicized word in recent years. Both political sides are trying to appropriate the term and use it to expire the other. While the right-wing tries to convince the society that the opposition uses antisemitic communication against Benjamin Natenjauh and the state of Israel, and the liberal-left parties cooperate with an (ex)-antisemitic party (Jobbik), the liberal-left parties state that the government parties are antisemitic because of the campaign against George Soros and their alleged cooperation with the far-right parties (Mi Hazánk Mozaglom).

This division of society is also noticeable in the comments. In general, there are very few comments dealing with this topic, even under a relevant article. However, if there is one comment in connection with antisemitism, the tempers are released.

The study shows that conspiracy theories are the most represented types of antisemitism in Hungary, which aligns with the political division as well: the anti-Soros campaign greatly worsened the state of public discourse in Hungary, and it has significant signs in the survey

Antisemitism online in Poland

Virtual space is an environment where there are no rules limiting freedom of speech. All algorithms, more and more often used by many portals or social networking platforms, can be unreliable and are not able to select 100% accurate hate speech from the neutral ones. This is no different for the social networking platform Facebook in Poland, which is currently the most popular forum for exchanging opinions with over 80% coverage and almost 23 million active users. It is also where the biggest players on the media market have their accounts, thanks to which recipients receive information of their interest in one place in a quick and concise way. Many people use the opportunity to comment on published posts. As it turns out, a large part of them gives vent to their anger and frustration by using hate speech, a percentage of which will remain undetected forever due to various factors.

Table 1. Ranking of 10 most popular websites in Poland in Q1 2020.

No.	Publisher	Amount of Internet users	Reach among Internet users (%)	Average number of page views per day	Average time per user per day
1	Google Group	27 300 390	95,4	279 169 047	00:32:07
2	RAS Polska Group	23 248 694	81,2	89 862 788	00:21:46
3	Facebook.com	22 984 355	80,3	92 148 732	00:25:37
4	Wirtualna Polska Group	22 282 690	77,8	130 588 454	00:42:39
5	YouTube.com	20 988 531	73,3	55 343 366	00:14:52
6	Interia.pl Group	19 931 465	69,6	57 382 159	00:32:51
7	Polska Press Group	19 421 097	67,8	30 979 904	00:04:08
8	Allegro Group	18 395 516	64,3	80 013 232	00:18:02
9	Gazeta.pl Group	17 917 405	62,6	24 760 131	00:10:06
10	OLX Group	16 227 531	56,7	137 972 230	00:26:04

Source: https://wydawca.com.pl/2020/04/10/marcowy-ranking-stron-internetowych/ (access: 28.09.2020).

In the first part of the study for the ComAnCE project we learned what the socio-demographic structure of Polish Facebook looks like, what are the usage habits and perceptions of some issues, including above all hate speech. The survey is therefore an introduction to the main part of the research, strictly focused on the speech of hatred towards Jews.

Methodology

Comments from users of social networking platform Facebook have been qualified to the media research part of the project, which is a natural continuation of the stage involving surveys on a representative group of users of this portal[37]. All project partners agreed that Facebook, and therefore its content, is, for the time being, the most faithful reflection of the debate in virtual reality, mainly due to the popularity of the portal and its intensive expansion among most countries of the world.

The starting point for selecting the research sample from among the vast amount of data in the form of Facebook comments, were the results from the survey. The respondents, asked in one of the questions, ranked the given topics (loud media events over the last few years) according to their own feelings, which of them may generate the most Antisemitic hate speech. Respondents were also given the opportunity to propose their own topics, which may have such potential. The table below illustrates the dependence of the proposed topic on the frequency of indications according to the respondents' opinions.

Table 2. Topics generating Antisemitic hate speech and frequency of indications according to surveys.

TOPIC/ MEDIA EVENT	AMOUNT OF INDICATIONS (%)
Attacks on Polish embassy in Israel	223 (22,2%)
Information about inappropriate behavior of Israeli citizens in memory places	176 (17,5%)
Information about Israeli-Palestinian conflict	133 (13,2%)
Attacks on Israeli citizens in Poland or all over the world	125 (12,5%)
Amendment of Institute of National Remembrance Act	80 (8%)
Celebrations of the anniversaries of liberation KL Auschwitz – Birkenau camp	57 (5,7%)
Celebrations of the outbreak and the ending of the WW II	53 (5,3%)

Among the open answers, certain topics proposed by a larger group of respondents can be distinguished. The most popular suggestions are the matter of restitution of Jewish property (commonly called Act 447 from the name of the American law) and the anniversary of the pogrom in Jedwabne in 1941. The selection of topics proposed to the respondents for self-classification is based on the general knowledge of researchers from the Polish team about contemporary and historical Polish-Jewish relations, as well as current monitoring of media reports or updating of knowledge about Polish media discourse. Despite the fact that the respondents have identified three topics with the greatest potential to generate Antisemitic hate speech, it was decided to choose two of them: attacks on the Polish embassy in Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The reason for this selection is that these topics are precise (i.e. it is possible to set a date for the event) and their selection from all Facebook media reports remains feasible in the spirit of striving for maximum objectivity. The third topic decided on is the resignation of the President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda from participating in the celebration of the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz in Israel. This choice was motivated by the timeliness of the event and the great interest of the media in this topic, and thus generating a large number of comments as research material.

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[37] The data comes from the report on antisemitic hate speech opinion survey which was conducted for ComAnCE project use and it is available online on: http://www.bpi.sk/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Report-on-public-opinion-in-V4.pdf (access: 28.09.2020).

Each of the above described events lasted for a certain period, so there was a natural division into short-term and long-term events. The short-term ones (i.e. about a month present in the media debate) include the attacks on the Polish embassy in Israel and Andrzej Duda's resignation. The first of these events can be noted in the period of February 2018, while the second - at the turn of January and February 2020. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which has lasted continuously since the middle of the 20th century, is a long-lasting event. Therefore, in this case, it was necessary to identify one of the key moments in the escalation of the conflict, as the media community has been stimulating debate. The choice was made for the announcement of a peace plan for the Middle East by US President Donald Trump. A particularly intense media discussion on this topic can be noted for January 2020. Each of the discussed events was trimmed to a period of three weeks (one week before and two weeks after the key moment of the event).

The third factor that emerged from the Facebook platform was to determine within which medium the search should be conducted. According to the agreement of all project partners it was decided to choose ten broadcasting or publishing institutions, which are active on Facebook, i.e. have an official profile (fan page) on this platform, have a large number of users around it (from several tens of thousands) and publish posts related to current events from the country and the world on an ongoing basis. The ideological or formative profile of these media as well as analogue activities (if any) remain deliberately diverse to provide the most objective research results possible. Below is a table presenting the Polish media selected for the research (or, in principle, their fan pages) together with the number of observers. In accordance with all the factors described above, facebook comments were taken from the profiles of ten Polish media, from the three weeks of each of the three selected events.

Table 3. Polish media qualified for the study compared to the number of people observing the profile on Facebook.

MEDIA	Type of media	Ownership		Content	Orientation	FB fanpage	Amount of likes on FB	Amount of followers on FB	Internal ranking according to the likes/followers
		State	Private						
Gazeta Wyborcza	print		x	news	centric-liberal	Gazeta Wyborcza	691 000	695 000	4
Sieci	print		x	news/politics	conservative	Tygodnik Sieci	205 000	198 000	10
TVP Info	TV	x		news	conservative	tvp.info	381 000	392 000	6
TVN24	TV		x	news	liberal	TVN24	1 400 000	1 400 000	1
Fakt	print		x	gossip	centric	FAKT24.pl	1 000 000	1 000 000	3
Wirtualna Polska	website		x	news/ lifestyle	centric-liberal	WP Wiadomości	669 000	671 000	5
Onet	website		x	news	centric-liberal	Onet	1 100 000	1 100 000	2
Na Temat	website		x	news/politics	liberal	Natemat.pl	385 000	385 000	7
NIE	print		x	politics	radical liberal	Tygodnik NIE	205 000	229 000	9
Niezależna	website		x	politics	conservative	Niezalezna.pl	248 000	236 000	8

Research method

The aim of media analysis is not only to obtain real examples of Antisemitic hate speech appearing on the web in the form of user comments. It is primarily a search for and determination of certain trends and dependencies, more specifically, universal exponents of hate speech towards Jews. Searching the database in this perspective will enable two main actions. First of all, formulating categories according to which statements can be specifically distinguished, and secondly, creating a catalog of certain linguistic constructions, specific parts of speech or phrases, which should be particularly important not only for average users, but also for a group of stakeholders in the field of combating Antisemitic hate speech.

To make this search as effective as possible, the chosen research method is keyword analysis of content. However, in order to determine them, it was necessary to start with the creation of categories within which hate speech against Jews is formed, and then to determine possible keywords on the subject imposed by the category. Some of the categories are common to all the countries of the project, several of them depend on the national context, so there are differences. These differences also occur naturally in the vocabulary itself, where not always every word finds a direct translation. In this way, the content of each category should also be considered from the perspective of the cultural, historical, social and linguistic context of each ComAnCE partner country. The categories that have been selected, as well as the vocabulary within them, are inspired by several factors. The division into conspiracy, secondary, and traditional Antisemitism is derived from literature on Antisemitic hate speech[38]. The vocabulary in their area, as well as that of the national context, was determined on the basis of literature and an interview with an expert on Antisemitism, Professor Michał Bilewicz from the University of Warsaw[39]. All other nouns describing the Jew, as well as other epithets, are the result of the knowledge and experience of the researchers of the Polish team, knowledge of the content of public debate, colloquial speech, cultural context and synonyms of the Internet dictionary[40]. The table below presents the key words used for media analysis by category.

Table 4. Key words by category, used in media analysis

SECONDARY ANTISEMITISM	CONSPIRACY ANTISEMITISM	TRADITIONAL ANTISEMITISM	NATIONAL ANTISEMITIZM	OTHER/EPITHETS
kolaboracja, faszyzm, II wojna światowa, obozy, zagłada, Holocaust, palić, gazować, ocalić, schronienie, pomagać, ukrywać, ratować	pieniądze, finanse, hajs, kasa, własność, mienie, majątek, kamienica, przekupywać, handlować, sprzedawać, kupować, władza, illuminati, wolnomularstwo, żydokomuna, liberalizm, zwrot, restytucja, kontrola, chciwość, okradać, wpływ, biznes	Jezus, Pan Bóg, zamordować, zabić, krew, maca, zdrajca, Judasz, srebrniki, naród wybrany	Juda (jako Duda), Cracovia, czosnek, cebula, śmierdzieć, rabin, szczur, robactwo	Żyd, żydek, żydostwo, żydy, żydówka, parch, mojsze, mosze, pejsy, jarmułka, napletek, nos, obrzezany, ajwaj, Izrael, Palestyna, Soros

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[38] More about three main kinds of Antisemitism read on: https://www.jstor.org/stable/43783763?seq=1 (access: 28.09.2020).

[39] The transcription of the interview with professor Michał Bilewicz is one of the deliverables of the ComAnCE project.

[40] Several synonyms of the word "Żyd" (Jew) come from the website: https://synonim.net/synonim/%C5%BByd (access: 28.09.2020).

Tool - way of operation, search engine operation, assumed results

A very important process in the research on Antisemitism in the Polish Internet space was the possibility of an easy, efficient and at the same time authoritative way of searching the database for cognitively valuable elements. The cooperation with specialists of Clarin-PL's[41] language infrastructure team made it possible to use a tool, which in a highly automated way allows to search the acquired comments with high intensity of Antisemitic statements. However, in order to search and use the already designed Clarin-PL tools, it was necessary first of all to morpho-syntactic tag the database of collected comments, which in this form created a corpus of text. Only on the tagged body is it possible to perform operations using the Clarin-PL language infrastructure.

The tagging is nothing more than a term for each of the words of its basic form with a special description. Thanks to such "tagging" the computer is able to automatically search the corpus of texts in any form of grammatical variety, regardless of the form of the query the user takes. With the help of the CQL query language, you can quickly and easily operate the search engine of Kontext tool[42] by the so-called lemma, i.e. words that can occur in the searched body in any grammatical variety. The first illustration below shows the formula of a query to search for comments in a given corpus on all words derived from the "Jew" lemmar, written in upper or lower case, starting with the letter Z or Ż. The second illustration shows a formula for asking for adjectives standing to the left of the "Jew" lemma, also with different spelling variants.

Pic. 1. Sample CQL query commands used in Kontext tool

The Kontext tool, which works using the CQL query language, provides many, often complex methods for finding interesting phrases or other collocations. You can not only search for the selected base keywords necessary for analysis, but also determine which parts of speech co-exist with a given key word. If you enter the command requesting all the adjectives appearing on the left side of the word "Jew", you will get the answer to the question: what is the Jew in the eyes of commentators? If, on the other hand, you type the command requesting the verbs appearing on the right-hand side of the word "Israel", you will find out what Israel is doing or has done according to the opinion of the Internet users.

The Clarin-PL infrastructure tool therefore made it possible not only to search by keyword for specific categories established by the research team, but also to search for wider contexts, determine language structures, certain dependencies, word clusters, phraseological relationships, and finally real examples of Antisemitic hate speech. Thanks to these activities, it was possible to search for examples of irony, which is a category with no consistent exponents of occurrence, due to its complexity and the multitude of possibilities of its construction. The search results of lemma, word or grammatical category data (lemma, word, tag) are displayed as a list with a highlighted key word. However, the user has the possibility to develop the whole context of a particular statement, as well as to find out where the statement comes from. The whole search of your own body of text is highly automated, and only mouse movements allow for an in-depth analysis, often going beyond the assumed keyword.
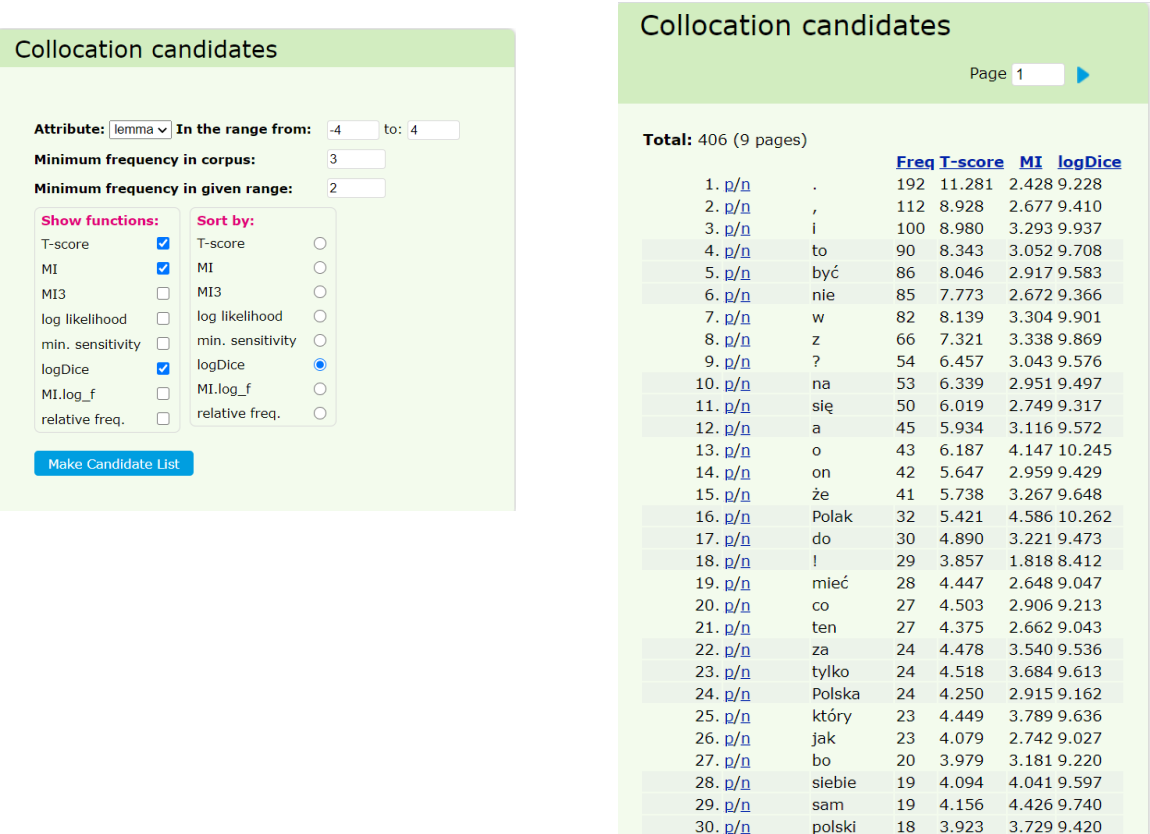
Pic. 2. Fragment of the results for the "Żyd" (Jew) lemma searched with one of the CQL query language commands.

....! Antypolonizm? Nic nowego,	**Żydzi**	nienawidzą nas najbardziej na świecie. Tak pisiory macie co
ych Narodowych Świętach wyzywając I poniżając	**Żydów**	jest OBRZYDLIWE,zadrwiliście a ofiar Oświęcimia-Birkenau
ględem Izraela , pokazali wasze miejsce w szeregu.	**Żydzi**	z Izraela mają was w dupie ! Nawet ich człowiek
oBardzo dobrze ze nie jedzieJakiś oligarcha Ruski	**Żyd**	wyprawia w Izraelu hucpe i Prezydent ma w tym burdelu
do tej sytuacji. Dobrze wiedzieli, że Rosja i	**żydzi**	od dekad grają w jednej komunistycznej drużynie. Nawet w
lestyńczyków dozbroić by mogli się spod okupacji	**żydów**	wyzwolić. Tak się kończy polityka kładzenia ogona po sobie
ca zablokowaliscie jednym zdaniem wchodziliscie	**żydom**	w dupe bez wazeliny a oni was jak i zresztą
tym, że motłoch ma lewą kasę a za kasę	**Żydzi**	dadzą sobie pejsy zgolić. Jeżeli ma jechać do Jerozolimy
i szczerość - żart roku... Aleksandra Kubicka	**Żydzi**	i szczerość - żart stulecia... Czy Duda
to widać po tej sprawie . Wanda Baranowska a ilu	**Żydów**	znasz osobiście? Ja Pana też nie lubię ale co
dzyskaćnigdy nie słyszałem o głosach poparcia od	**żydów**	dla naszej niepodległości, a przypomnieć trzeba jaki ambaras wprowadziły
czy prezydentowi Francji przypomni sprzedawanie	**żydów**	. Ewentualnie czy robi to też w krajach Beneluxu?
taka jest prawda Jacy my jako naród durnie.SAMI	**ŻYDÓW**	"WYBIERAMY",czy my kiedyś zmądrzejemy ??
z michnikiem czy ta pierdolona pisowska klika ? A	**żyda**	to ty jołopie w discovery widziałeś Tom Paczka faktem
cała Europa to jedno a drugie żydzi w USA i	**żydzi**	w Polsce to zupełnie nie to samo tak jak zwolennicy
orze że nie jedzie nie będzie sobą i Polską wycieral	**żydom**	tylka .szacunek Już był na wakacjach na stoku.
osci ludzi podczas wojny wstyd i hanba ze tak nas	**zyd**	nie lubi mamy zaplate za swoje dobra tak jak pomaga
tpliwości. To świadczy ewidentnie o walce między	**ŻYDAMI**	. Bożena Gierlach tak, co nie zmienia faktu również

Does the Kontext tool have any disadvantages or weaknesses? It should always be remembered that all computer tools based on artificial intelligence can be unreliable and can make mistakes. When analyzing comments downloaded directly from Facebook for the purposes of this research, the main inconvenience is the users' language incorrectness. The machine learned on texts written in correct. Polish could omit some phrases that significantly differed from the rules of spelling, grammar or common typos. Hence the specific way of searching for key words, taking into account possible mistakes that can be made in a given word (Żyd or Zyd). Unfortunately, it is not possible to automatically identify all the errors made by users, so it should be taken into account that the analysis is burdened with a statistical error, although with all the power and accuracy minimized. Therefore, the figures generated on the basis of a specific query should not be generalized to the whole sample, precisely because of the specifics of the text corpus. An additional function useful for this study is the numerical colocation determination. The search engine of this tool, which works within Contex, allows to determine specific words, together with the number of their occurrences in the body. The

frequency of occurrence is indicated on different scales (e.g. normal frequency or logarithmic scale). In this way we can determine which words appearing up to 5 places to the left and right of the lemma most often occur in each corpus. Below there is an illustration which shows how the search engine works and sample results for the "Jew" lemmar, taking into account the coexisting words or signs up to four places on the left and up to four places on the right, with a minimum frequency in the whole corpus equal to 3.

Pic. 3. The way the collocation search engine works and examples of collocation results for the "Żyd" (Jew) lemma.

Collocation candidates

Attribute: lemma In the range from: -4 to: 4
Minimum frequency in corpus: 3
Minimum frequency in given range: 2

Show functions:		Sort by:	
T-score	☑	T-score	○
MI	☑	MI	○
MI3	☐	MI3	○
log likelihood	☐	log likelihood	○
min. sensitivity	☐	min. sensitivity	○
logDice	☑	logDice	●
MI.log_f	☐	MI.log_f	○
relative freq.	☐	relative freq.	○

[Make Candidate List]

Collocation candidates

Page 1 ▶

Total: 406 (9 pages)

		Freq	T-score	MI	logDice
1. p/n	.	192	11.281	2.428	9.228
2. p/n	,	112	8.928	2.677	9.410
3. p/n	i	100	8.980	3.293	9.937
4. p/n	to	90	8.343	3.052	9.708
5. p/n	być	86	8.046	2.917	9.583
6. p/n	nie	85	7.773	2.672	9.366
7. p/n	w	82	8.139	3.304	9.901
8. p/n	z	66	7.321	3.338	9.869
9. p/n	?	54	6.457	3.043	9.576
10. p/n	na	53	6.339	2.951	9.497
11. p/n	się	50	6.019	2.749	9.317
12. p/n	a	45	5.934	3.116	9.572
13. p/n	o	43	6.187	4.147	10.245
14. p/n	on	42	5.647	2.959	9.429
15. p/n	że	41	5.738	3.267	9.648
16. p/n	Polak	32	5.421	4.586	10.262
17. p/n	do	30	4.890	3.221	9.473
18. p/n	!	29	3.857	1.818	8.412
19. p/n	mieć	28	4.447	2.648	9.047
20. p/n	co	27	4.503	2.906	9.213
21. p/n	ten	27	4.375	2.662	9.043
22. p/n	za	24	4.478	3.540	9.536
23. p/n	tylko	24	4.518	3.684	9.613
24. p/n	Polska	24	4.250	2.915	9.162
25. p/n	który	23	4.449	3.789	9.636
26. p/n	jak	23	4.079	2.742	9.027
27. p/n	bo	20	3.979	3.181	9.220
28. p/n	siebie	19	4.094	4.041	9.597
29. p/n	sam	19	4.156	4.426	9.740
30. p/n	polski	18	3.923	3.729	9.420

Directly with body tagging, two different programming tools (CMC and Morphodita) are used to correct the errors mentioned above. Clarin-PL specialists have done this in two ways, which translates into two separate bodies that can be searched through the keyword database. The results of the comment analysis are the resultant of the search of both corpus, so the quantitative data obtained are not translated into the actual content of one or the other corpus individually. Much more important are the qualitative data obtained in this way, which allowed to determine the interesting collocations and other above-mentioned manifestations of Antisemitism in Internet statements. Using the tools described above, developed and made available in cooperation with the Clarin-PL language infrastructure team, it was possible to determine interesting relationships in the comments posted on the Facebook platform. In exactly the same way as for the "Jew" lemma, with possible spelling variants, all key words from the five categories discussed in the previous chapter were found. Each of them gave interesting results and helped to set some trends and patterns concerning hateful comments about Jews in the Internet space.

Main findings

Media analysis of the comments downloaded from the social networking platform Facebook, from specific posts of selected media has given many interesting results. Search with keywords matched to the appropriate categories allowed to set new "subcategories" to which contemporary manifestations of Antisemitism in virtual reality can be assigned. It was also possible to verify the exponents of the well-established division into secondary, conspiracy and traditional Antisemitism. An additional effect of the use of an automated computer tool is the determination of specific parts of speech that are co-occurring with Jewish themes, which can greatly facilitate the search for manifestations of Antisemitic hate speech in other texts, especially online commentaries. It is important that in discussing the results of the study together with real examples, the words important in the aspect of Antisemitic hate speech are written in italics, so that the reader knows what to pay attention to when analyzing or checking any text on his own.

Epithets and insults towards Jews

The most common speech of hatred, not only towards Jews, are direct insults addressed to a specific group or person. In case of Antisemitic hate speech, apart from direct insults, universal in relation to many groups, some formulations can be distinguished. They function as a insults using characteristic elements of clothing, physiognomy or visible elements of culture and tradition of people of Jewish origin. Thus, they will be features such as: peyes, yarmulke, skin complexion, hunchbacked or larger nose, lack of foreskin, characteristic speech and accent, public celebrations of Jewish holidays. These are the "markers" by which Poles identify Jews and which they use in their hate speech. The following examples illustrate not only direct insults, but also combine several types of Antisemitism, especially conspiracy.

> „Poland will not be a beating boy for hangover men without a foreskin”
> „And the fear of writing anything at all, because God forbid a gentleman without a foreskin would read it and lock me up in the name of good international relations”
> „For money, Jews will shave their peyes”
> „(…) Is it Nazism among the pejs? Whoever sows the wind is gathering the storm. Probably the no-foreskins ”
> „Unfortunately, the Jews are a privileged group in this country, which is under the control of hunchbacked noses”

In the eyes of commentators, the Jew is mostly *Russian* and *serviceable*. These most frequently appearing adjectives in the corps are probably the result of a selected theme, and more specifically of one event - the celebration of the anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz camp in Jerusalem, to which Russian President Vladimir Putin was invited. Although there are also other adjectives defining the nationality of people of Jewish origin: *American, German* and *Polish*. Such constructions are intended to emphasize the servitude of the Jews towards various countries, their double standards and their readiness to betray or collaborate. When asked what kind of a Jew is he?, we will also receive answers such as: *himself, some, communist, other, rich.*

Various terms for a Jew, mainly negative, mockery, include: *żydki*, *żydeczki* (belittling), *żydy* (contempt), *żydostwo*, *mosze*. The word *parch* was also noted in the sample, while from animal epithets it was compared to beetle. Calling someone a Jew is one of the forms of approximation, and

the adjectives that are common are: *vile* and *untrue*. It is also common to search for a Jewish origin on the basis of a foreign name of a discussant. There are also references to the *Jewish plague*.

> „A Jew is a Jew, mean, vindictive, calculating, cunning. They have scattered around the world like a beetle. And they are claimed like few others (…)"
> „Eh ugliest of the Jews, take yours and get the fuck out"
> „The true face of Jewry comes to light "
> „As for the term patałach, this is one of the more delicate ones, which is pressing on my lips after what they are doing now and what they are accusing Poland and Poles of"

If one looks at the verbs that are used to describe Jews in different ways, one can see a certain tendency. On the one hand, these verbs correspond to various types of Antisemitism (mainly conspiracy and secondary), and on the other hand, they function as a degradation of Jews in society. According to the comments from the research attempt, Jews: *they have complexes, they know, they have, they are afraid, they prefer, they lie, they look for a problem, they bite the hand that fed them, they convince, they think*. Internet users also notice a lack of knowledge and basic education among the Jews, which translates directly into the often accused falsehood of history.

> „The Jews suffer from the same trend to which many European countries have succumbed - ignorance of history, either general or national (...) which does not change the fact that many young Jews are historically uneducated, and the lack of knowledge of the facts makes them turn their frustration towards the wrong one"
> „It seems that the Jews will start to rewrite history and prove that Hitler was a Pole, the money is doing its job, they got it from the Germans and forgot who the enemy was and who the friend, anti-Polonism and provocation"
> „A Jew will not spit in our face and a Russian will change history"

Conspiracy Antisemitism

This kind of Antisemitism is very well established and still strong in the belief of Polish Internet users. In its case, there is a huge difference between the Polish attempt to comment and the attempts of other project partners. The differences, demonstrated already at the stage of preliminary research, consist in focusing the commentators on completely different aspects of conspiracy Antisemitism. In the case of the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, the main axis of interest is the liberal direction, i.e. the identification of Jews with the left-wing orientation, influence on the fate of the world, hidden power. In the case of Poland, however, all attention is paid to the subject of *money* and unfavorable character traits resulting from its possession, i.e. *greed, envy* and *stinginess*. According to the commentators, a Jew has always cared only about money and Jews love money above all else.

> „Nowhere do they like Jews, whom you will not ask, and I know Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, Russians and Americans, rarely anyone likes them, everyone associates them with greed"
> „What will a Jew do for money? Ascend the torturers and their helpers and humiliate the victims, including the Jewish victims"
> „The more posts from his and our side, the bigger the silver money"
> „Let's not buy Israeli goods, the barcode starts with 729"
> „This dispute is mainly about money. Marks have run out, so we have to look for other sources. The train from Walbrzych is also theirs and they are demanding the return of"

The absence of any reference to liberalism, or even to the so called "leftist", Illuminati, Freemasonry, which is an association to hidden influences, although it is worth mentioning more than one case of mentioning the concept of *Jewish-communism* (it is also worth mentioning the reminder of Jews belonging to the Security Service). In the Polish context, the accusation of *lying, falsehood, bribery*, and *payment* reigns supreme, although Poles avoid accusations of theft (that is, according to them, the domain of Russians). The commentators also showed extraordinary sensitivity towards the case of restitution of pre-war Jewish property, accusing the Jews of appropriation and other illegal activities outside the law, aimed at restoring their former property.

> *„The Jews brazenly lied on the day the Allies liberated the camps, deliberately generalising the matter, saying that only Jews were there"*
> *„The Germans have left nothing if something is being rebuilt by Poles, so no talks with gangsters who want to seize Polish property"*

Although there are no direct accusations that the Jews had a great deal of power concentrated in groups other than the nation, Internet users recognize the privileged position of Israel and it remains a possible player in the international game of influence. The servitude of other countries towards Israel, including Poland, is also eagerly pointed out. Moreover, according to the comments, false narratives about Poland are paid for by Jews.

> *„Poland under the rule and influence of the Jews. But, in fact, let scab not worry. Polin and his 40 million Goyim are on the order. The 40 million misunderstood Poles will dance as Jerusalem will play them"*
> *„What the fuck is it like kissing Jewish boors' asses?"*
> *„The Jews offered their experience in business and very well-educated members of their diaspora, who, after settling in Poland, could (caution!!!!) guide the Poles to build a stronger Poland!!!! Maybe it is just a conspiracy theory, but I believe that karma can reveal itself to the bad people with the least expected moment and will reach them. Pity of the words"*

Secondary Antisemitism

The manifestations of this kind of Antisemitism from the research sample reflect a nationwide view of Polish-Jewish relations from the time of World War II and shortly afterwards. Poles, in the spirit of martyrdom[43], constantly return to the events of war, citing above all the mediated memory (the so-called post-memory phenomenon[44]). The Internet users have been relentlessly emphasizing the important role of the Polish nation in the process of protecting, saving and helping Jews, who too rarely show their gratitude for those actions. From the list of verbs related to the subject of secondary Antisemitism, it is clear that Poland was above all: *saving, hiding, helping* and *protecting*. The Jews, on the other hand, are exceptionally ungrateful, and they regularly accuse their savior of Antisemitism and Holocaust denial. These conclusions confirm the feelings of the survey respondents, who explicitly admitted that Antisemitism is a modern concept abused and semantically expanded, without logical justification.

> *„This is how it ends when you help the Jews, spit in your face and attack our country, it is best to show them the same hospitality as they give us. It is no different"*
> *„RUDENESS. The hell it was for saving them. Now we have a thank you!"*

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[43] Martyrology – a sufficient of any country or group of people. An important theme in the Polish art of the early eighteenth century period.
[44] More about the post-memory phenomenon on: https://cup.columbia.edu/author-interviews/hirsch-generation-postmemory (access: 28.09.2020).

> *„Patalachy, they want to be seen as victims all over the world, and the fact that they sold and gave themselves to the Nazis and cooperated with them in the murder of their own is not in their favour"*

Although it is worth noting that no comment from the trial contained an open and uncompromising denial of the existence of the Holocaust. Rather, Poles focus on the process, perceived by themselves as a historical education, consisting in directly pointing out the *culprits* of the war - the Germans, as well as *accomplices* and *collaborators* - other European countries, and in the context of Jews: *some Jews* and *Jewish and Nazi collaborators*. Direct references to the war can be counted as 95, and to the Holocaust as 49. In the context of concentration camps, the nationality of the victims is sometimes questioned, and Poles are strongly emphasized among the prisoners. The word fascism, on the other hand, has become a kind of excuse which, in isolation from the themes of World War II, is used to rhetorically discredit the enemy.

> *„Besides, what nationality were the Jews who died in the camps? Polish or Israeli?"*
> *„The Jews think they are unique because of the Holocaust"*
> *„(…) and if they don't catch it, it means that Israel is not disturbed by swastikas painted by their citizens and promoting fascism (...) they will lay down on Palestinian bandits from Gaza, calmly "*
> *„I demand that the Israeli authorities immediately punish these Nazis in Israel! They missed the fascists so much. They should paint a sickle and hammer on their embassy in Poland!"*
> *„The Holocaust business corporation founded by the World Jewish Association now operates. I am often in Israel and I know what this business is based on"*

Traditional (religious) Antisemitism

Contrary to appearances, Antisemitism motivated by the Christian faith is strong among Polish Facebook users. However, there is no reference to legends or terrible stories, e.g. about kidnapping small children and turning them into matzo. In general, the religious dimension does not focus on the cult of blood, sacrifice or even betrayal, although there is no lack of subtle references to *Judas* or *silver coins*, which are still symbols of betrayal in Polish culture. However, silver coins does not concern betrayal by Jews, but by contemporary politicians or their voters.

The *murder* will be noted only in the context of World War II. Activities concerning directly Jesus or God are: *crucifixion, surrender, murder*. The commentators also took an interesting path of insulting the Jews by reminding them of the *murder of Christ*, *denying the Messiah*, lack of faith and wasting a chance from God to be a *chosen nation*.

> *„That is what Israel is today, which it has not recognised its Messiah!"*
> *„Remember who killed the Lord Jesus!"*
> *„(…) but what do you want from the people who crucified Jesus?"*
> *„Please, God forbid, please, do order with your chosen ones. One was already like that, what he tried, he ended up on a board"*

As far as the chosen nation is concerned, Internet users emphasize with exceptional accuracy that Jews were given a serious task by God and a privileged role, but they decided to despise it. Despite that, they benefit from their position which has lasted continuously for centuries. They allegedly feel untouchable, with more rights, and they put themselves in the role of a victim by calling themselves the chosen people. In this case, one can also see a certain inclination of Poles to believe in superstitions, bad charms and to pay homage to the motive of crime and punishment.

„Is it best to keep quiet, so as not to offend the Jews? After all, this is an chosen people, you forgot to add that an untouchable people who kill and persecute Palestinians (...) an chosen people, but Satan's"
„A chosen people eternally harmed"
„The chosen people have become a vile snake unworthy of God's grace, they could even be suspected of a pact with the devil"
„An elected and untouchable people, who are allowed to kill Palestinians, behave like barbarians in airports, behave loudly in concentration camps, treat everyone with contempt with a different faith and nationality"

In the context of the God construction, the Poles are not as active as in the case of Jesus. An interesting phenomenon, however, is the quotation of sayings and proverbs of biblical origin, using the name of God. Some of them, after analyzing a wider context, actually aim at pointing out mistakes to the Jews, or at teaching them about the consequences of their actions. Such expressions may include:

- Like Jacob to God, like God to Jacob
- The Lord God is not snarky, but righteous
- Thank God!
- Don't give a damn!
- Oh, God!
- God's pity
- God, Honor, Homeland

Hate speech towards the Israel

As already mentioned above, Israel is a victim of Antisemitic hate speech, mainly in the context of the desire to control, influence the policies of other countries or pay for the favorable narrations. Apart from direct attacks on the country, Internet users also use the technique of belittling, ironizing and recalling the armed conflict with the oppressed Palestine. There are comments that Israel is a "state in Palestine," and its people to the "occupiers of Palestine. Such statements undermine the meaning of Israel's existence and the legitimacy of its political decisions.

„Ech.... I forgot that this state was only created after the Second World War, widening its borders by robbing Palestinians of their lands (…)"
„Israel as a state did not exist. Moses led them out of Egypt, now they are the powerful of this world"

From the nouns standing by the word Israel, it can be concluded that it is seen primarily through the prism of state authorities: *leader, power, government, ambassador, president, prime minister, representatives*. In second place is the vocabulary related to *war* and *attack*. Then there is *defeat, error, victory* and *citizens*.

„Give the names of the blackmailers to the Israeli Embassy and let them do their own cleaning! (...) Will the TORTURER become the TORTURER, will the money satisfy them? (…)"

Poles accuse Israel of *being treated worse* and of constant *attacks*. This includes the words of the head of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel's head Israel Katz, who stated during a media appearance that "Poles have sucked Antisemitism with their mother's milk". Commentators clearly

indicate that they expect an apology from the whole country for the statements of individual politicians. These sentiments are accompanied by accusations of *inequality* between Poland and Israel before the law, and expectations of a *compensation* (this is how claims against pre-war property are called). In this connection, statements calling for the *severance of diplomatic relations* with Israel or any other form of *boycott* of the country and its citizens have become commonplace.

> „Israel idealises the image of the Jew and does not allow history to be lied to. Neither are we idealistic, but we have no reason to keep on lying"
> "[Israel] has still not apologised for the words of Natanjahu and Katz"
> „(…) Israel spits in our face "
> „Close down the Polish Embassy in Israel (...) vara from POLAND and Polish people. We are not fucking with the legislation of Israel. The best thing to do is to get away from them, to break off contacts. We have enough of them and we have to introduce visas to Israel, how can we change that?
> „Suspend diplomatic relations with this country, close the consulate. One should not be friends with racists"
> „The policy towards this HOSTILE Poland of the state and nation must change decisively. No more wagging your tail and trembling about what the Jews or Americans will say. The consequence of these recent events should be the expulsion of this wretched country from Poland, and diplomatic and cultural relations should be broken. Air transport with that country has been cut off. Poland has NO right to lay a cake before Israel"

According to the comments, Israel is in constant *collusion* with a foreign country. Due to the subject matter that appears in the research sample, this time it is Russia. The voices are divided into the theory that Israel is carrying out *conspiracy activities* with the help of Russia, leading to taking control of other states, and the theory of Israeli service to Russia motivated by *fear* or *greed*. Although opinions on *cooperation* with Germans (i.e. with the *executioner*) can also be noted.

> „Israel + Putin and Poland cease to exist on the map "
> „(…) probably this foundation is some kind of Putin's blowjob under the Israeli banner"

The verbs standing next to Israel can be described as strong in their expression. According to the data, Israel is currently: *financing, paying, allowing, spitting, idealizing, feeling, burning bridges, coping, having us up our ass*. As far as the deeds of the past are concerned, let us note: *he refused, rose up, led, broke up, disappeared, accepted, showed, made a decision, signed, knew*.

Antisemitism in the national context

The database, which the Polish team had at their disposal for media analysis, does not contain spectacular and very distinctive cases of Antisemitism with a unique national context. There is no reference to the colorful example of the Cracow soccer club Cracovia (which some fans cognitively make an interesting autostigmatization as a Jewish Judegang fighter[45]).
There is another interesting example of a strictly Polish context. It is the President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda, against whom many hoaxes are made with a Jewish motif in the background. First of all, the term Andrzej Juda (instead of Duda) was used at least six times for the whole attempt, suggesting the President's dependence on Israeli politics and influence. Thus, it can be concluded that such a modification is not only a one-time play on words, but a slowly becoming a colloquial construction in contemporary language. Its most elaborate form, intentionally written with spelling mistakes, is as follows:

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[45] Professor Michał Bilewicz mentioned it during the interview.

„Andrzej Juda king of Polin"

The President's wife Agata Kornhauser-Duda is also a victim of Antisemitic hate speech. Her name, of Jewish origin, gives commentators a wide field of creative use in order to discredit the President. At the same time, it is clear from such insults that Jewish origins are considered to be an insult and a cause for shame.

> *„(…) he has a Jewish woman at home and that is enough. He knows how this nation works"*
> *„Agatha is also Jewish. Did you miss it?"*
> *„(…) What does the first Jewish lady say?"*

Antisemitism and irony

In the section of the report on how the Kontext tool works, it is mentioned that irony is a linguistic construction that does not have unified exponents. For this reason, it is not automatically searchable. In the course of the analysis, it turned out that statements of ironic nature have a certain common feature, however, unrecognizable by the machine. This characteristic (of course, not always) is constituted by expressions that, when they appear on their own, indicate manifestations of empathy, gentleness, sympathy, and solidarity towards Jews. After reading the entire statement and learning about the broader context, however, it turns out that the commentary is ironic, often malicious, and thus touching in a unique way. Searching for such words, amidst the hate and negative attitude of the utterances, may be one of the clues to seek irony and the so-called hidden Antisemitism.

> *„I apologise to all the Jews that I am a Pole and that I am still alive"*
> *„(…) ojojoj, what a loss, poor PAD [President Andrew Duda - note] is offended and will not go to the celebrations… the whole world, especially Russia, France, Germany and Israel are flooded with tears because of the lack of such a dignitary (…)"*
> *„And when will Israel finally pay compensation for train tickets? So many years in Europe they have been strolling around for free"*
> *„The Poles were bowing to the Jews, who were persecuted during the war (…)"*

Who uses hate speech towards Jews?

The research clearly indicates that these are right-wing media (as they define themselves and based on their content) from an ideological point of view. These media adhere to pro-family, Catholic and patriotic values. Among the hateful comments cited above (from various categories), the most common is the origin of Niezależna.pl - an information portal, Sieci (weekly newspaper) and TVP Info (state television). Although it should be stressed that quite often the authors are observers of the profile of Gazeta Wyborcza - the largest opinion-forming liberal-oriented daily newspaper in Poland. Among the results were also: the liberal Internet portal NaTemat.pl and the centralized Wirtualna Polska. Epithets based on the Jewish physiognomy (no foreskin, peyes, or hunchbacked nose) come from the fanpages: Sieci, Niezależna.pl, Gazeta Wyborcza, TVN24, Wirtualna Polska, tvp.info. The direct insults appear only on Niezależna.pl, Gazeta Wyborcza and Sieci. The latter, together with tvp.info, is also a source of accusations against Jews for wanting to change the historical narrative.

The manifestations of Antisemitic conspiracy concerning money, greed and stinginess, as well as the accusation of servitude of Jews and Israel definitely come from Niezależna.pl, although fans of Gazeta Wyborcza also care about pre-war Jewish property in the hands of Poland. One of the cited conspiracy theories (directly named by the author) is also a comment under the post of Gazeta Wyborcza. In turn, manifestations of secondary Antisemitism can be found again on Niezależna.pl, tvp.info and on

Gazeta Wyborcza's profile. Most entries about Jesus and the chosen nation can be found on the profiles of Niezależna.pl, Sieci and Gazeta Wyborcza. However, most often Internet users are persuaded to sever relations with Israel by the former, the above mentioned media and Wirtualna Polska. It is also Niezależna.pl and Gazeta Wyborcza that bring together users who discredit the President of Poland Andrzej Duda by insulting his wife. Interestingly, one of the most hateful comments, openly mocking the procedure of murdering Jews in concentration camps during World War II, comes from one of the more liberal portals of the Polish network - NaTemat.pl.

Conclusion

Among the real, often very crude examples of Antisemitic hatred, some of the most important conclusions can be distinguished, relevant to the whole research and conclusions for the future. One of the more surprising results is the result of the proportion of the kind of Antisemitic hate speech. It turns out that the Poles are a nation with a solid historical memory, which willingly quotes events from the past and stresses its important role in them. Apart from the praiseworthy comments about the Polish war heroes, one can also find a jealous and rude sense of superiority due to heroic deeds such as hiding, saving or sacrificing life. There is also a tendency to demand more attention, respect or gratitude, which is expressed in hate speech. These results show that the events of World War II partly obscure the image of contemporary Polish-Jewish relations in the eyes of the average Pole.

An equally interesting conclusion is that traditional Antisemitism is not only a theoretical figure in the literature. Commentators have shown a tendency to hide behind the figure of God when oppressing the Jews. It also turned out that the grief for the crucifixion of Christ two thousand years ago resonates to the present day, which suggests that the Catholic faith is important for society and that the influence of the Church or religious teachers is significant. The term chosen people functions in a very interesting way among public opinion. This construction raises negative associations not only because of the biblical histories, but also influences the contemporary image of the Jew, who, according to the Polish opinion, uses his once privileged position to the present day, in addition to the role of the main victim of World War II. Frustration motivated by such an attitude translates directly into a speech of hatred.

The lack of references to liberalism, the Masonic lodges (where, according to the common opinion, the Jews are the most important), hidden intentions or secret Jewish organizations, surprises for another reason. There is a significant difference between Poland and the other partners of the ComAnCE project, even though we remain in the same cultural circle (with the Czech Republic and Slovakia even linguistic) and are close neighbors. George Soros, such a popular figure for partners, practically does not function in the debate on the Polish ground. He is also not used as a representation of a typical Jew or an embodiment of all evil and unclean interests. In this part of the analysis a much more important conclusion for the Polish case is the fact that the main culprit of the vile actions and international agreements unfavorable for Poland is the State of Israel and the politicians governing it.

The last important conclusion is the issue of hidden irony and Antisemitism. These are the cases of hate speech against Jews which are most difficult to detect, especially in an automatic way. However, it turned out that it is possible to determine a common point for this statement, which is a positive word. The use of such a word usually heralds a speech of hatred with an ironic basis, based on word play or another linguistic construction that is a cloak and serves as an insult in an inconspicuous way at first sight. That is why it is impossible to cite examples of real hate speech presented in an ironic way, because the way such a statement is constructed depends solely on the individual predispositions and creativity of the Internet user.

Antisemitism online in Slovakia

Media are seen as the most important tool in shaping the world views of global societies, and with the rise of social media and their power to change the attitudes and opinions of their users, media are becoming a crucial part of our everyday life. According to the latest data, the number of internet users is 4.63 million individuals (85% penetration), 2.7 million active social media users (50% penetration), and 2.4 million mobile phone social network users (44% penetration). Also 80% of Slovak internet users are using internet on daily basis.
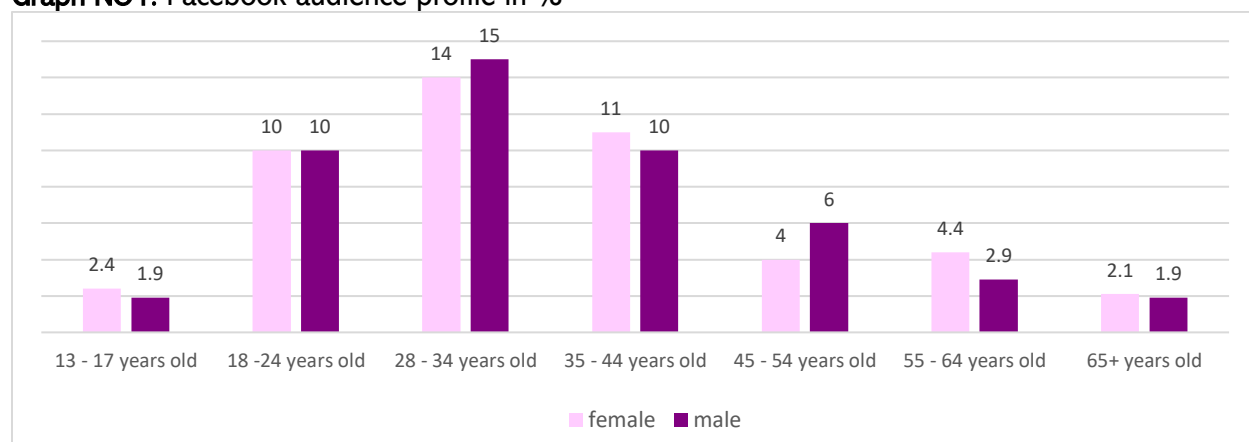
Table NO 1.: The most visited websites in Slovakia

no	Website	Category	Monthly Traffic	Time Per Visit	Pages Per Visit
01	Google.com	Search	128,300,000	09m 48s	9.4
02	Google.sk	Search	119,000,000	10m 10s	8.1
03	Facebook.com	Social	106,000,000	14m 07s	12.5
04	Youtube.com	Tv and video	83,500,000	23m 58s	10.2
05	Azet.sk	Reference	26,500,000	09m 47s	12.5
06	Aktuality.sk	News	24,900,000	04m 19s	3.2
07	Sme.sk	News	24,600,000	04m 41s	4.4
08	Zoznam.sk	News	20,500,000	04m 26s	3.9
09	Cas.sk	News	19,700,000	05m 10s	4.8
10	Topky.sk	News	19,200,000	05m 01s	3.9

Source: Digital Data Report, 2019

Our intention was not to cover the whole online world, and we fully understand that it could not be done in a real time. Our intention was to focus mainly on the most popular social media in Slovak republic, namely Facebook with more than 2,6 million users (54% female, 46% male). To support our choice in the comparison with Instagram, the second most popular social media have only 1.1 million users (Digital Data Report, 2019).

Graph NO1: Facebook audience profile in %

Source: Digital Data Report, 2019

Taking into consideration the discussion with the partners and the project aims and objectives we have selected 10 most popular media in all Visegrad countries (see Table NO3), all the selected media were observed as the most popular on Facebook in their area of interest and in their format

(radio, television, print, online media, conspiracy / alternative or disinformation media). The conspiracy and disinformation media were selected according to their popularity and ranking in monitoring lists of Slovak initiatives that were named as the most influential (https://blbec.online/, and https://www.konspiratori.sk/).

Four topics were selected, according to the results of online survey question "what topics, themes, events can cause negative emotions towards Jews", as:

1. the most actual topic related to the neo fascists political party LSNS, and the trail with former MP Milan Mazurek on his extremist's hatred on internet (August - September 2019)
2. the most actual topic related to the migration crisis – European election 2019 (May 2019)
3. the protest "Decent Slovakia" after the murder of Jan Kuciak and his fiancé (March 2018)
4. election of Zuzana Caputova for president of Slovak republic (March, 2019), this topic was not seen by the respondents as the topic that cause negative emotion towards Jews, but we selected it because there were indicators of a high relevance of data on Antisemitism

The national media agency was asked to provide us with all Facebook comments under news and information related to these four topics in all 10 selected media. More than 91, 863 Facebook comments were gathered within the circa 3 weeks time period (see closer Table NO2). The most commented theme was the presidential election in Slovakia with overall 57, 325 comments and 7,433 negative comments under any news and information about them.

Table NO2: List of selected media themes that have the potential to cause the most negative emotions towards Jews

Theme	Duration of collection		FB comments	Negative content within
Milan Mazurek (LSNS) trail	21.08.2019 30.09.2019	–	9 965	747
European Election (migration crisis)	05.05.2019 31.05.2019	–	11 660	1 296
Decent Slovakia protests	01.03.2018 31.03.2019	–	12 859	970
Election of Zuzana Caputova	10.03.2019 31.03.2019	-	57 352	4 420
			91 836	**7 433**

Table NO3: List of selected media

MEDIA	Type of media	Ownership		Content	Orientation	Media ranking		FB fan page Y/N	Amount of likes on FB ×	Amount of followers on FB×	Internal ranking according the likes/ followers
		State	Private			the most trusted	the most readable				
Tv Markíza	TV		x	commercial news	centrists	9	1	Tv Markiza	390 818	391 010	5
								Tv Noviny	306 902	304 165	7
Tv JoJ	TV		x	commercial news	centrists	6	2	TV JoJ	385 753	417 591	4
RTVS	TV	x		public news	centrists	2	3	RTVS	72 062	75 342	16
								Správy RTVS	105 853	134 688	13
Ta3	TV		x	news	centrists	1	4	Televízia TA3	164 085	161 689	10
Radio express	Radio		x	commercial news	centrists	4	1	Radio expres	544 058	550 667	2
Radio Slovensko	Radio	x		news	centrists	X	2	Radio Slovensko	24 890	25 572	21
Fun radion	Radio		x	tabloid style	centrists	10	3	FUN radio	224 801	218 557	1
Nový čas	Print		x	tabloid-style information portal / printed	centrists	15	1	Nový Čas	489 690	468 336	3
Plus Jeden Deň	Print		x	gossip	centrists	X	2	Plus JEDEN DEŇ	146 601	148 101	12
Pravda	Print			daily print newspaper/ online	leftwing	X	3	Pravda	64 800	70 221	
Sme	Print		x	daily print newspaper/ online	center – right	9	3	SME	154 867	157 259	
Hospodárske noviny	Print		x	daily print newspaper/ online	center – right economics	3	6	Hospodárske noviny	121 274	120 142	14
Plus 7 dní	Print		x	printed tabloid and online	centrists	?	1	Plus 7 dní	37 062	38 904	19
Báječná žena	Print		x	gossip	centrists	?	2	časopis Báječná Žena	23 818	23 564	22
Život	Print		x	lifestyle	centrists	?	3	Život	72 700	71 860	17
Denník N	Online		x	news/ mix	center – right progressive	12	7	Denník N	158 413	178 339	9
Aktuality.sk	Online		x	news/ mix	centrists	5	x	Aktuality.sk	272 248	277 526	8
topky.sk	Online		x	tabloid-style information portal	centrists	14	1	Topky.sk	388 574	375 546	6
hlavnesprávy.sk	Online		x	news/ mix	alternative	x	x	Hlavné Správy	49 592	54 945	18
parlamentné listy	Online		x	news/ blogs and columns	alternative	x	x	ParlamentnéListy.sk	10 973	11 290	24
Zem a vek	Print		x	mix	alternative	x	x	ZEM A VEK	34 858	36 498	20
Slobodný vysielač	Online		x	news/mix	alternative	x	x	Slobodný vysielač	84 122	80 909	15
Hlavný denník	Online		X	news/mix	alternative	x	x	Hlavný denník	11 469	11 959	23

Methodology

As a result of this pilot research, the ComAnCE project team can estimate that a minimum of 12.01% of all negative comments under selected topics had Antisemitic signs in their content, direct or silence. The analysis showed that within predefined circa 3 weeks periods, the number of Antisemitic contents range from low up to high, according the amount of comments. An inner logic – correlation – could be observed in the regularity and visibility of such comments, the higher the number of comments, the higher the number of Antisemitic statements is visible.

The analysis of Facebook comments also showed online media created an environment that is able to generate Antisemitic statements, namely those that are online on the online sphere (topky.sk a centrist's tabloid media and aktuality.sk, centrist daily media).

The current findings are based on Maxqda software, that was selected because it allows to identify key words that have the potential to have an Antisemitic statement or narrative. The key words were designed with the help of external experts on Antisemitism, on hate speech and violence speech, that were interviewed for the purpose of the ComAnCE project. The list of key words was broadly designed to encompass obvious expressions of Antisemitism, including classical stereotypes, but also so-called "silence" Antisemitic narratives that have the potential and impact, and also references to Antisemitic conspiracy theories.

Defining Antisemitism

Our analysis and report is based on our working categories of Antisemitic statements/ speech (point 1 – 3) that was developed during the third project phase (WP3), and was defined in the Report on Public Opinion Antisemitism 2.0: Opinions, attitudes and perception on Antisemitism in Visegrad countries on the online sphere (2020). The last two were added after the first analysis of the FB comments via working codes.

1. Traditional Antisemitic stereotypes (it is about the claims which are part of the societal discourse in Central Europe but are pushed to the back and therefore are not part of the "core" of the social control. They are quietly accepted by society as a necessary evil and majority of the people come across them in their life and will have to take a stand towards them. (For Jewish people, Israel is more important than Hungary/ Czech/ Poland/ Slovakia. Jews have a real influence on world management processes and economy. The Jews do not accept people with other religions. To name somebody as a "Jew" to show his miserliness shouldn't be seen as offensive towards real Jewish people.)
2. Current Antisemitic claims (it is about the current claims which are undeniably Antisemitic, they are categorized as second-class antisemitism and are under the social control in sense that it is unbecoming to agree with Antisemitic claims. (The Holocaust still gets too much attention in public debate. Jews are guilty themselves, that there is hate speech towards them)
3. Current quasi-neutral claims about the Jews (it is about the claims from the present times where the presence of antisemitism is harder to identify, the prejudices are the deciding factor therefore they are not subjected to the social control) (Israel in a non-democratic state that systematically oppressed and displaced Palestinians. Hate speech towards Jews is a common phenomenon)
4. Conspiracy claims about Jews that are not categorized with previous categories (Jews paid to migrants to colonize Europe, Jews are permanently destroying our national sovereignty through paid agents, and etc.)
5. Epithets used against Jews that were not categorized with previous categories.

Code system

We reconfigured our basic codes (working codes) into 5 main groups mirroring our five categories defining various Antisemitic statements. Of course it will be an ideal world if our working categories will be perfectly fitting to our data (codes) targeted Facebook statements, but they help us to recognize new forms of Antisemitism that were not visible in the public opinion poll, but we believe they have the potential to have a great impact on how we perceive Antisemitism and hate speech towards Jews in the future. In general, we have coded 895 Facebook statements that have an Antisemitic sentiment, narrative in their content or meaning. But overall, 3004 coded were assigned to all selected FB comments. The most codes – 1, 586 - were displayed under the theme "presidential election in Slovakia" (election of Zuzana Caputova). The trail with current MP Milan Mazurek had lower amount of codes (123 coded statements).

Table NO4: Codes-to-theory model ComAnCE

NO	Working code title	Working code category	Recoding phase
1	Prefer own group		
2	Anti-Globalist		
3	Anti-liberalism	classical stereotypes	classical stereotypes (1, 11, 14)
4	Anti-EU		
5	Anti-Israel		
6	Anti-West		
7	Denied holocaust		
8	Anti-Russia Jewish	Current quasi-neutral claims	Current quasi-neutral claims (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 13)
9	ESET is the new Soros		
10	Irony		
11	Stereotype - money		
12	Anti-Americanism	current Antisemitic claims	current Antisemitic claims (5, 7)
13	Freedom of speech argument		
14	Stereotype - power		
15	Personal insulting		
16	Neutral		conspiracy claims (17)
17	Conspiracy		
18	Doom hate/ conspiracy	Conspiracy	
19	Jew (auto coded)		
20	Soros (auto coded)		Epithets, symbols, acronyms (10, 15)
21	ESET (auto coded)		

First categorization of Facebook statements was guided with the recommendation of interviewed experts and their proposed key words that are related toward Antisemitic statements and hate speech. 19 codes were defined (prefer own group, anti-liberalism, anti-EU, anti-west, denied holocaust, anti-Russia, ESET is the new Soros, irony, Stereotype – money, unclassifiable, Anti-Americanism, freedom of speech argument, Stereotype – power, Personal insulting, Neutral, Conspiracy, Doom hate/ conspiracy, and the last two were so called Auto-codes carrying words as Jew and Soros, ESET in all their falls. All the working codes were compared with previous working category that was used in the public opinion analysis, and recategorized again. The second phase of recoding was dividing the current codes according to their direct or silence Antisemitic sentiment, including their rootedness into the society (classical stereotypes vs. new trends). To the fourth categories, fifth was included that displayed those Antisemitic statements that are (silence but also direct) describing individuals through synonymous, adjectives consisted Jewish in any falls.

Main findings

The report was designed to be broad enough to analyze all results and data that have the potential to carry Antisemitic statement and content (visible or silence). The interviews with experts on Antisemitism and hate speech were also crucial for understanding of all varieties of statements that are directly Antisemitic or silence, and to understand the inner dynamic of the online world, the narratives that are using withing violence / hate speech.

The significant number of Antisemitic Facebook statements were shared via such media that tend to target the majority of Slovak society, and their discussion under media news is not moderated, neither deleted. The highest amount of Antisemitic statements were generated to the most popular tabloid-style information portal Topky.sk, on the second place was one of the most popular online news portal Aktuality.sk and on the third place Tvnoviny.sk commercial television channel.

The "most" popular term that was used to express Antisemitic statement was the term "Soros", it was used 8 times more that the term "Jews" within these hate statement. Soros was also connected via significant number of relations with other codes as power, personal insulting, conspiracy, and irony. This finding just copied everything that was already observed by scholars and thinkers in the past in this region, the process of de-judaization when Antisemitism is spreading through conspiracy thinking and inventing powerful individual that have the ability to change to courses of nations and societies. Nowadays, according to expert opinions and analyses of Facebook comment the powerful individual is represented by representant of open society, liberal, pro-European values that are coordinated by Mr. Soros, and other dark forces from America.

Progressives, liberals, protectors of open society and others as Code Word for "Jews"

After the entry of neofascists political party – Kotleba LSNS into mainstream political area (in 2016) conspiracy theories, hate speech based on stereotypes towards otherness had became part of the official political discourse. The most "popular" term was connected to progressive political party, LGBT community, European Union, open society and NGOs, the term was "liberal" including specific variations connected to the previous words representing liberal democracy, their values and society. Although the terms are not inherently Antisemitic, these terms are nowadays uses as a pejorative term for people whose interests in power, ongoing enforcement on spreading liberal and progressive ideas and values, and make them disloyal to the country in which they live (in our case to Slovakia). This connection were dominantly made within the pre-election time (Presidential election, EP election) or within events that have a dramatical impact on the inner circles and structure of the society (Murder of Jan Kuciak and mass protests again former government of Robert Fico).

> This is all bad, two Jews made it to the second round, we can move out, because Jew is not faithful to any other nation than his own, and in our country its specifically our liberal trash they are faithful to.

> Soros and house of Rothschild nested their cuckoo here through Open Society Foundation. Zuzana Čaputová is financed by the United States of America. In 2016 she received on her account 175 000 thousand dollars, which is 5 million Slovak crowns. Her sudden enrichment was taken care of by Goldman foundation, which is spreading around the world the values of global liberalism.

Jews and conspiracy theories

Various studies from the past indicated that Jewish community is regularly perceived as the most visible threat to the national identity. And as Bergmann declared, not matter how strong they (Jews) are assimilated into the majority of society, and no matter how they shared similar values, attitudes or identity with the majority of society, they are standing outside the national order and are seeing as alien to the surrounding societies (Bergmann, 2008, p. 346). This image of Jewish community was once the building core of various conspiracy theories that were connected towards Jews in general. The most common conspiracy theories about Jews created a causal link towards everything what happened all around the world and who should we blame for it, they are identified as a source of all evil. Some sort of a secret group that have the power to influence the world events and order, and have the ability to have a great impact on nations and societies and bring negative social consequences to them.

Nowadays conspiracy theories connected towards Jews and Antisemitism are related towards new world order, and within the migration crisis and the fights against open society, and their main enemies (European politics, globalisation, word secret globalist group, US, and etc.). What differs is the "new main villain" name. According to the analysis of FB comments, in general, all Antisemitic conspiracy statements are displaying Soros, and America as the executors of the new world order. One quarter of all conspiracy statements are related to the classical stereotype of world order and are displaying a secret and wealthy group with the ability to influence the lives of us all. The finally Antisemitic conspiracy which is related to George Soros is displaying himself as the man whose main target is to destroy the Europe with migration waves. Conspiracies on George Soros vary according to the main theme of the news, but the narrative is the same, to destroy / or to rule with his puppets over Europe, Slovakia, or the World.

Over the course of this analyses, a significant number of Facebook comments incorporated current events into the Antisemitic conspiracies, namely the current migration crisis or the presidential and European election, that have been see as a tool to improve current position of Soros (Jews) in the national systems.

> *Čaputová sold us to Soros, Ševčovič will sell ut to Brussels. But in Brussels the government can change quickly, what if there will be winners like Mateo Salviny or Marine Le Pen? But with Soros the plans for our genocide haven´t changed for 70 years. So better devil than Satan. If someone didn´t see it yet, what is it all about, he should watch videos and statements of the Soros people like Kiska, Lajčák, Bugár, Cséfalvayová, Ondrejcsák, Čaputová and company. Soros agenda has worldwide and within these figures only these points: 1. World war with Russia – to elminate Slavs, the elite will then be able to access the mineral resources of their countries and will get rich on armaments. Soros constantly on all the forums recalls: "Don´t be afraid from war with Russia". 2. Disruption of families and society through: higher rights for LGBT and paedophiles, impunity of migrants and asocials- this will cause anarchy and lower the ability to defence of the society – similarly as in the ancient Rome, Babylon, etc. 3. Muslim migration and islamization – civil wars which they will cause will eliminate the number of citizens (the aim is half of billion on the planet), they will allow stricter police regime and control, power over people. Soros does not hide that jis aim is chaos, from which he makes money all over the world- therefore he is financing revolutions, murder to raise the revolutionary moods, civil wars, wars in between countries and world war.*

Most of these Antisemitic conspiracies were related towards two selected events in Slovakia that had crucial impact towards to society, and the visibility of country abroad. The first was presidential election in Slovakia and the winner of them Zuzana Čaputova, she was branded by the mainstream media as a political figure with who the new era of political culture and politics in coming. The second event happened one year before the presidential election and change

dramatically the political and societal environment in Slovakia. The murder of journalist Jan Kuciach and his fiancé started a massive protest that forced the former prime minister (Fico) and minister of interior (Kalinak) to resign. All these statements viewed the main figures of these events (Caputova, movement Decent Slovakia) as those who serve Soros on his quest for the regime control.

Holocaust denial

Holocaust denial is a classical Antisemitic conspiracy theory, which believes that Jews fabricated the facts, events, and victims of the Holocaust, including denial of the fact that 6 million Jewish people were murdered by Nazis. There are various Antisemitic claims connected to the conspiracy on Holocaust denial, such:
  a) Jews are creating the stories about Holocaust by themselves in order to gain more sympathies for their new state of Israel, and
  b) To raise more money via reparations for the prosperity, and
  c) Demonize and demoralize Germany, and European societies in general.

Pretty poor is, that when we mention the world holocaust people only imagine Jews, and these victims are put up to front, other victims are not important according to them, we only have to mention that the number of Slavs, which died there was much higher and I´m Slav, as the most of our nation and therefore I think, that in the case of holocaust the victims from our ranks, which were in higher numbers than Jews, will also deserve honors.

The Holocaust deniers claimed that Jews with their power onto the international politics and their financial resources, and media ownership manage to create Holocaust for already mentioned reasons. In our analysis we where able to track down Antisemitic claims that were related to the Holocaust denial, but the amount was in comparison to others Antisemitic claims negligible, mostly focusing on the denial of the scale of Holocaust and real number of Jews, which were murdered in during regimes. In general, all the claims were not exactly related to the Holocaust denial rather to belittlement Jews as victims, because of all other victims of the WWII, including Slavs.

Soros

In conservative and extremists (include conspiracy) discourse George Soros Holocaust survivor, philanthropist and Jewish billionaire is in general portrayed as a main force behind liberal and progressive causes. In extremist and far-right circles he is portrayed as the one who is financing protests governments, funding civic actors and nongovernmental organization that are implementing foreign elements destroying the traditions and values of our societies. The analysis of Facebook comments under the media news in Slovak online environment only proved how mainstream "Soros" is. In general, he is displayed as "new colonizer" of West, who is using his own fortune, or American money to influence the politics in Slovak republic, Central Europe and even in Europe in general.

The statements that are carrying George Soros surname could be divided into X categories. The first category of Facebook statements is displayed him as the "new colonizer" with a powerful human capital represented by liberal, progressive politics or political candidates who are trying to incorporate in their domestic societies the vision of corrupted liberal elites, promote the gender ideology and the same sex marriages. This frame is especially used by nationalist, neofascists and supporters of ultraconservative camps or supporters of Kotleba´s neofascists political party. Other group of Facebook statements could be defined as conspiracy theories within incorporated classical Antisemitic stereotypes as control of banks, government, media, or civic society, including NGO.

> *According to me, he is winning 20 years in advance and I think that Soros is already preparing his candidate for elections in 2039.*

> *Everyone is hurting you suddenly and where were you until now and that you with your America want to hurt whole Slovakia you won´t admit. You are only puppet in hands of America and Soros, you should be ashamed to sell your own country for the money, you are exactly and even bigger evil as Kiska was, it would be best if you could resign because more than half of Slovakia doesn´t want you there, you are keeping your own family in secret and also you also want to force us to let migrants into the country. You are American moster.*

Other statement is for example directed through Soros to classical Jewish heritage to undermine western civilization, to destroyed Europe and traditional European values and culture through various strategies.

> *At the start I would like to say that I´m not voter of Fico and I will never be…but as well I strongly reject that parties as SAS, OLANO, MOST, SME RODINA and Kiska because these parties are only serving EU and Soros a also they are inviting with open hands migrants from Africa and Arabs…people are you so blind, that you can´t see what is opposition and Kiska trying to do?*

Power as a frame of traditional Antisemitism

As noted already above, classical stereotypes of power, influence and money is so old as the Antisemitism in our human history. Despite new narratives on Antisemitism, the traditional stereotypes are deeply rooted in the Slovak society and are the most powerful in comparison towards others. The main difference is that this Antisemitism that is visible in current Slovak societal and political discourse is de-Judaized and became in monitoring and fights against various manifestation of Antisemitic speech more dangerous and more silence (hidden), and difficult to track.

> *Liberal fascism of George Soros whose right hand in Slovakia is Čaputová and mafia of Jewish Bolsheviks in SME mainstream media with capital from abroad and oligarchs! Dirt of the world is also rolling to Slovakia…!*

> *Everyone knows, that Čaputová can´t let them on…but that she is Soros bride we know…and that Kiska is pushing her through and that she has liberal opinions… so the parliamentary elections will be won by opposition, what these ultraliberals really are, that is the fact, so together like that it will be easy for them to accept the dictature from EÚ…puppets, sold souls…you have to think in wider context! There is no need to go and vote against Smer, we have to vote for the nation!!! So we can protect our children, our religion and our tradition, so we can´t be broken by some childless representatives of EÚ, which do not care about the future, cause they don´t have anyone to build it for…!!!*

According to analyzed and coded Facebook statements of online users' power and Antisemitic rhetoric is used namely within two categories of events. The first event is election in general, where various ideas are in competition and online discourse, namely the far-right/ left sees these battles as battles between corrupted liberal elites and true nationalist and defenders of Slovak identity. The power is used here as a demonstration of influence of wealthy individuals from US, EU and corporates, including philanthropists as Soros, whose aim is to incorporate their views into the national politics through their puppets. Power is displayed as something negative that does not belong to the traditional culture of our society, and the owners of "power" are familiar with the Jews worldview, or are supported by Jewish community, or they are carrying Jewish identity.

Irony as a code for positive Antisemitism

Spreading, believing in traditional Antisemitism stereotypes is motivated mainly by the antipathy and hate towards Jews, their imaginary power and influence within the world relations. However, in our analysis we found a form of Antisemitism that sees in the Jews an important element that is worth having on our side for number of reasons. But these statements were framed through George Soros, as Jews in General. One group of statements "so called involvement" of Soros in the presidential election, and all the statements very ironically stated that they vote for Caputova because "and of course Soros paid it". Soros was displayed as a symbol of pro-Caputova camp of supporters who's tried to debunk statement with this irony contra statements.

> I am also paid by Soros, he already sent to many dollars, that I don´t have space to store them. He sends them to everyone who voted for them, tomorrow I´m starting to build a house, I´m buying new car, and he will also pay for my school fees…He pays everything, he rules the world. He probably pays Merkel as well and possibly also Matovič so he will go against Smer…Soroš pays everyone.:D:D:D:

> Don´t be worried dear readers. In the redactions of "alternative media" are actively working so they can explain you the winning of pro-EU parties in pro-EU country in some satisfactory way. That it is anomaly, and that in fact most of the Slovakia is in same tune as you and your closest friends. Because how else it could be no? The key words the floods of "analysis" which will soon be here: "Eset", "Soros", "NGOs", "low turnout", "lugenpresse" (apologies "mainstream media")."

The second group of statements was coded primary within the category of irony. All the statements that were framed as ironical were related to Soros again, and his activities that where branded through liberalism, US influence and secrets group. These statements were also mostly reactions on the previous antisemitic comments made by other users trying to pinpoint the absurdity of some of the claims in ironical and satiric way.

Epithets, symbols, acronyms as silence form of Antisemitism

Antisemitic hate speech has various forms and variations. In our opinion, hate is hate, and there is no less or more dangerous Antisemitic speech. We differ between Antisemitic hate speech that is obvious, trackable, that is silence and hidden behind symbols, acronyms and short-cuts, or there is a speech primary not Antisemitic, but violent, negative that is permanently feeding the online world with narratives and stereotypes that are relativizing the Antisemitism and helping to spread it among users – individuals. In our analysis we were able to track silence Antisemitic and so called "helping" speech that is feeding Antisemitic stereotypes and relativize it. They have something similar in common, they again connected Soros (a wealthy Jewish billionaire) with representants of open society, and those we are calling themselves via online media platforms as supporters of these individuals.

The most common nick name for them was the short cut "*PSS*" what was decoded as "*Progressive Soros Slovakia*". This short cut existed in various forms in the user's language like "*PS*" what was decoded as "*Penta – Soros*", or "*PS*" as "*Progressive Soros*". All this shorts cuts have doubled impact towards users, they are creating a silence path between money and Jews (represented by Soros), between representants of open society and Soros, and between Soros and the political party with the title PS – Progressive Slovakia.

> I advise you to watch one old episode from Pod Lampou, where this idiot was with Sulík, even Hríb was holding his head what is this soros apparatchik from PS raving about.

> *...such a shame..the person at least new, that we are immune nation, and like this?!...probably Sorošky run out/ money...*

The second most used epithet is the word *"sorosky"* and was decoded as the "*money from Soros paid for those who are calling themselves supporters, followers or members of open society, liberal politics and civic sector*". Similarly, was used the word dollars, with the same meaning as the money provided by Soros from America to support his intentions in this region.

Conclusion

Since the horrors of the World War II the antisemitism was considered to be culturally, politically and intellectually unacceptable. However, it seems that the heritage from the past is becoming weaker in the light of modern society and spread of the fake news, conspiracy theories and hatred created within the society and media. It looks like individuals forgot the devastation which antisemitism cause in the past, or do not understand its consequences same as our ancestors. Antisemitism has been considered to be one of the history´s oldest hatred, which was extremely adaptable to any historical event or the time period. These centuries long hatred left society with lots of inherited doubts, stereotypes and fears towards Jews.

The case of Slovakia is not different than the situation in rest of the Europe and the rest of the world. Even though the antisemitism is considered to be very sensitive topic and there are not so many cases of the open antisemitism either in the online or the offline world the fact is that the traditional form of antisemitism is being successfully replaced by the new forms, which we do not consider to be less dangerous than others. As we stated already in the report hate is hate and we are not in place to judge, which form of hate can be considered more dangerous than other. However, the data collected from the social media in Slovakia ring the bell about how individuals coming from the region, which was directly facing the horrors of holocaust can lose the sensitivity and ability to distinguish antisemitic hate speech.

To clarify the picture, we were able to detect only several cases of the antisemitism directly denying holocaust or the happenings of the World War II. On the other hand, antisemitism was widely present in the comments connected with the current events in the form classical stereotypes about Jews and their influence in the world (money, domination, secret groups, involvement in politics). This form of antisemitism gained new equivalent in the personal figure of George Soros, portraited as the common enemy for central Europe and Slovakia trying to take advantage in the shaky political situation after murder of journalist Ján Kuciak and gain power through selected political candidates and parties. These claims and comments were supported also by words as liberalism, non-governmental organization, agents from West, ESET, paid protest or Progressive Slovakia, which shows how deeply rooted can conspiracy and fake news can get in polarized society. Although, our report clearly shows the conspiracy thinking of the specific individuals which are being active in the social networks, we are not the first one which came to this conclusion since the report from GLOBSEC from previous years showed that Slovaks are extremely vulnerable towards conspiracy theories and fake news.

Another interesting finding from our data was on the other hand more positive and that is the fact that there are many users, which are reacting with the similar statements as the one mentioned above, however they are using them as the reaction on antisemitic comments in satiric and ironical way. However, even when we have to say that these people are fighting the antisemitism in their own way, the fact is that using these claims became normal form of speech also for them. We do not wish to ostracize them, but overall it only shows how low or non-existing is the sensitivity in using antisemitic hate speech in this form. As the society becomes more depending on the social media the feeling of invincibility overthrown the sensitivity towards antisemitism, typical for the past. As long as these statements will not be clearly marked as antisemitic by the authorities, academics, journalists and other public figures we cannot expect from the Slovak society to change their attitudes, views and actions taken in the online world. Normalization of this form of speech by politicians and public figures especially during election campaign only supports this hatred on internet and will not stop until it will be considered as harming with consequences.